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Robert Haswell

Voyages of the "Columbia"
to the Northwest Coast

1787-1790 and 1790-1793

EDITED BY
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THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume aims to offer everything of value that is still extant relating to the first voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, 1787-1790, and the second voyage of the *Columbia*, 1790-1793. It includes four journals: Haswell's First Log, Haswell's Second Log, Hoskins' Narrative, and Boit's Log. In deference to the established usage this nomenclature is followed, though they are all narratives and not, strictly speaking, logs. Besides these, the volume contains the remnant of the official log of the *Columbia*, May 7-21, 1792, covering the discovery of the Columbia River; letters in connection with the two voyages, principally from the captains to the owners and between themselves; numerous documents from Congressional papers, including the instructions for both voyages;¹ newspaper items touching on the first venture; and miscellaneous papers dealing with and throwing light upon the fur-trade, the outfits of the ships, and other financial matters. In the library of the University of Washington there exists a photostatic copy of a fragmentary log of the *Columbia* kept by Robert Haswell, the first mate, from September 28, 1790, to October 3, 1791, and by Owen Smith, the second mate, from October 4, 1791, to February 20, 1792. This fragment has not been included as it contains only a record of winds and weather, courses and distances.

¹ Some of these papers—such as the memorial of Charles Bulfinch and others seeking confirmation of their claims to land “on the Columbia river”; a memorial of Charles Bulfinch and others asking that their titles to land “in the Territory of Oregon” be confirmed; reports of committees of the House of Representatives on the petition of Martha Gray for a pension in recognition of the public service of her deceased husband, Robert Gray; the report of a Senate committee on another petition from Mrs. Gray; and the report of a Senate committee on a memorial of George Barrell and S. V. S. Wilder for themselves and the representatives of Captains Kendrick and Gray seeking the confirmation of their title to lands purchased in 1791 on the Northwest Coast of America—contain so many misstatements that they are quite unreliable and make no contribution to accurate history. They have accordingly been omitted from this volume, although the documents which are appended to them, being of real historical value, are included.

THE TWO VOYAGES: 1787-1790, 1790-1793

For more than forty years Boston was closely connected with the maritime trade on the Northwest Coast of America. Her farseeing merchants, led by Joseph Barrell, upon reading the account of Captain Cook's third voyage, saw in that region's wealth of fur a means of entering into the China trade with a commodity eagerly sought for and much valued by the Chinese. Barrell interested five other gentlemen, and they resolved upon a pioneer venture. His associates were Samuel Brown of Boston, a prosperous merchant; Charles Bulfinch of the same city; Crowell Hatch, a sea captain of Cambridge; John Derby, a wealthy shipowner of Salem; and John M. Pintard, a merchant of New York.

In 1787, at a cost of \$50,000, these six adventurers purchased and outfitted two vessels: the *Columbia Rediviva*, commonly called the *Columbia*, and the sloop *Washington*, or, to give her full name, the *Lady Washington*. The *Columbia* was a ship of 212 8/95 tons, 83'6" long and 24'2" beam, built in 1787 at Plymouth, Massachusetts.¹ The *Washington* was a sloop of 90 tons. The owners appointed John Kendrick of Wareham the commander of the expedition and master of the *Columbia*. For the command of the *Washington*, which was to act as a tender to the *Columbia* in accordance with the plan outlined in Cook's account of his third voyage, they designated Robert Gray of Tiverton, Rhode Island.

When the two vessels sailed from Boston on September 30,

¹ The date and place of the building of the *Columbia* are usually given as 1773 at Hobart's Landing, North River, Scituate. The correct information set out in the text is taken from two registers of the *Columbia* in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. I am indebted to Mr. P. M. Hamer, Chief of the Division of Reference in the National Archives, and to Mr. J. J. O'Brien, State Supervisor for Massachusetts of the National Archives Project of the Works Progress Administration, for transcripts of these registers. Mr. Walter M. Whitehill of the Peabody Museum, Salem, also gave me valuable assistance in my search for the dates of the *Columbia's* construction and demolition.

1787, a voyage to the Northwest Coast was an adventure into the unknown. Captain Cook had in 1778 shown dimly the coast line from a short distance beyond Cape Mendocino to Nootka Sound; but the stretch thence to Sitka, Alaska, he had left blank. The British traders, who had been operating since 1785, had filled in the salient features and rough outlines of the labyrinth in that region, but their discoveries had not then been published.

The *Columbia* and the *Washington* separated on April 1, 1788, in a gale off Cape Horn, and each made her way to the rendezvous at Nootka Sound. The sloop arrived on September 17, 1788, and a week later the ship anchored within fifty yards. Both remained in the sound until the following March, when Gray, in the sloop, sailed on trading voyages to the southward as far as the Strait of Juan de Fuca and to the northward to Bucareli Bay, Alaska. In the course of the northern voyage Gray demonstrated the insularity of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which Dixon had inferred two years before. On that occasion Gray made one of the most notable barterings in the story of the maritime fur-trade. Near Cloak Bay, Queen Charlotte Islands, where Dixon two years before had in half an hour obtained three hundred sea-otter skins, he "in a very few moments," as Haswell expresses it, secured two hundred at the rate of one chisel each. These chisels were merely bits of flat iron drawn to a cutting edge, similar to those used by carpenters. At this time one of the mysteries of American geography was the Strait of Anian or the Northwest Passage. Gray and his crew evidently thought that the so-called Admiral de Fonte had actually made his alleged expedition, and were ready to believe that in their northern voyaging they had found the strait by which he claimed to have sailed to Hudson Bay. The venturesome sloop returned to Nootka on June 16 and found

the *Columbia* there, still lying inert, not having sailed a mile in search of trade. The two vessels then went to Clayoquot Sound where the skins collected by the sloop were transferred to the ship. Captain Gray took the command of the *Columbia* and set sail for Boston by way of the Hawaiian Islands and China, leaving the *Washington* under Captain Kendrick on the coast to continue the trade. The *Washington* arrived in China on January 26, 1790, with a cargo of sea-otter skins which Kendrick sold for \$18,000. He then altered the rig of the *Washington* from a sloop to a brigantine. Though the *Washington* remained in the maritime trade for five years thereafter and her end is not exactly known, she never saw Boston again. Worse still, Kendrick acted to all intents as her owner. Indeed, he made a sham sale of her—"to cheat the owners"—and never remitted a cent or even made any accounting. It is unnecessary, therefore, to follow her movements further.

The *Columbia*, with Gray in command, returned to Boston on August 9, 1790: the first vessel to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world. Owing to many causes—the ignorance of the trade, the appropriation by Kendrick of the *Washington* and her cargo, the damage to the teas carried back by the *Columbia* to Boston, but above all to the inertness and incapacity (or worse) of the commander, John Kendrick—this pioneer venture was not a financial success. Nevertheless her owners, undaunted, resolved to make a second effort. Derby and Pintard dropped out, but their shares were taken over by Captain Gray and two men by the names of Davenport and McLean. The cargo of trading goods on this second voyage of the *Columbia* was valued at £1,519 10s; the total investment represented £6,254. Great expedition was shown in making the *Columbia* ready for sea. She sailed from Boston on September 28, 1790—only about six weeks after her arrival. Captain Gray

was in command, with Robert Haswell as first mate. The celerity of her outward-bound voyage under Gray is in marked contrast with the dilatoriness of the previous one under Kendrick. The passage under Gray was accomplished in a little more than eight months, whereas under Kendrick it had occupied almost a year. The exact dates are: first voyage, September 30, 1787–September 23, 1788; second voyage, September 28, 1790–June 4, 1791. Even when every allowance is made for the first as a pioneer effort, the difference is still so marked that the reader will probably agree with Captain Gray's statement that Kendrick was not "a nimble leader."

After spending the season of 1791 in trading along the Northwest Coast, the *Columbia* went into winter quarters at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island. During the ensuing winter the sloop *Adventure*, the frame of which had been brought out from Boston, was built at Adventure Cove, as Gray called his wintering place. In March, 1792, Haswell was placed in command of the *Adventure*, in which he traded to the northward during the season. He was thus, unfortunately, hundreds of miles away when on that notable day in May, 1792, Captain Gray sailed the *Columbia* into the Great River of the West—ever afterwards to bear the name of the brave little vessel. On his return from that fruitful discovery Gray cruised northward in company with Haswell in the *Adventure*, seeking sea-otter skins. Somewhere in the neighborhood of Milbanke Sound the *Columbia* struck a rock which, fortunately, Haswell had been able to avoid. This accident threatened a disastrous termination of the expedition; but Gray, equal to every emergency, made temporary repairs and proceeded on his way. After ineffectual efforts to reach the damaged part of the hull by heeling the ship, Gray reluctantly steered for the Spanish settlement at Nootka Sound. The efficient manner in which he soon made

the *Columbia* again seaworthy evoked the highest praise of the Spaniards, who, according to Boit's log, said that they believed "we could build a ship in a month." With the season ended and the *Adventure* sold to the Spaniards, Gray departed for Boston by way of China. Having disposed of his cargo of sea-otter skins and loaded the *Columbia* with its produce in Oriental goods, he resumed his homeward voyage, and the good ship dropped anchor in Boston Harbor on July 29, 1793.

After having, by the discovery of the Columbia River, laid one of the foundations of her country's claims to the region "where flows the Oregon," the movements of the *Columbia* are uncertain, for it is difficult to identify her among the various ships bearing that name. At any rate, the historic *Columbia* was demolished in 1801. The cancellation date on her register in the National Archives is October 15, 1801; accompanying it is the laconic statement: "ript to pieces."

It is usually stated that the *Columbia* and the *Washington* were the first American vessels to engage in the maritime fur-trade on the Northwest Coast. That they were the first to sail from New England for that purpose is very clear; but that they were the first American ships in that trade is not so certain. It is possible that further research may show that the honor of being the American pioneer in that trade rests with the *Eleanora*, a brig of New York commanded by Captain Simon Metcalfe. In any event, the records of the East India Company show that the American brig *Eleanora*, Captain Simon Metcalfe, arrived in Canton on August 12, 1788, from Bengal and Batavia. "She left America last season," says the entry—whatever that may mean. John Boit, in his log of the *Union*, sets down the information obtained by him from the celebrated John Young as follows: "It appeared that Capt. Metcalf had

purchased this small vessel [the *Fair American*] at Macao after his arrival at that port in the *Elenora* from the N. W. Coast and did then fit her with the *Snow* for the Coast again and gave the command of her to his eldest son. The two vessels was to have kept company, but in a gale of wind off the Coast of Japan they separated." Inasmuch as Metcalfe's two vessels were on the Northwest Coast in 1789 and Young was then the boatswain of the *Eleanora* and in a position to know her movements in the preceding year, it follows that if this quotation is a correct report of what Young told Boit, the *Eleanora* was trading on the Northwest Coast when the *Columbia* and the *Washington* were still en route. But the point is not at all clear.¹

THE TWO CAPTAINS: JOHN KENDRICK AND ROBERT GRAY

John Kendrick, the master of the *Columbia* and commander of the first expedition, was born about 1740 at Harwich, Massachusetts. He early took to the sea. In his twenties he was one of the crew of a whaler in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Later he was a soldier in the French and Indian War. He married in 1767 and, returning to sea, became master of vessels sailing between Boston and southern ports. In the Revolutionary War he commanded ships sailing under letters of marque, preying upon British commerce. His home was at Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, until 1778 when he removed to Wareham.

He was about forty-seven years of age when he sailed in command of the pioneer trading expedition from Boston to the Northwest Coast. After the exchange of vessels in July, 1789, he traded on the coast in the *Washington* for about two months and then left for China. From his arrival there in Jan-

¹ East India Company's Factory Records, China, II, Volume xvii (MS. in India Office, London); *Journals of Major Samuel Shaw*, Josiah Quincy, Editor (Boston, 1847), 296; "The Diary of Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.," *Papers*, New Haven Historical Society, iv (New Haven, 1888), 3, 27-28.

uary, 1790, Kendrick's conduct was and still is the subject of much criticism. His actions gave rise to ugly rumors and to the suspicion that he had appropriated his owners' property. The correspondence of John Howel included in this volume shows that Kendrick treated the *Washington* and her cargo as his own property. The only letter on the matter written by Kendrick to his owners is illuminating and has the tone not of an employee but of an independent proprietor. It is dated March 28, 1792, and is published in this volume. In it he regrets that the *Columbia* did not call at Macao on her return voyage to Boston in February, 1790, to receive his dispatches, "otherwise something handsome might have been sent you." This is the most flimsy excuse, for there was regular communication with England by the East India Company's ships and with Boston by the American vessels sailing each spring at least. He acknowledges that he had sold the *Washington*—to himself, as appears from Howel's letters—but declares that it was only "a sham sale." However, from that time he treated the vessel and her cargo as his own, operated her and carried on trade in her on his own account, going, as was to be expected, every year deeper and deeper in debt. From China he made two voyages to the Northwest Coast in the *Washington*: in 1791 and in 1793-1794. Captain Kendrick was accidentally killed at Honolulu, Oahu, on December 12, 1794, while on his return to China. The circumstances appear to be that Captain Brown of the *Jackal*, having aided the king of Oahu in securing a victory over invaders of that island, was firing a salute in honor of the event. Through an oversight the charge of round and grapeshot was not removed from one of the saluting guns, and the shot passed through the hull of the *Washington*, killing Kendrick and several of his crew.

Thus died Captain John Kendrick at the age of fifty-four.

I have written elsewhere a sketch of Kendrick's life.¹ Further study has but confirmed the characterization therein contained, which it is believed the discerning reader of this volume will find to be supported by the documents it contains. I then wrote:

As a commander of an expedition he was a complete failure; even his friend Hoskins has to admit that "to be sure the man was by no means calculated for the charge of such an expedition, but a better man might have done worse." But when his responsibility was reduced to the control and direction of a small vessel he showed qualities of initiative, perseverance, courage, energy, and foresight. He was a good seaman, a kind-hearted, though quick-tempered man. He seems to have been whimsical and vacillating. He shows himself as a man jealous of his authority, self-willed and dictatorial, but yet amenable to reason if approached in a proper spirit and manner. He has a keen eye for opportunities and possibilities of trade development, especially where they lay beyond, or at one side of, the beaten paths. His uncertainty of action and his leisurely movements were the defects which prevented him from obtaining those results to which his other qualities should have entitled him.

This estimate, it will be observed, lies about midway between the laudation of Kendrick's friend, Amasa Delano,² and the condemnation by John Howel in his letters to Joseph Barrell in this volume.

Captain Robert Gray was born on May 10, 1755, at Tiverton, Rhode Island. It is said that as a young man of twenty he was in the naval service of the United States during the Revolutionary War, but of this there is no satisfactory evidence. At any rate, as a man of thirty-two who had been in command of a ship belonging to Samuel Brown and Crowell Hatch, two of the persons interested in the expedition of the *Columbia* and

¹ "John Kendrick and His Sons," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxiii (December, 1922), 277-302.

² *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (Boston, 1817), 400.

the *Washington*, he was selected as the master of the sloop *Washington*. After his return in July, 1793, from the second voyage of the *Columbia*, he was master of coasting vessels out of Boston. In the trouble with France in 1799 he commanded the privateer *Lucy*, carrying twelve guns and a crew of twenty-five men. The war being ended, he returned to the merchant service and made a number of voyages to England and to the southern states. The date of his death remains unascertained despite every inquiry and much search amongst old records and newspaper files. According to Mrs. Gray's petition to Congress on January 17, 1846, her husband "died in the summer of 1806, leaving four daughters and very little property." It is believed that he died of yellow fever on a voyage from Charleston, South Carolina, in that year.

Thus only the main incidents of his life are known, but when combined with the references to him in the documents herewith published, certain conclusions appear to be justified. Captain Gray was a resolute, self-reliant, and determined man, one who clearly saw his objective and pressed forward to it, overcoming and almost despising intervening obstacles. Hoskins even thought that his courage and determination went sometimes to the extent of foolhardiness. He was eminently practical; facts to him were very real; in his undertakings dreams had no place. He was of a kind and affable disposition, but subject to quick and sudden outbursts of temper. He was, above all, a consummate seaman, and knew how to win and control his crew. How much credence is to be placed in Hoskins' and Howel's allegations of dishonesty is left for further consideration, as there is no known supporting evidence.

Captain Gray's outstanding achievement for his country and the world was his discovery of the River of the West. On that May day in 1792 when he drove his ship through the jumbled

mass of foaming water and seething breakers into the much-named but, till then, unseen river, now the Columbia, he earned for himself and his ship an imperishable renown.

THE LOGS OF THE TWO VOYAGES

The original manuscript of Haswell's First Log, owned by Mrs. Edward Cummings, a descendant of Haswell, is on deposit at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The text has never been published in its entirety. A portion of it, edited by Mr. T. C. Elliott from a copy in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, is in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (xxix. 162-188), and a précis is appended to the 1886 edition of Hubert H. Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast*. The whereabouts of the original manuscript of Haswell's Second Log is unknown, but there is a copy in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, which, in the absence of the original, has been used here. The original manuscript of John Boit's Log is another of the treasures of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The complete text has already been printed in that Society's *Proceedings* (LIII. 218-275) and in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (xxii. 265-349). By the kind permission of the Oregon Historical Society the footnotes accompanying the latter edition of the log have been used as a basis for the footnotes to the text printed in this volume. The Massachusetts Historical Society also owns the original manuscript of Hoskins' Narrative. There is in the possession of Mrs. Edith R. Emerson of Lexington, Massachusetts, another original manuscript by Hoskins, "A Journal of a Voyage round the World in the ship *Columbia Rediviva*." This is a document of some five thousand words and is plainly a much condensed version of the Narrative. It contains nothing that is not to be found in greater detail in the longer document. Oddly enough, it ends just as abruptly as the Narrative—in

the middle of a sentence—and in connection with the same incident. Throughout this volume, where access to the original documents has been possible, they have, with the few exceptions pointed out in the notes, been followed exactly.

Haswell's First Log is a very valuable document: it is the only, though unfortunately incomplete, record still extant of the first voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. It appears, however, that Joseph Ingraham, the first mate of the *Columbia*, also kept an account of this expedition, to which he often refers in his manuscript journal of the *Hope*, 1790–1792. For instance, under the date of October, 1791, he says: "In my account of that voyage I took great pains to learn every particular respecting the [Hawaiian] Islands and their inhabitants, the description of which occupies many pages in that work." In the entry for November 30, 1791, speaking of William Douglas of the *Grace*, Ingraham calls him "my friend of whom I made frequent mention in the journal of my last voyage, particularly in the transactions at Nootka Sound." That journal seems to have disappeared, leaving Haswell as our sole authority. In June, 1791, David Humphreys, the United States Minister to Portugal, wrote: "I have been informed by a young gentleman from Boston that a very intelligent and accurate journal was kept by one of the officers on the *Washington*." This remark has been thought by some to refer to the missing Ingraham journal; but if the minister's language is exact, the allusion is to Haswell's First Log, for Ingraham was throughout the voyage the first mate of the *Columbia*, whereas Haswell was second mate of the *Washington* from February, 1788, until July, 1789.

The three other narratives in this volume relate to the second voyage, 1790–1793. As is usual in journals of the fur-trade, both Haswell's Second Log and Hoskins' Narrative are incom-

plete. The former begins in August, 1791, and continues till the ship arrives in China; the other covers the voyage from its commencement until March, 1792, when the *Columbia* leaves her winter quarters to engage in the season's trade. Boit's Log is, fortunately, a complete account of the voyage. It contains his version of the ship's discovery of the Columbia River and thus supplements the remnant of the official log on that important event.¹

THE AUTHORS OF THE NARRATIVES

Robert Haswell,² the author of the two so-called logs that bear his name, was born, according to an entry in the Second Log, on November 24, 1768. The place of his birth is unknown, but it was probably in Massachusetts. He was the eldest son and second child of William Haswell, a lieutenant in the British navy.

Little is known of his boyhood. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he was a child of less than seven years. As his father remained loyal to the British Crown, the whole family was interned, and about 1778 was sent to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Later—but when is not definitely known—they removed to Yorkshire, England.

When Robert Haswell returned to Massachusetts and how he had spent the intervening years have not been ascertained. At any rate, in September, 1787, as a boy of nearly nineteen, he joined the *Columbia* as third mate, a fact which supports the conclusion that he had already been to sea.

Owing to differences with Captain Kendrick, the first mate

¹ In reading these narratives it must be remembered that the nautical day begins and ends at twelve o'clock, noon, and the entry in the log bears the date on which it ends. Thus, an entry under the date of January 1 began at noon on December 31 and ended at noon on January 1. The day was roughly divided into three periods of eight hours each: the beginning, the middle, and the end.

² For a fuller account of Haswell, see *Proceedings*, LXV. 592-600.

of the ship, Simeon Woodruff, took his discharge at the Cape Verde Islands, and Haswell was promoted to the position of second officer. But by the time the *Columbia* reached the Falkland Islands the relations between him and Kendrick had become so tense that Haswell left the ship and became second officer of her consort, the sloop *Washington*.

He remained with Captain Gray on the sloop until July, 1789. While the two vessels were on the coast—September, 1788–July, 1789—all the cruising for trade was done by the sloop. It is fortunate for those seeking to reconstruct the life and incidents on the trading grounds that Haswell was on her and kept a record, for from the time the *Columbia* reached Nootka Sound she swung there lazily at anchor until ten months had elapsed, when, with Gray in command and Haswell as second officer, she sailed for Clayoquot Sound in preparation for her return to Boston. All the correspondence now extant concerning the first venture is contained in this volume. It throws no real light upon the reasons that induced Kendrick and Gray to exchange vessels, or upon the question whether it was intended to be a permanent or merely a temporary arrangement.

On the second voyage of the *Columbia*, Gray was her master, and Haswell her first officer. After the *Adventure* was launched in March, 1792, Haswell was made her commander, and he voyaged northward for trade. This small sloop was sold to the Spaniards in September, 1792, on the eve of the *Columbia's* departure from the coast, and Haswell resumed his old position as first mate on the return voyage to Boston.

From his arrival on the *Columbia* in July, 1793, until October, 1798, Haswell's movements are difficult to piece together. In that interval he was in command of two Boston vessels owned by one S. Smith: the ship *Hannah* of 280 tons and

the ship *John Fay* of 217 tons. It seems that in the autumn of 1793 Haswell sailed as master of the *Hannah* on a voyage to the East Indies, from which he returned in January, 1796. In a letter dated Boston, January 20, 1796, he wrote: "I arrived here a few days since from England. . . . My last voyage has been twenty-seven months long. . . ." His next command was the *John Fay*. The only information thereon is in Samuel Hill's manuscript autobiography, now owned by the New York Public Library. The dates therein given are incorrect; and, owing to the absence of customhouse records and of shipping news in the Boston newspapers, the exact dates of the sailing and return of the *John Fay* cannot now be ascertained. However, the *John Fay*, it is clear, returned before October 10, 1798, for on that day, at Reading, Massachusetts, Haswell married Mary Cordis, a daughter of Joseph Cordis, Esq., of that place. Of this marriage two children were born, Mary and Rebecca Cordis.

Soon after his marriage—March 4, 1799—Haswell entered the United States Navy as a lieutenant. He saw active service as first lieutenant of the United States Frigate *Boston*, Captain George W. Little commanding. This handsome, speedy ship-of-war, on October 12, 1800, after an action lasting one hour and forty minutes, captured the French national corvette *Le Berceau*. Haswell brought the prize safely into Boston Harbor on November 15, his share of the prize money being \$286.35.¹ Haswell remained in the service for more than two years. His last appearance on its records is April 13, 1801.

Shortly after leaving the navy, Haswell was appointed to the command of the ship *Louisa* of Boston for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, China, and return—a route that was familiar to him from his life aboard the *Columbia*. The *Louisa* cleared

¹ A full account of the fight is in the *Boston Gazette*, November 17, 1800.

from Boston between the fifth and the eighth of August, 1801, and was never heard of thereafter. How the ship was lost or where is one of the mysteries of the sea. But in the Haswell family there is preserved a beautiful piece of painting and embroidery representing Haswell's widow and his two daughters at a tomb and in the distance a ship dashing against a rocky shore. A reproduction appears in this volume.

Haswell, at the time of his sailing on his last voyage, was a resident of Charlestown, Massachusetts. He died intestate; and on July 2, 1805, his widow, then of Newton, applied for administration of his estate, which was valued at \$4,630.47.

John Hoskins, or, to give him his full name, John Box Hoskins, the author of the account of the second voyage of the *Columbia* called the Narrative, was born in Boston and was baptized in King's Chapel on December 14, 1768. His father, William Hoskins, was for about ten years the senior member of the Boston firm William Hoskins & Co., engaged in business in a large way as builders, owners, and operators of ships and importers of general commodities. Before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, however, the firm ceased its activities. Later, upon the death of Commissary General Trumbull in 1778, William Hoskins was appointed by Congress to settle Trumbull's affairs, a duty which he performed so satisfactorily that Congress offered him a seat on the Treasury Board. He took a prominent and active part in the service of his country and was held in high esteem by John Hancock. He numbered amongst his friends General Joseph Warren, James Otis, and Paul Revere.

Sterling qualities, therefore, were the birthright of John Box Hoskins. His father died in May, 1786, when young Hoskins was in his eighteenth year, and Joseph Barrell, a staunch friend

of the family, took the lad into his home and later into his countinghouse.

The first voyage of the *Columbia* had resulted in financial loss to Barrell and his co-adventurers. Barrell, being the principal owner, was not satisfied with the conduct of those in charge of the venture—or perhaps he had heard some of the ugly rumors that were floating around. When it was determined to make a second effort, he placed young Hoskins on the *Columbia* as ship's clerk or supercargo. It is plain from Hoskins' correspondence with Barrell that Captain Gray, who was in command of the vessel, regarded Hoskins as a spy upon his actions. That Barrell had made a wise choice is clear from John Howel's letter to him dated May 11, 1795: "Except Mr. Hoskins I hardly ever saw a man in your N. W. employ, who was not either fool or Rogue, and your commanders united both those characters." While Howel was no saint himself, the surrounding circumstances lend support to this estimate. There is an air of unreserved truth in Hoskins' letters that is in marked contrast with the half-revealing, non-communicative language of Kendrick's correspondence.

Some time after the return of the *Columbia* in 1793 (but when is not known) Hoskins married his first wife. Her surname is not recorded; it is only known that her Christian name was Lydia. By her he had two children: John Joseph, born January 15, 1799, and a daughter, Lydia. He became a merchant in partnership with one of the sons of his patron, Joseph Barrell, under the firm name of Barrell and Hoskins, carrying on business at Codman's Wharf, Boston. Hoskins' elder brother William was in business in Bordeaux, France, and John seems to have gone there on a visit in 1795, for in June of that year Joseph Barrell, writing to Colborn Barrell in London, said: "I will write Mr. John Hoskins, who is now in France." This

would indicate that Hoskins' visit there was a lengthy one. For some years, it would appear, after his return from this absence Hoskins continued in business in Boston; but, probably about the year 1804, his wife having died, he returned to France, taking his two children with him. He took up his residence in Bordeaux but, as his letters show, traveled quite extensively, whether for pleasure or profit is unknown. At a subsequent, but unknown, date he married his second wife, Catherine Girard of Bordeaux, a sister of Stephen Girard, the famous banker-merchant-philanthropist of Philadelphia. At some date prior to July, 1824, Hoskins died at the Isle of France where his daughter Lydia, who had married Antoine Titan, had made her home.

John Boit, the author of the only complete narrative of the second voyage of the *Columbia*, was born in Boston on October 15, 1774. He was the son of John Boit, a merchant of that city who was a large importer of goods from the East and the West Indies. He was probably educated at the Boston Latin School.

The love of the sea was in the blood of the sons of Massachusetts; and young Boit at the age of sixteen shipped as fifth mate on the *Columbia*, under Captain Robert Gray. Returning from that voyage in July, 1793, he became in the following September the mate of the ship *Eliza*, John Bass master, on a voyage to Virginia and thence to Dublin with passengers and a general cargo. The *Eliza* returned to Charleston, South Carolina, on April 1, 1794. Boit's journal of the voyage, embellished with a drawing of the ship, is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He sailed again on August 1, 1794, from Newport, Rhode Island, in command of the sloop *Union* of ninety-eight tons burthen, of which his brother-in-law, Caleb Hatch, was a half owner. "Adieu to the pretty girls

of Newport," mournfully says Boit in his log of that voyage. He was then only nineteen years of age. The fact that he, a mere boy in his teens, was entrusted with the command of this vessel to sail to the Northwest Coast, engage in the maritime trade there, proceed thence to China to exchange the sea-otter skins for Oriental goods, and finally return to Boston speaks volumes for his complete mastery of his profession, his management of men, and his general ability. He handled his crew like an old hand, fought off an Indian attack, and ended a successful voyage by bringing the little sloop back to her home port. But the only notice taken of such a remarkable achievement was the laconic note under "Nautical Intelligence" in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 13, 1796: "Arrived since our last . . . sloop Union, Boit, Canton." His log of the voyage is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is illustrated with two colored sketches of the sloop, one of which shows her entering Boston Harbor.

A month ashore and Boit was off again on the high seas, this time as master of the snow *George*, an English store vessel which had been captured by a French privateer and sold in Boston to Crowell Hatch and David Green. She was a slow-sailing, leaky old tub. In her he left Boston on September 14, 1796, for the Isle of France (Mauritius), then a place very popular with Yankee adventurers. By good fortune he arrived there the following March, his crew exhausted, and the snow in an almost sinking condition, the lumbering old tub having barely survived a heavy gale. He patched her up and sold her, returning as a passenger on November 26, 1797, to Newport. "God send that I may never sail in the like of her again," Boit prayerfully writes in the log of the *George's* voyage. Nevertheless he placed therein a colored drawing of the poor old thing.

At this point there is a gap in Boit's story until August 20,

1799, when he married Eleanor Jones, one of those "pretty girls of Newport." She is evidently the lady to whom he refers at the end of the log of the sloop *Hiram*: "In pursuit of Miss E. J. In her smiles to be happy. Fortune de Ger [*guerre*]." Boit made three voyages as master of the "Gallant Ship Mount Hope," of 600 tons, a large vessel for those days, owned by Messrs. Gibbs & Channing. The logs of two of these voyages are in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society: one is a voyage to Batavia, June 16, 1801–April 3, 1802; the other to the island of Bourbon (Réunion), November 25, 1805–October 13, 1806. The third voyage in the *Mount Hope* occupied the interval.

After 1806 Boit appears to have continued to follow the sea. He may have made a voyage or two to the Isle of France, for he was only thirty-two years of age—too young for retirement. Moreover, the necessity of providing for a young and steadily increasing family was imperious. When he retired from the sea is not known; but in 1813 he was in business as a merchant on Summer Street, Boston. By 1816 he had branched out as an importer, in partnership with Joseph Bray, with headquarters at 43 India Wharf. However, the sea, his home for thirty years, called loudly to him, and he heeded the call. At the age of forty-eight—a time when most men, especially those who, like himself, had spent a wandering and adventurous life, felt the urge for a quiet seat by the chimney corner—he resumed his life on the ocean wave. In 1822 he is found in command of the brig *Sally Ann* of Boston, carrying merchandise shipped by Thomas Lamb to Havana, and there are records of him in that place as late as March, 1823. In January, 1824, he was in command of the brig *Barbara*, also bound for Havana. He is listed in the Boston directories of 1825 and 1826 as a mariner, with a residence on Federal Street. In July of the latter year there

is also a record of him in London as captain of the ship *Mercury*. In 1828 he again appears in the Boston directory, described as a mariner with a residence on Beacon Street. He died on March 10, 1829, at the age of fifty-five. He left seven children: Ellen M., Caroline, Henry, Mary, Harriet, Edward Darley, and Julia Overing.

John Boit was a man of good education, with a fine appreciation of the better things in life. He had, evidently, an acquaintance with and a love of the best in English literature. His log books are crammed with quotations from the standard authors. He even tried his hand at poetic composition, and his ten-line poem "Hoisting the Sails" is of real merit. He was a fine seaman: his rapid rise is sufficient evidence of his capacity as a navigator. In the back of the volume containing his log of the *Mount Hope* Boit kept a commonplace book. In it he entered the following quotation as a good summary of fine character:

I live in terms of good neighbourhood with all about me; sometimes I go to their houses, sometimes invite them to mine; my table is neat and clean, and sufficiently affluent, without extravagance.

I slander no one, nor do I allow backbiters to come near me; my eyes pry not into the actions of other men, nor have I any impertinent curiosity to know the secrets of their lives.

I go to church ev'ry Sunday, and the poor man partakes of my substance; I make no ostentation of the good I do, that I may defend myself against the attacks of hypocrisy and vain glory, well knowing that the best fortified heart is hardly proof against these sly deceivers.

As far as I have an opportunity, I am a reconciler of differences among my neighbours. And I have an entire dependance on the mercies of God our Saviour.

THE TRADE

The maritime fur-trade, in which the *Columbia* and the *Washington* were engaged, came into existence as a direct result

of Captain James Cook's third voyage. Though commenced in 1785 by the British, it soon fell into the hands of the citizens of the United States and especially those of Boston. Many factors contributed to this result, not the least of which were the monopolies of the South Sea Company and the East India Company. The former's monopoly extended along the whole western coast of America from Cape Horn to the frozen North and three hundred leagues into the ocean; the other's monopoly prevented British subjects from trading eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. The sea-otter, which was *the* animal of the maritime fur-trade, was only obtainable within the limits of the one, and only salable to advantage in China within the monopoly area of the other. Thus together these monopolies closed the Pacific Ocean to British merchants unless they obtained licenses from the monopoly-owning companies; but these licenses, which contained stringent terms, never permitted the licensees to purchase with the produce of their trade Oriental goods to be imported and sold in England. The New England traders were exempt from these galling restrictions. They made fortunes while the traders of Old England lost them.

The maritime fur-trade was, during its best days at any rate, one of individual effort and constant change. Masters rarely made more than three voyages, and ships scarcely so many. Out of this condition arose the natural temptation, for the man who did not expect to return, to seize the present gain, regardless of the means and utterly oblivious of its possible effect on subsequent traders. Haswell records in his first log the method adopted (as he says) by Meares to obtain sea-otter skins from the Indians through force and fear. Many similar cases are to be found in the journals. The traders had no hesitation in acknowledging that they themselves had resorted to such practices, though, of course, they always had some plausible excuse.

In such high handed acts lay the root of the so-called unprovoked attacks by the natives upon the trading vessels. Force breeds force. The traders sowed the dragon's teeth, though, unlike Cadmus, they failed to throw the stone. The wrong had been done by one vessel, and the Indians, believers in vicarious responsibility, took revenge on the next ship that happened to visit them—if the opportunity offered. If it did not, they waited patiently for a ship less carefully guarded.

Various matters relating to the maritime fur-trade are mentioned in these journals and are dealt with in the notes. For a rough view of the rise and fall of this trade, the reader may consult my paper, "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur-Trade," in the *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association* for 1932.

FREDERIC W. HOWAY

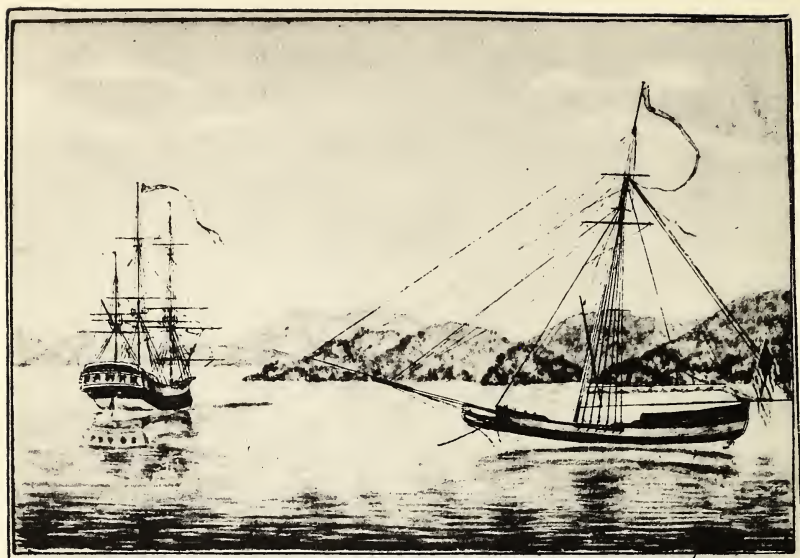
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*Robert Haswell's Log
of the First Voyage of the "Columbia"*



AVOYAGE

ROUND THE WORLD

ONBOARD THE SHIP

COLUMBIA-REDIVIVA

and Sloop

WASHINGTON.

A VOYAGE

Round the World

1787. *September.*

EARLY in the fitting of the *Columbia* for a Voyage round the World, I was employed as third Officer,¹ Great expedition was used to forward our departure and on the [] the Ship was hauled off from the wharf and anchored in the Harbour, here numberless articles of her provisions, stores etc. were received on-board and on the [] the Pilot came onboard and we were removed down to the Castle roads² where we anchored with the small bower and moored with the Stream anchor.

Friday the []³ the Sloop *Washington*⁴ Captain Robt. Gray, who is to be our consort; anchored in the Roads.

Saturday the []⁵ I took my Baggage onboard and in the afternoon Mr. Jo. Ingraham⁶ the second Mate came onboard with his baggage etc. for the first time: till late in the evening all hands were employed [2] clearing the decks, which were much lumbered, and getting in readiness for sea.

On Sunday morning⁷ being the day we were to sail we were thronged with the friends of almost all our people and about Noon Capt. Kendrick, Lieut. Howe his Clerk Mr. Trut the furier Mr. Roberts our Sirjon and Mr. Nutting⁸ the Astronimer came onboard

¹ The first officer was Simeon Woodruff; the second, Joseph Ingraham. At the Cape Verde Islands, as appears later, Woodruff left the *Columbia*, and Ingraham became first mate.

² Near Castle Island, Boston Harbor.

³ September 28, 1787.

⁴ The sloop *Washington* is also called the *Lady Washington*. She was of ninety tons burthen and carried a crew of twelve men. She never saw Boston Harbor again.

⁵ September 29, 1787.

⁶ Joseph Ingraham (1762–1800) was later promoted to first officer. He returned to Boston on the *Columbia* in August, 1790. Later he was in command of the brigantine *Hope* of Boston on a trading voyage (1790–1793) to the Northwest Coast. In 1799 he became a lieutenant in the United States Navy and was lost on the U. S. brig *Pickering*, which sailed from Delaware in August, 1800, and was never heard of afterwards.

⁷ September 30, 1787.

⁸ Captain John Kendrick, Lieutenant Richard S. Howe, John B. Treat, Dr. Roberts, and John Nutting. The last, who is also called the schoolmaster, died on the voyage from Cape Horn to the Northwest Coast. See below, page 51, note 4.

with the pilot accompaneyed by a great number of the Merchents Gentlemen and others of Boston.

The Ship was got under way and proceeded down as far as Nantasket roads where we anchored it being nearly calm in Company with the Washington.

The evening was spent in mirth and glee the highest flow of spirits animating the whole Company Jovial songs and animating sentiments passed the last evening we spent on that side of the Continent, our Friends parted not with us untill late in the evening, nor then, without the most tender expressions of Friendship, and there [3] wishes for our prosperity resounded from every tongue.

1787. *October*. Early on Monday morning¹ we weighed and came to sail and by sunrise were out of the Harbour.

A track so frequently passed as to the Cape de Verds, can afford but little entertainment or information to a reader, nay, it would not be in my power to say much of a passage where scarcely the necessary observations for navigating the Ship were taken; and as nautical observations are what may most interest the Navigator and it are only them that can mark a track so frequently trod: little of course can be expected.

From the 2nd till the 4th the weather was moderate and Winds favourable. We took our departure from Cape Cod and had on the 4 made 10 Degrees of Longitude tho no press of Sail was carried when we were overtaken by a sharp Squall from the West north West which reduced us [4] to our fore sail. It however soon abated but altho' there was not more wind than would force Us four knots we still continued, under that Sail nineteen hours. The weather was rainy and disagreeable on the 5th we were in Latitd. 40°08' N and Longitude 59°50' W.

The Winds were moderate and variable till the 7th When we spoke a ship from Liverpool bound to New York her Longitude by Account was 61°00' W.

The winds now hung between the North and East on the 10 we were in Latitude 34°53' N and Longitude []°[]' W.

The 12th and 13th the Winds were more favourable and we made considerable progress on our passage.

¹ October 1, 1787.

From the 14th to the 17th the winds hung to the Eastward we were in Latitude $34^{\circ}55'$ N and Longitude [] [] W.

The evening of the 18th Displayed to us a prospect most brillunt the Northeren lights shone with far more lusture than I ever observed them to do before. [5]

1787. *November.* The passage from Boston till we were Nearly as far to the Eastward as Madeira was upon the whole boisterous and uncomfortable but the later part of the month was more pleasant in the Latitude $32^{\circ}37'$ N and Longitude $18^{\circ}50'$ W by account we had prosperous winds on the Evening of the 31st We saw two or three Amphibious Animils of what species I could not discover.

In the Morning of the 5 of November the Variation per Azmuth was $14^{\circ}30'$ W in the Latitude $19^{\circ}37'$ N and Longitude $18^{\circ}24'$ W. This day I observed the Water to be coulered of a greenish hue; We still enjoyed fine moderate pleasant weather and favourable brezes on the 7th being in Latitude $16^{\circ}15'$ N and Longitude $19^{\circ}19'$ W by my account we bore away for the Island of St. Jago's¹ but being moderate flattering weather we saw no land untill early in the morning of the 9th when we discryed the Isle of may ahead we hauled our wind for English Roads² and at 11 AM came to anchor 11 f[atho]m [6] water with the best bower. We found rideing here two Ships four Briggs and a schuner in a little time after the Washington anchored within half a mile of us.

We had found greatly to our satisfaction that both our vessells sailed exceeding well, and considering the Winds we had no doubt had a pressing sail been caried (for dewatering the whole passage stearing sails were nevous sett) we might have made a verry quick passage.

We put into the Isle of May for the purpus of procuring stock and this employment took us till the 16th in the morning to how much advantage this time was spent I leve to more experienced persons to Judge but in my humble opinion had the stock been procured at St. Jago's while other work was doing, all this time would have been saved.

¹ São Thiago or Santiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands, thirty miles in length.

² English Road on the western side of Maio (Isle of May), Cape Verde Islands. Maio is separated from Santiago by a channel fourteen miles wide.

The Isle of May is in Latitude $15^{\circ}9'$ N and Longitude $23^{\circ}07'$ W. It is a small Island¹ and has but an inconvenient Roadsted the [7] fresh water is bad and not easy to be procured. The Island is chiefly composed of Rocks and Sand howevour there are an abundance of goats and many horned Cattle great numbers of Horses Asses and Mules of the two latter maney Vessell load for the West Indies It produses salt in great abundance² maney sail of Shiping load annuelly with this commodity.

The Island is inhabited by a race of stout hearty blacks. (for I believe there is not a white inhabitant in the place) they are under good laws and regulations having a Governer of there own colour deputized by the Governer of St. Jago's. Upon the whole they are as contented a people as ever I saw. they were polight to the last degree when we were onshore inviting us to there Houses and showing every mark of Respect and hauspitality.

There were dewring our stay at this Island purchaced a hundred and forty Goats two Bulls and a Cow three Hoggs and three Sheep. There were several Vessells arrived, English and [8] Americans bound to the South sea a whaling some sailed before us and others we left in the Roads When we lay in English Roads the extreem points of St. Jago's bore West south West half South and WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N.

On the 16th in the Morning we weighed in company with the Washington and sailed for St. Jago's and at 11 AM Anchored in Porto Pray Bay.³ our two anchors were lett go and the better part of two cables payed out thus mored the extreem points of the Bay bore South East by East half East and South West by West the fort bore N by W.

It was not before the 18th in the Morning that Cap. Kendrick accompaneyed with Captain Gray wated on the Governer. Capt. K. requested the use of the Isle of Quales a small Island in the bay to land our stock this was Granted and the nezt [*sic*] day all hands were employed build a tent of two of our Corses and getting the stock onshore.

The 19th We were employed breaking up the hold. A thurah

¹ About thirteen miles in length.

² Salt is still exported from the island of Maio.

³ Porto da Praia on the south end of the island of Santiago. For a description, see page 10, below.

overhaul being intended by [9] Captain Kendrick. this employment lasted till the month was out and then the work was not very forward.

1787. *December*. Heavy indeed the work seemed to hang Capt. Kendrick worked in the hold; and exceeding hard? but as he supposed no person could do the work so well as himself every other person was allmost allways idle, The Month concluded as I have before observed with the business of stowing the hold still in agitation and Still much more to do.

Much discord (from what cause they arose I will not pretend to say) subsisted in our Ship ever since our departure from Boston, and they now prevailed to a more violent degree.¹

On the 7th Cap. Kendrick ordered Mr. Woodruff² to consider himself no longer as Chief Officer and confured the Situation on Mr. Jo[sep]h Ingraham. Mr. Woodruff was offered his choise either to Continue as a passenger onboard the Ship and attend to such business as C. Kendrick should pleas to assign to him [10] particularly *Catering* or to leve the Vessell the former he rejected with the contempt it merited and accepted the latter. He requested the favour of being allowed to sleep onboard the Washington this was at first Granted but in the evening Mr. Howe³ was sent onboard with some papers for the Gentleman to sign they were not wrote in a manour that suted him and he of course refused Eritated by a denial Captain Kendrick ordered me to Man the barge to go onboard the Washington and order Cap. Gray in His name to send Mr Woodruff and his bagage immediately onboard; When the Aged Gentleman came onboard he was ordered before the mast and his beding was refused him inconcquence of Which he was exposed to the inclemency of the Weather the whole night on deack, in the morning the seigning the papers was again proposed with which (however

¹ It will be observed that Haswell has rarely a good word to say of Captain Kendrick. The animosity between them culminated near the Falkland Islands. As a result Haswell exchanged into the *Washington*.

² Simeon Woodruff was one of the gunner's mates on the *Discovery* in Captain James Cook's third and last voyage (1776-1780). In the anonymous (Rickman's) *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (London, 1781), 196ff., and in *Zimmermann's Captain Cook*, Frederic W. Howay, Editor (Toronto, 1930), 62, are lengthy accounts of the sufferings of some seamen lost on Christmas Island. Woodruff was one of the party.

³ Richard S. Howe, called by Haswell "clerk," but in reality, it would appear, supercargo of the *Columbia*.

reluctantly) he complied the boat was maned and the Gentleman with the proper witnesses were landed and the papers seigned. The maner Mr. Woodruff was to return to his native countrey was at this time [11] doubtfull howevour in a little time the Commander of a small Spanish Vessell polightly offered him a passage to Madeira, from whence a passage no doubt will easily be procured to America.

This Gentleman was of known abillities as a navigator and greatly experienced as a Seaman he had Commanded several Ships out of London. he was an officer under the Great Captain James Cook on his last Voyage to the Pacifick Ocean.

This Worthy Gentleman was my sincere Friend and the loss of him I regretted past expression.

Our former work still continued and we filled the principle part of our water. About this time Several Dianish Indieamen Arrived and the Bulldog English Sloop of War, Cap. Fencraft.

Doctor Roberts eleding a declin of health made application to Captain Kendrick for his discharge this was refused except he would pay his passage to this place, but this he was either unable or unwilling to do.

On the Tenth Mr. Roberts requested [12] liberty to visate the Citty accordingly he went onshore. On the 11 a Sargent came onboard with a mesage from the Governer requesting he would send onshore two of his Officers. Capt. Kendrick thought proper accompaneyed with Mr. Ingraham to wate on his excellency himself.

The Governer informed him that Mr. Roberts had entered a regular complaint of the inhuman treetment he had received, that imposable for him to bear it he could not proceed the Voyage and had clamed his protection.

Captain Kendrick clamed him as a desserter, and requested that he might be delivered up on being informed it could not be granted he protested he would not return onboard without him and passing from the Governers house thro' the town he saw the Gentleman and drawing his sward to the unarmed man attempted to forse him down to the boat. when two or three of the Soldiers saw this they came up to protect the Doctor. Captain Kendrick shithing his sward prudently quited his prisoner and Came quiately onboard.

It was now (I believe with good reason) [13] suspected to be the

Governers intention to detain some person onshore till Mr. Roberts things were sent onshore. after this no person ever landed on the Island consequently there was no more water filled tho' there was a grate difishancy in that article and far more expedition was used in geting reddy for sea. one of our Cables that had been down had got so many kinks in it occasioned by the Ships being moared too slack that it was allmost ruined rounding the kinks out and moring the Ship cost us a day.

Little occured remarkable till the evening of the [20th] when all the Cattle and Goats were brought onboard and the next day¹ we unmored Ship and hove short on the other anchor when an Officer of a Dianish East Indeia Ship requested a Gentleman would come onboard for a fue moments this being complied with it was found that Mr. Roberts was onboard the Daneish Ship he said he would willingly come onboard again provided he should not be flogg'd,² if this should be refused he begged he might have a shift of Linnen sent him these were boath denied we hove away, but the anchor dragging we cut the [14] Cable leving both it and the Anchor we filled and Stood out of the bay in Company with the Washington and several Foreign Indeia Ships. The Length of time we were in this Port and the Isle of May, may surprise every one, it dose me particularly. That we should spend so much time doing so little work when the season of the Year was so fast advancing that would mak our passage Round Cape Horn impracticable certain it is had the possition of the Water Casks been Altered which had been all stowed by Captain Kendrick orders on the ground tier in Boston and placed in the Hatchways immediately on our arrival and directly filled we migh[t] have left the Islands in six days and any other arrangment in the hold if any was requisite might have been executed far better at sea than in Porto Pray Bay.³

¹ According to a memorandum published in the *Columbian Centinel*, August 11, 1790, the two vessels sailed from Santiago, December 21, 1787. See below, page 146.

² Flogging was at that time a regular punishment on shipboard, and was not by any means confined to the navy. Stephen Reynolds' log of the trading brig *New Hazard* (1810-1813) contains many records of its infliction. See *The Voyage of the New Hazard*, Frederic W. Howay, Editor (Salem, 1938).

³ In a letter to Joseph Barrell, the principal owner, dated Nootka Sound, July 13, 1789, and included in this volume (below, page 122), Captain Gray speaks of this inordinate delay: "We lay forty one days, which was thirty six more than I thought was necessary."

Porto Pray Bay is situated in Latitude $14^{\circ} 54'$ N and Longitude $23^{\circ} 26'$ W it is well sheltered from the Trade Winds And has good anchorage from 5 to 17 f[atho]m Water there is continually a heavy swell setting into the Bay which makes it somewhat Disagreeable the water is good and tho' there is continually a [15] disagreeable surf on the beach, watering a large Ship in 3 days would not be attended with great difficulty the place will aford many refreshments to a Ship on a long Voyage there are an abundance of Cattle goats and Hoggs, that may be procured at a very low rate. frute also is very plenty. Orenge Limes Lemmons Musk and Water Melons Plantons Bananas etca.

As allmost all vessells that tuch here are bound on long voyages they seldom stay here longer than is requisite to water, which is generally 2 or 3 days but wither on such a voyage as this this port is preferable to Madeira or Tenerruf is matter of Doubt to me but that this place is equal to either of them *at this season* of the Year is obvious this Island is under the Government of Portugal as are all the Groop of Cape de Verd Islands.

As we stood out of the bay an American Brigg anchored but we did not speak her.

We now persued our Course to the southward with far more speed than we had done on the other passage but with far less than might be expected considering how late we were in our [16] season; I omitt in this place giving a minute account of our dayly track as they are in the tables for that purpus. And as to this Ocean it is too well known with regard to its prevailing winds currants and the Courses off them for me to give any account of them except coated from others I shall say nothing on this subject.

January 6. We had on the 6 arrived in Lattd. [] S and Longitude $32^{\circ} 13'$ W when we saw the Island Ferdinando de Noronha.¹ the Weather was clear and pleasant and the Wind moderate and commanding.

Ferdinand de Noronha it is said, with what degree of truth I will not pretend to asurt is inhabited by a number of Portege convicts. Its appearance is very remarkable having one steep mountain or

¹ Fernando Noronha lies in latitude $3^{\circ} 50'$ South, longitude $32^{\circ} 25'$ West, and about 200 miles from Cape São Roque.

peek on its middle which may be seen at a very great distance. it is situated in $3^{\circ} 56'$ South Latitude and Longitude $32^{\circ} 20'$ W of Greenwich. It lies so near the Equator that there is but little probability of there being much refreshment found here especially as in every part it looked steep and Craggey.

The weather was now pleasant with frequent showers of rain. on the 10 one of the Gentlemen observed [17] the head of the Mizon Mast was sprung a little above the rigging the next day shears were erected and the Mizon Mast taken out. the Carpenters were immediately employed Fishing it the weather was highly favourable to there work but the mast was not finished untill the 15th when it was stepped and the Rigging got over head sett up and Sails again sett.

Every event now was imeterial little work was done the people encouraged to dissobey the Command of there Officers and continually intoxicated with Licure delivered them by Capt. K. orders¹

On the [] Capt. Gray and Mr. Coolidge² came on board and dined with us in the afternoon Captain Kendrick severall times ordered the people aft as they did not immediately come I went to the main hatchway and ordered several of them up on deack among the rest was John Liscomb one of the Seamen I left the place but finding the person did not come as I directed I returned and repeated the orders when he bluntly told me ("he would not come") Eritated by the disobedience of my orders I immediately jumped down the hatchway Coloured the Fellow and attempted to dragg him [18] up. howevour he so positively resisted that I found it imposable he used such scurilous language that at length I was provoaked to strike him a blow with my fist that instantly covoured him with bludd the noise betwixt deacks drew the other Officers to see the occasion off it; Mr Ingraham the Chief Mate took this oppertunity I fere, to make the afare as unfavourable on my side as posable in the sight of Cap. Kendrick. this was by no meens an ex-

¹ Some allowance must be made here for Haswell's bias against Kendrick, especially in view of the quarrel which immediately follows. Captain Kendrick, like many other seamen, doubtless occasionally overindulged. See John Bartlett's narrative in *The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor* (Salem, 1925), 320.

² R. David Coolidge, first mate of the *Washington*. He was later, in 1789, in charge of the captured *North West America*; and in 1791 and 1792 in command of the schooner *Grace* in the maritime fur-trade.

cuse for the outragou[s] manour in which he afterwards behaved it could be influenced by nothing else but a fear of ofending his people or perhaps as is moast probable his wish to elevate his Son to the situation of second Mate.¹

be that as it may he no sooner saw me than with Language too horrid to be repeeted he ordered me off the Quarter deack and had the amazing assurance even to strick me several times untill prevented by my holding him (A liberty which perhaps he dare not have taken had he been on equal ground and not been in the Ship he commanded) Nay he protested with horrid oaths that If ever he saw me on the Quater deack again he would blow my brains out with a pistol and Charged his people in that Case to knock me down with a [19] handspuk.² He refused me the use of my stateroom and it was immediately occupied by Mr. Howe, the Capt[ain]'s Clerk.

I was fully convinsed that so frequent as the Quarrells had been between C. Kendrick and his Offisers that I should not be the only person exempt and I found it a mark of the sound penetration of my Friend Mr. Woodruff who told me it was his opinion the brutall and unofficerlike behaviour of the Capt. would not [extend] only to him but to every other person in the Ship.

I now cheared myself with hopes that in a few days we should fall in with European or American Whalemen in whose Vesells I might procure a passage back I directly Whrote to Kendrick to obtain my discharge which he by a vurbal message granted and informed me I should have it the first vesell I saw—with ancious dilligence I continually looked out for a much wished for vesell but to my Great mortification saw none I had still great hopes of seeing some Vessel at falkland Islands.

The North East wind which is a trade all along the Coast Br[azil] and Patigonia and is generally observed to blow the stronger the Nearer to the shoar hurried us along very hastily and had it not [20] been for boath our topsail yards being down for a co[n]siderable time and no spare one got up a good passage might have been made

¹ Kendrick's eldest son, John Kendrick, Jr., had begun the voyage as fifth mate on the *Columbia*. The promotions consequent on the dismissal of Simeon Woodruff raised him to fourth mate. The removal of Haswell would advance him at least to third mate. See F. W. Howay, "John Kendrick and His Sons," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (December, 1922), 277-302.

² Captain Kendrick was then a man of forty-seven, while Haswell was a boy of nineteen.

we struck sounding many times on the Coast the situation and depth of water are mentioned in the tables of the Ships track.

On the [] we saw Cape Blanco bearing Distant about [] Leagues this Promontory which is situated on the east Coast of Patagonia Lay in Latt 46° 50' South and Longitude 72° 07' West, and bears no very remarkable appearance this Cape is a very proper place for any Ship to make bound through the Streights of Magelen or La Mere or to Falkland Islands port Desur¹ is a good harbour situated not many leagues to the southward of it.

A vary particular account of it may be seen in Hauksworths Collection with a map of Falkland Islands which dose the Greatest honour to the Serv[eyo]r.²

We had fresh gales and boisterous Weather all the passage to Falkland Islands³ on the [] at [] AM we made them and immediately hove round and Stood to the southward at 8 AM we bore round Jasons Islands⁴ the Northwardmoast of which is in Lattd. 51° 04' S this is the Northeren extreem of Falkland Island and derives there Name from the Jason Frigate we were abreast of these at Meridion when I Obs[erve]d in Lattd. [] South [21]

We had a prosperous Gale at [] when we passed the Suger lofe to the southward of us and green Keas and had then brought the ship into a range with Sedge Island and Byrons Sound⁵ when we had the enterence of port Egmont⁶ fare in view but Captain Kendrick being totaly Ignorent of the place the Ship was kept too far to

¹ Port Desire, a harbor on the eastern coast of Patagonia in latitude 48° 05' South, discovered in December, 1586, by Thomas Cavendish, the freebooter, and named after his ship. James Burney, *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, II (London, 1806), 66.

² The reference is to Commodore Byron's description of Port Desire in John Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* (London, 1773), I. 13ff.

³ The Falkland group consists of more than two hundred islands and islets, though East and West Falkland, separated by Falkland Strait, are the best known. From his description, it is plain that Kendrick is following the course shown on the chart in Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages*, I. 41.

⁴ The Jason Islands are the most northwesterly of the Falkland group. The northernmost lies in latitude about 51° 05' South. The date of arrival is February 16, 1788.

⁵ Low Green Keys, High Sugar Loaf, and Sedge Island are islands lying between Jason Islands and West Falkland. Byron's Sound is a deep inlet on the northern side of West Falkland Island.

⁶ Port Egmont, discovered in January, 1765, by Commodore Byron and named in honor of

the Southward¹ and we entered Bretts harb[o]r² and stood a considerable Distance up with a fowl bottom grown over with Kelp which flowted on the surfis of the water in 12 and 14 fath[o]m we anchor in [] fath[o]ms water, rockey ground abrest an excellant stream of water the Washington soon anchore[d] cloas under our stern Capt. Kendrick Capt Gray and another of the Officers went onshore the same evening and shott a great Number of Geese.

Early the next morning Capt. Kendrick sent for me. I attended him and found him alone he requested me to sett down he with a great deel of cander acknoledged his rashness but told me as I was so urgant for a discharge he would have given it. notwithstanding he remarked the loss of an officer to him would be great. I informed him that with regard to his rashness I should immediately forgett it as a Gentlemanlike satisfaction was given and the sooner the better this hint the Gentleman either coold or woold not take [22] I then requested that I might not be continued any longer onboard the Ship but go onboard the Sloop for reduced as it was from second Officer of the Ship to secon[d] of the Sloop I was fully convinced that I should enjoy myself much better and Live far happier have a greater oppertunity of seeing the Coast on which we were to persue discoveries and Commerce with the Natives and by those means impruve myself in Knoledge which it would be imposable to attain with such a man as Cap. K. whose naturel timidty of runing in with the land would fully prevent the gaining Knoledge which can be attained by no other means than pursevearing in with the Land.

Cap. Kendrick had many times expressed the doubts in his mind wether he would proceed round Cape Horn or winter on this side the Continent. He had no sooner arrived on this port and slightly examined it than he publickly declared it to be his intention to stay the Winter in this harbour Every Offiser immedeatly expressed there disgust at the Very Idea, and for my part I informed him that

the Earl of Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty. Byron thought it "one of the finest harbours in the world." Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages*, I. 48.

¹ Kendrick had plainly intended to follow the course shown on Hawkesworth's chart already cited and enter Port Egmont by the passage between Saunders and Keppel islands; but, getting to the southward of Bluffs Point, he was compelled to enter Brett's Harbor.

² Brett's Harbor, Saunders Island, is one of the anchorages in Byron's Sound.

was I in his case the Commander of the Ship, after spending so much time in the Cape de Verds and making such long passages I would go round the Cape or loos the Vessells in the attempt or at least meet with some obsticle that would be insurmoutable before I turned my back on pretended daingers, Captain Gray urged moast strongly the danger [23] of staying on this side the Continent in the first place there was not one stick of wood to be procured in the whole Island and that was an article which we should soon have wanted and as the Winter here would in all probabillity be long and Coald, we should be exposed to far more hardships than could possibly attend a long passage round the Cape to which he added if he was positively deturmined not to make the Attempt he himself would try it in the Sloop and had not the least doubt of succeeding provided Capt. Kendrick would allow him.

Urged by this he said he was not *positively* determined to try the passage or stay on this side the Continent. however no expedition was used on the Nesecery operations of watering etca. and much more time was spent in it than might have been expected.

Bretts Harbour is formed by Saunderses Island which surrounds it on every side Except a small space at its enterence it is situated in Latitude $51^{\circ}25'$ South and $65^{\circ}36'$ W Longitude the water is good and easy to be procured the Harbour tho' good is far inferior to Port Egmont. there are maney small rivuletts that desend in delightfull rills on every part of the North side of the Harbour so that lett a vessell anchor in any part water is handdy but the bottom being rockey and grown over with Kelp at once [24] Your Anchors are so cloged that they will not hold well and Your Cables chafed these things we found by experience the Gusts of wind frequently coming down with great impetuosity and Caused us to drag our Anchors several times.

A few days before our departure accompaneyed by Messrs. Howe and Treat¹ I walked over to port Egmont in firm hopes of finding some Ship there in which I might procure a passage to Europe, for tho' the Behavior of C. K. and every other person onboar[d] was

¹ Richard S. Howe, captain's clerk or supercargo, and John B. Treat, furrier. From the head of Brett's Harbor to Port Egmont overland would be about four miles. The Falkland Islands were then a calling place for sealers and whalers and for vessels bound around Cape Horn.

exceedingly good yett I most ardently wished to leve them to there own Course and persue Another.

Our walk there was not unpleasant the Countrey on which we walked there was not a single shrubb to interrupt the Vue; as the grass¹ was high we were not very expeditious we arrived at the place the Garrison² s[t]ood early in the afternoon here are standing a number of the sides of turf houses and two or 3 bult of stone but have no roofs. there is a small stone pear or dock bult for the resep-tion of boats, the watering place is more convenient than I could have immagined, There is a damm which prevents the fresh from falling into the salt water untill it has arose to a certain highth which will prevent the salt water when it is at the highest from communi-cating from each other [25] at high water your casks may be filled in the boat and at low water there is an excellant beach to roul them upon, There are many inclousurs where there has been gardens indeed there are an abundance of beautyfull Garden flowers still growing spontainiously.

There is Celery horse reddish and garden sorrell in great abundance there is allso growing wild chickweed hoggweed and ground Mullis in Great abundance with several other sorts of excellant greens which would prove strong antiscerbutics to aney vessell that may tuch here at aney future time bound on long voyages. wild Cellery and Sorrell grows in every part in great abundance.

Port Egmont is formed by one of the principle of the Falkland Islands on the East on the NE by a great Number of small Islands on the North by Keppells Island and on the other parts by Saunderses Island and a Number of small Islands that lay between it and Byrons Sound The watering place abrest of which the[re] appears to be the best anchorage is on Saunderses Island no more than a mile from the enterence of the Harbour. this port is by all meens prefferable to Bretts har[bou]r for with aney wind you may geet out which is not the case with Bretts harbour for here nothing but an easterly wind

¹ The well-known tussock grass, indigenous to those islands, which grows to a height of five or six feet.

² The British had formed a settlement at Port Egmont, though the Falkland Islands were claimed by Spain. In 1772 the islands were abandoned as useless for a permanent colony. See *State Papers Relative to the Late Negotiation with Spain and the Taking of Falkland's Islands from the English* (London, 1777); Burney, *Chronological History*, v (London, 1817), 155-156.

will serve here are a great number of seals and sea Lyons which would Abundantly sepply a ship with oil for her Lamps they are so plenty at [26] some seasons of the Year at these Island that several vessels have loaded with there oil a fresh stock of poa[l]tery may allso here be procured for the geese are in such abundance and so tame that a flock of perhaps 20 or 30 will stand untill you will load and fier at them several times.

Of the Geese there are several sorts. One sort is much like those that are tame in Europe others which haunt the highlands are something like the wild geese of America and at a distance at first we took them for Turkeys another sort pertake much of the muscovy Duck tho' larger there are other sorts which I cannot describe. of these we Caught 40 unhurt of one flock, Of geese were killed meney hundred, and Ducks which exactly resemble the tame ducks of America and England, great numbers were shott, and were excellent food. but never caught one of them alive.

There are plenty of snipes and plivers and very larg[e] Robins, hauks shags Gulls etca. and innumerable penguins; these burds live in society in vastly great hurds in holes under ground or on the sides of turf hills We saw the track of cloven footed Animills but as we neavour saw aney of them we could not deturmin of what species they were.¹

But to return to our expedition, after we had viewed the ruins of the once Colonised Town² I shott a goose with which we intended to regail ourselvs but prefering ducks I found not the least difficulty [27] in shuteing a brace making a fier we broiled them with some rashers of Pork which with bread and Cheas a bottle of rum etca. which we had brought for the purppus we made an excessive hearty meal to which we added a good salit and a long voyage proved the best seasoning it could be dressed with.

After our well relished repast, I proposed staying all night, for the object of my serch was still doubtfull for we had not examined the Harbour so particularly, but that there might have been vessells

¹ Probably the pigs that were brought out to the British settlement, and which, according to Bernard Penrose, in his *Account of the Last Expedition to Port Egmont* (London, 1775), had multiplied exceedingly. See Burney, *Chronological History*, v. 156.

² The ruins of the settlement at Port Egmont.

there unobserved by any of us, this was an object that did not interest the other Gentlemen so much as it did Myself they were therefore for returning to the ship I did not positively refuse them and went to the top of the hill leading to Bretts Harbour when I missed my baonett which I had used in broiling the ducks. this determined me to stay all night so returning alone to our dining place I serched for it a co[n]siderable time but not finding it I immagined I must have dropped it as I walked up the hill—to which I returned and pitched upon a rockey cavron for my Nights Lodgings I first filled it half full of dry Grass then rouled a couple of balls down my Muskett and Composed myself to sleep very quiately. Early in the [28] morning I salied forth and took a compleet view of every part of the Harbour nor did I return untill near three oclock in the Afternoon; when I saw a boat coming onshore and soon As I was plainly seen by them they displayed the union Jack and the Columbia discharged three Great Guns this amazed me much but I was soon relieved for Mr. Cordis¹ the thurd Officer who was in the boat informed me Capt. Kendrick consurned at my stay had sett out with the Barge and her Crue accompaneyed by Mr. Howe to port Egmont in surch of me and had left orders that If I should be seen coming to fier two or three Guns to inform him of my return.

On the 28th all our water being compleet and redy for sea I received orders from Captain Kendrick to take charge onboard the Washington as second mate these orders I immediately complied with the wind being fare We directly got under way and with a moderate breze s[t]ood out of the Harbour in Company with the Columbia the wind was at NE and a flud tide. Before dark we were pretty well clear of the Land at 12 in night we bore away keeping her SSW.

1788. *March*. At this advanced season of the Year we were lanching forward in a sloop scarsely 90 tuns [29] to make a passage at the same season of the Year when Lord Anson in one of the finest ships in the British Navy mett with allmost insermountable diffi[c]ulties, the account of his Voyage was truely discouraging² However for

¹ John B. Cordis, originally the fourth mate, but after the dismissal of Simeon Woodruff, the third mate of the *Columbia*.

² Lord Anson's squadron, of which the *Centurion* was flagship, passed the Straits of Le Maire

a considerable time we mett with no very heavy gales but the sea generally ran very cross and to a mountaineous highth. on Monday March 3d I was in Latitude $53^{\circ}19'$ S and Longitude $65^{\circ}40'$ W we found about this time a Currant setting to the Northward and Eastward from every apearance on the 4th at Midnight we were abreast of Staton Land it was very flawey and a strong tide with a large sea runing very irregularly

On the 5 we had a fine run to the southward with a strong westwardly gale and a long heavy swell from the same quarter. we saw this day a fish about the size of an Albacore several land birds Pintado birds¹ Albatroses mother Caries chickings² and a fue other birds whose names I am unacquainted with we now found the wind allmost continually from the Westward. In the Lattd. 58° S we saw a small Whale and a great maney penguins. on Sunday 9th being in Latitude $59^{\circ}30'$ and Longitude $63^{\circ}57'$ W for some hours we had the Wind violent from the SE accompaneyed with frost and so high a sea that our vessell was allmost Continually under water and our people wett and uncomfortable the change was sudon and heavy but of short duration when it moderated [30] it drew round to the southward from thence to West and then blew a moderate Breze in the Longd. 64° W we had 22 East Variation As we advanced to the southward we hourly found the weather more disagreeable,

Wednesday 12th. in the Latitude 60° S we found frequent Foggs and at the same time a savere and disagreeable Cold these damp and the sprays continually flying over us rendered our duty prodigious hard and fatiguing for ever since our leving Bretts Harbour the cloths of all our people has been wett. *Monday 17th.* far more comfortable indeed must there situation be who are onboard the Ship whose sides are so high that a man is navour wett on her deacks the winds ever since our coming into lattd. to the southward of Cape Horn the wind has been from WNW to WSW. these Winds have allowed us to gain but little Westing and at this time our prospect of wethering the Cape is very unfavourable we have

on March 7, 1741. Its attempt to round Cape Horn presents, says Burney (*Chronological History*, v. 47), "a most melancholy and long-continued scene of extreme distress and calamity."

¹ Probably the pintado petrel.

² The name given by sailors to the stormy petrel. It is a small bird, about six inches in length.

seen several Large Islands of ice and the Weather excessive coald.

Wednesday 19th. In latitude $62^{\circ}29'$ S and Longitude $73^{\circ}51'$ W the winds and weather became more favourable to gaining our passage the Weather was very chaingable from Clear and pleasant to snow hail Rain and sleet and from that to clear in the space of half an hour—we have the frost intensely hard at certain times and sudonly again a thaw, these chainges with the wettness of the Vessel would have been insermountable to aney but a Crue of people whose Constitutions were strong and Vigerous for all there beds and Cloaths to a man [31] were long since drenched with salt water and no opertunity to dry them. 1788. *March. Saturday 22d.* on Saty. 22nd by Acct. I was in Longitude $82^{\circ}59'$ W and by Observation in Latitude $61^{\circ}49'$ W. this situation with a full determination to persevere seemed to insure us our passage.

April 1. Tuesday. From this time untill the 1 of April we experienced the Greatest veriety of weather and by taking the Advantage of every favourable slant of wind we had arived by account in Latitd. $57^{\circ}57'$ South and Longitude $92^{\circ}40'$ West when between the hours of 4 and 5 in the Morning the Wind sudenly changed from the Northwest to the Southward the Columbia wore Ship and in following her example the Morning being dark we unfortunately losst sight of her¹ the wind inceased immoderately fast and thretened what sudenly followed A Violent Gale. the Wind b[l]ew heavy a perfect hericain accompaneyed with rain hail snow and Sleet with an intence frost the sea imediatey [rose] to an immoderate highth and frequently thretened us with instant distruction for had the smallest of these Huge overgrone seas struck us it would infaliably have put a period to our existance and they broke with the greatest agit[at]ed rage a very small distance from us it was most fortunate sircomstance that the wind was fare and our Sloop scuded exceeding well and sufered no other damage from the sea than having her Larbord [32] Quarter boards stove in *April 2. Wednesday.* on the second it was a little more moderate and hauled more from the westward, but unfortunately for us at 4 AM We Caried away our Jibb stay in a suden squall and with the Greatest difficulty we saved

¹ Captain Gray's thankfulness for this separation shows in his letter to Joseph Barrell, dated Nootka Sound, July 13, 1789, printed below, page 122.

the Sail all the next day we lay too. It was now we first meterially felt how greatly our hardships had debiliated all the Crue for there was not one sailor onboard who was able to go aloft and take down the Old Jibb Stay or fitt a new one and of necessity this duty fell on Mr. Coolidge and myself¹ the wind blew heavy and it hailed with great violence.

Thursday 3. But on the 3d we employed ourselvs guting a temporary stay aloft and late in the day we were in a condition to make sail we were now in Latitude $56^{\circ}5'$ South and Longitude $93^{\circ}32'$ West.

Saturday 12th. From the 3d to the 12th nothing remarkable ocured for it was one continued tempest interspersed with short lulls and Violent Squalls to which we caried an incredible press of Sail and pushed with the most urgint diligence.

When a Gale arose greatly sirpassing any thing I before had aney Idea of we hove too with the wind NNW with her head to the Westward expecting some big deluge would soon be our destruction but fortunately none did us the smallest damage *Sunday* 13. on the 13th still violent Gales at 4 PM in wearing Ship we splitt the main sail very badd and to our [33] Misfortune we had but one more onboard and that much worn. This we directly bent and the wind soon abating we made sail the tempest now took leve of us and more temperate weather welcomed us into Pacifick Ocean *April. Monday* 14. the 14th was sufishtantly moderate for all hands to be employed on deack mending the Main sail We were now advanced as far to the Northward as $47^{\circ}44'$ S and Longitude $95^{\circ}31'$ W by Account and began to experience that beautifull serenity this Ocean is selebrated for thus having been 40 days from Falkland Islands untill we were to the Northward of the west enterence of the straits of Magellan the bounds that have been stipulated by most navigators to this extencive Cape. We viewed the remainder of our passage to the Coast of America with indifference the worst part now being over. From the 14th we advanced nimbley to the Northward with favourable Brezes and fine weather keep[in]g nearly in the same parallel of Longitude *Thursday* 17th. on the 17th there were vast numbers of porpuses playing round the Ship but had not the good fortune tho' we struck several to get one [34] onboard on

¹ First and second mate respectively.

the 19th we saw great numbers of flying fish the first we had seen since our arrival in these seas *Monday* 21. on the 21st I saw a large albacore the water was filled with small sun fish and portugee men of war.¹

It was Captain Grays intention to touch Masafuero² and If he conveniently could intended wood and water and perhaps fall in with the Columbia. *Tuesday* 22. on the 22nd being in the Latitude of Masafuero we bore away East to make it the winds were light but it was only a prelude to a gale for the Later part of the day it blew heavy from the Northward and a large sea from the same quarter on the 24 at meridian we were by Dead Reckoning in Latit. $33^{\circ}48'$ S and Longitude $87^{\circ}02'$ W when at 1 OClock in the Afternoon we saw the Island of Masafuero bearing E $\frac{1}{2}$ N distant 5 or 6 Leagues the Land made in a high Peek far above the Clouds which were thick and kept the lower part in obscurity at 4 PM the North point bore ENE distant 4 or 5 miles we wore ship and hove too with her head off shore to wait for the insueing day it [35] was exceeding moderate all night with the wind from the southward and in the Morning we again stood in shore at 10 AM we hoisted the long boat out and Captain Gray sent her under the Command of Mr. Coolidge in search of a convenient landing place where we might procure wood and water.

It had blown for some day very heavy from the Northward this rise so large a swell and heavy a surf that rendered landing dangerous when Mr. Coolidge returned with this unfavourable account Capt. Gray immediately concluded on departing without making any further trial.³

Masafuero is situated in Latitude $33^{\circ}46'$ South and Longitude $80^{\circ}36'$ West and about 30 leagues due west of the Island of Juan Fernandies. it is high and may be seen upwards of 20 Leagues in tolerable clear weather.

¹ A kind of jellyfish capable of inflicting a severe sting.

² Masafuera, an island four or five miles in length, about 140 leagues from the coast of Chile, and about 30 leagues west of Juan Fernandez (Masatierra). Commodore Byron visited it in 1765, and Carteret, in 1767; both have left descriptions of it.

³ Carteret says that the surf breaks all around the island upon the fragments of rock that have fallen from the high land, and that the only way to get off water is to anchor the boat outside the surf, swim ashore with barrels, and haul them back through the breakers when filled.

There are a great maney streems of water continually runing from its hills and there is much wood growing on there Brows but [36] the landing at the most commodious places is excesive daingerous and a dependance on this place for either wood or water will be highly imprudent in any navigator that may here after follow our track, the former of these articles no vessell from the American states bound to its North West Coast should have occasion for untill her arrival at her place of destination, and a good stock of water taken in at Falkland Islands or in the s[t]raits La Mere will serve for the remainder of the passage but as every prudent person would wish to fill there water at every oppertunity in there power, I think Juan Fernandies is a very proper place, this Island is inhabited by about 500 Spaniard and Chilians most of them convicts,¹ who cultivate it and bring to perfection allmost all the tropical and European fruts and grane they [have] Cattle hoggs Horses and Goats in incredible numbers, and indeed every thing else in great abundance that would prove the strongest antisc[o]rbutic and the helth and Viger of your people again (If aney were declining) be restored at this Island a most ample field opens for a generous mind to show its [37] benevolence to the maritime world in general and to a numerous rase of human beings by taking in a few Cattle goats and horses and cariung them to the Sandwich Islands for the passage would not be long and in a moderate Climate Where its temperate climate and fertile soil together with the attentive care of its Inhabitance would insure a spedy increse, and in fue Years Its verdent launs be strown with hurds and flocks that might give the most ample suplies to fueture adventurers in this very remote Clime, and much increse the fellisity of these now happy people.

Every suply that is nesecery may be taken off in your boats without bringing the Ship to an anchor and water is as easey to be procured at Cumberland Bay² as aney place in this Ocean this Island was formerly visated by the Buckanears of England and afterwards by

¹ About 1767 the Spaniards had a fort and garrison on Juan Fernandez, then used as a penal settlement for Chile. J. Ross Browne gives a diagram and a vivid description of these underground cells as they existed in 1849 in *Crusoe's Island* (New York, 1864), 28ff.

² Cumberland Bay is on the northeast side of Juan Fernandez.

Lord Anson¹ but since there has been inhabitation here it has been visited by no English Ship for the turns for English and Spaniards are on with each other cause them to [38] keep their expedition more secret. Captain Cartright indeed passed this bay within sight of the fort but showed no Coulers² these precautions for secrecy need not be taken by the Americans for the Spaniards ever distinguish them by the most pointed respect. Captain Cartright passed this Island and ran to Masafuero where with incredible labour and hazard he took off a small supply of Water and wood, we ourselves might have watered had we had grapelines and worps but these we were destitute of.³

There were abundance of Goats⁴ grazing on the brows of the presapises, and if we could have landed many of them might have been shott with ease. At this place the fir Seal is in greater abundance than at any place I ever saw⁵ and it abounded with excellent fish.

I had from our first departure from Boston always supposed and given it as my opinion that to make the Sandwich Islands in our way from Cape Horn to the Northwest would be the most expeditious track for these Reasons, that by keeping the ship large in the trades through the Ocean we might go at a far [39] greater rate and by those means avoid getting into the Indraft of wind that prevails to a vast distance from the Continent and by keeping to the westward carry a fresh breeze all the way to the Northward, but as Capt. Gray had orders to touch at Masafuero and if possible to procure wood and water, and if much necessitated for them to go to Juan Fernandez but to be very careful not to put himself into the power of the Spaniards, And it was our opinion that no supplies in so week and

¹ Lord Anson visited Juan Fernandez in July, 1741, and obtained supplies of fish, goatmeat, celery, water cress, sorrel, parsley, turnips, radishes, and cabbage from the cabbage tree.

² Captain Carteret was at Juan Fernandez on Sunday, May 10, 1767. He was surprised to see the fort and its surrounding village. "During all this time," he says, "I hoisted no colours, having none but English on board, which at this time I did not think it proper to shew." Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages*, I. 322.

³ It thus appears probable that the *Washington* had a copy of Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages* on board. In that collection (I. 333) there is a view of Masafuera. Carteret spent ten days in trying to obtain wood and water there.

⁴ The goats are said to have been placed on this island by its discoverer and first inhabitant, Juan Fernandez.

⁵ Staten Island and Masafuera, as well as Juan Fernandez, were frequented by great herds of fur-seal; and to them many of the traders resorted to add seal skins to their cargo for China.

ill armed a vessell as ours could be procured without puting ourselves intierly in there power and with Care we had suffisiant to last us up to the Coast of New Albions it was determined to proceed to the Northward immediately and as St. Felix and Ambrose Isles were but little known and had been saught for by Captain Cartrit without success thither we now directed our resurches.¹ I am not positive weather we have seen the Island Juan Fernandies or not the distance was so great but on the [40] twenty sixth there was strong appearances of Land in that quarter.

Tuesday 29. On the 29 we went to an allowance of water two quarts per Man a day we had moderate brezes and pleasant weather for maney days during which time all hands were continually Employed in nesecery ships duties the Colker employed colking the upperwork which now had become open and making swivell stocks, we saw daily numbers of dolphin and flying fish grampuses sea Lyons ceals Whales and porpuses.

May. Saturday 3d. On the 3d of May at 10 AM we saw Ambrose Isle bearing N b W distant Near 20 Leagues we immediately packed all the sail we could in with the Island to which we were not near enough to send the boat to untill the 5th when the longboat was hoisted out and sent onshore with an officer to mak[e] such discoveries as might be of utility duering the boats abbsence we sailed nearly round the Island which appears on all sides steep and Craggy in the banks there are ridges of various coulers runing parallel to the sea particularly red [41] which is very brigh[t] its appearance caries not an unpleasing efect on the top there is a tolerable level spott Cloathed with woods and verdure but not one shrub to be seen in any other part of the Island that was accessable.

When our boat returned they informed us they found tolerable good Landing on lee side of the Island that they had pulled allmost all round it but had not seen the least appearance of Fresh water, when they landed with hopes of Climing to its top that they found the rocks so very rotten that crags of emence weight would every instant

¹ Captain Carteret searched for them between 25°50' and 25°30' south latitude—their location as fixed by John Robertson's *Elements of Navigation*; see Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages*, I. 337–339. Captain James Colnett, of Nootka fame, when in command of the *Rattler* in 1793, placed them between 26°19' and 26°13' South; see Colnett's *Voyage to the South Atlantic* (London, 1798), 37. On page 179 will be found a sketch of these islands as seen by him.

give way under ther feet and put them offten in infinite dainger. the boats crew duering there stay onshore killed a vast number off ceals and sea lyons which were incredibly numerous,¹ they allso cought a considerable number of fish which proved an ample refreshment, from the ceals we Extracted a large quantity of oil and Dryed there skins. St. Felix Island perhaps might have aforded much better Refreshments to [42] a vessell on a long voyage for it bears a far more hauspitable appearance than Ambrose Isle and I have been credably informed by some Spanish officers that this Island is inhabited by the natives of that countrey² but Captain Gray alltho' it would have been but a few hours sail out of our way thought it not worthey his attention. I must confess I was very sorry for this for it might have afforded some information to myself and friend that would have been of utillity this Island is in Latitude $26^{\circ}30'$ S and Longitude $79^{\circ}7'$ West of Greenwich, the Variation was $11^{\circ}54'$ East. St. Felix bears [] S 63° W from Ambrose Isle distant About 10 Leagues.

Tuesday 6th. On the 6th we again persued on our course with all posable dispatch taking the wind at SE a gentle and pleasant breze increesing moderately to a fresh trade from SE to ESE untill the 22nd when the wind hauled to the Northward of East. *Thursday 22nd.* we were now in 29 minutes South [43] Latitude and $104^{\circ}43'$ West Longitude attended with commanding brezes frequently seeing turtle which however we tried not after as we had good winds.

We had passed between the Galapago or Inchanted Islands without seeing any of them they are inhabited by the Spaniards³ in Latitude $1^{\circ}24'$ N the Variation was $3^{\circ}3'$ East. On the 24th the winds were variable *Monday 25th.* on the 25th the weather was cloudy attended with heavey falls of rain of which we caught sev-

¹ In seven weeks during the summer of 1792 the ship *Jefferson* of Boston obtained at St. Ambrose the immense number of 13,000 seal skins.

² Neither the *Jefferson* in 1792 nor Captain Colnett in 1793 found any evidence of inhabitants on these islands.

³ In 1793 Captain Colnett visited the Galapagos Islands. They were uninhabited at that time. He could find no water on them. Of their climate he wrote (*Voyage to the South Atlantic*, 58): "I consider it as one of the most delightful climates under heaven." They were a favorite resort of the buccaners. One islet is marked "Cowley's Enchaunted Isle" on the map accompanying the account of Captain Cowley's voyage in William Hacke, *A Collection of Original Voyages* (London, 1699), 9. See Burney, *Chronological History*, IV. 145.

eral Hogsheads on the 27th we had the wind to the Southward and the ensuing day Variable and in lattd. by D[ead] R[eckoning] $10^{\circ}30'$ North and $109^{\circ}57'$ West still catching large quantities of rain water to which we were indebted for preservation on our remaining part of our passage.

Our people had been Employed for a long time before this making rounding for our Cables and every other nesecary [44] preparation were making that lay in our power for the better equipment of our vessell by rounding and worming our cables puddinging our anchors and stocking the spare ones.

Friday 30. May the 30th we had thunder and lightening the first we had seen since our arrival in this Ocean this day we cougth 12 Turtle, 14 Dolplin and great Number of tricker fish we were this day in Lattd. by two Altitudes of the Son of $12^{\circ}12'$ North and Longitude $110^{\circ}41'$ West and a strong Currant setting to the Southward¹ the winds were gener[a]ly light and flattering from the North to West.

June. Tuesday 3rd. June the 3d we were in latitude $12^{\circ}38'$ N and Longitude $113^{\circ}34'$ West $2^{\circ}10'$ East Variation we continued to have no alteration of winds alltho' the weather grew extreemly pleasant. On the 4th we cougth maney turtle which by the by were not very delicate eating which we continued to do till the 19 when we were in Latitude $12^{\circ}32'$ N and Longitude $128^{\circ}41'$ W having had for 21 days a continued light [45] Northwardly wind and a rappid currant setting to the Southward. having for the whole of that time gained but 20 Miles to the Northward, this great Check on our passage was I am well convinced occasioned from our being to much to the Eastward where the flattering winds bordered on the indraught and were I ever to have the conducting a vessell through this Ocean I would by all means go far to the Westward of our track.²

Monday 23d. The winds continued far to the Northward till the 23d when we took the regular North East Trade which prevails in

¹ Colnett mentions (*Voyage to the South Atlantic*, 45-46) meeting near the Galapagos Islands such a current running southwest by west at $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour.

² Haswell is right. Vessels keeping farther to the westward caught the regular trade wind. See George Dixon, *Voyage round the World* (London, 1789), 230-231.

this part of the Ocean. we were at this time in Latitude $14^{\circ}13'$ North and Longitude $131^{\circ}29'$ West. A Great plenty of Dolphin and flying fish Continually round us. *July. Saturday 19.* Untill the 19th of July we had the North East Trade we had it variable and moderate and on the 21st being in Latitude $26^{\circ}31'$ N and Longd. $141^{\circ}47'$ West we took the [46] wind at SE we had $9^{\circ}18'$ E Variation.

Wednesday 23. Favourable gails and pleasant weather now constantly attended us, saw several Whales, *Saturday 26.* on the 26th of July it became calm and variable we were in Latitude $40^{\circ}40'$ N and Longitude $138^{\circ}11'$ West by the mean of several Azmuth $12^{\circ}56'$ E variation *Monday 28.* the 28th the wind was at all points of the Cumpass the Variation per Equell Altitudes $13^{\circ}41'$ *Tuesday 29.* the 29 the wind increased fresh at W b N we steering in NE b E by Cumpass *Thursday the 31* an amazing plenty of Burds were flying about which was the more remarkable as it was but now and then we saw a Mother Caries chicking and once in a while a shearwater since our leaving Ambrose Isle before now fish too had been total strangers ever since our passing the 13th degree of Latitude began to play in considerable plenty we saw too several whales of a considerable size maney ceals Were playing round us a thick haze to was observed to hang over the Eastern Quarter I observed in Latitude $41^{\circ}30'$ N.

August 1. The first of august we had strong brezes [47] and blustering weather this day the water was coulered of a greenish hue and we passed a great deel of kelp of a remarkable size the Clouds had strong appearances of our nigh approach to the American Continent this day I Observed in Latitude $41^{\circ}16'$ N and in Longitude [] West.

Saturday 2d. On the second at 10 AM to our inexpressable joy we saw the Coast of New Albion¹ raining from NNE to SSE dist[ant] about 7 Leagues, we tried for soundings in a hundred fathems without finding bottom we sett a pressing sail in With the Land. I observed in Latt. $41^{\circ}28'$ N. Sunday the 23 we struck soundings in 50 fathem water over a bottom of fine black sand at this

¹ The name given by Sir Francis Drake in 1579 to the coast of what is now California and Oregon.

time we were 6 Leagues distant from the Continent at meridian I observed in Lattd. $41^{\circ}38'$ N and Longitude $121^{\circ}29'$ W.¹

On *monday the 4th* we had fresh brezes and pleasant Carriage a press of sail in with the land [48] at 5 PM the breze grew light and weather foggy we sounded in 45 f[atho]m water over a bottom of black mud wore Ship and stood to the westward dewatering the first part of the night with a light breze at 2 PM tacked and stood to the Eastward with a fresh breze at 8 AM in 15 f[atho]m water distant from the shore about 2 miles and a half it died away calm we were at this time within a quarter of a mile of a ledge of rocks in shore of us we were necesitated to Anchor but it was scarce to the ground when it began to blow a stiff Breze at North veared away $\frac{1}{2}$ a Cable and it ridd her at this time we discovered a canoe with ten natives of the Countrey paddling towards us on there nigh approach they made very expressive seigns of friendship.

These were the first inhabitation we had seen here I must add that a regular account of People manners and customs etca. of this vast coast is a task equell to the skill of an able Historian and what I am totaly inadequate to however as there are some few remarkable occurences I mention them without rule or form.

These people were in a canoe of a most singular shape it was hued from a tree of vast bulk it was very wide and caried its bredth nearly equell fore and aft its head and stern were but little different boath ending abruptly as flat as a board they rose some inches above the side of the boat in an arch which was neatly worked over with straw of various coulors the boat tho' [49] of the most clumsey shape in the world yet so well was it finished that it looked very pasable there paddles were very rough wrought of ash wood. They were cloathed chiefly in deerskins and they were ornamented with beads of European manufactor.

I am apt to think they have sometimes intercorse with the Spaniards at Monteray which is but three or four degrees to the Southward of them² they smoak tobacco out of a small wooden tube

¹ The landfall of the *Washington* was on the California coast, about one degree north of Cape Mendocino.

² Any contact by the natives in latitude 42° with the Spanish missions must have been indirect. Spain's spasmodic northern efforts were in the line of discovery, not trade.

about the size of Childs wistle. they had some sweet sented Herbs. the countrey from whence these people came to me appeared the most pleasant I had ever seen the men in the Boat appeared to be well limed people about the middle size there bodies were punctuated in maney forms in all parts.

Capt. Gray made them several preasants but our attent[i]on was called another way the wind by this time b[l]ew a gale. we hove up and stood off shore upon a wind to the westward.

Tuesday 5th. The 5th was accompaneyed with no remarkable ocurrence we coasted the shore along but saw no place where there was shelter even for a boat this Countrey must be thickly inhabited by the maney fiers we saw in the night and Culloms of smoak we would see in the Day time but I think they can derive but little of there subsistance from the sea but to compenciate for this the [50] land was beautyfully divercified with forists and green verdent launs which must give shelter and forage to vast numbers of wild beasts most probable most of the natives on this part of the Coast live on hunting for they most of them live in land this is not the case to the Northward for the face of the Countrey is widly different I was in Latd. $42^{\circ} 3' N$ the Variation $13^{\circ} 50' E$.¹

Wednesday 6th. On the 6 favourable brezes and pleasant in the morning about 8 Oclock we were abrest a cove where tolerable good shelter from a Northwardly wind may be had it is formed by a small bay to the Northward and a little Island to the Southward here wood and water may be procured but what sort of anchorage remains unknown the people were very ancious to come onboard they Paddled after us an amazing distance with great alacrity waving somthing I supose skins but we had at this time a good wind and pleas[an]t weather and it was judged best to seek a harbour while they continued we ran along shore with a Cloud of sail passing within a Quarter of a Mile of a Bould sanday shore in 5 and 6 f[atho]m water above the beach appeared a delightfull Countrey thickly inhabited and Cloathed with woods and verdure with maney Charming streems of water gushing from the vallies most of the inhabittance as we passed there scatered houses fled into the woods while others ran along shore with great swiftness keeping [51] abrest

¹ The *Washington* has just passed the southern boundary of Oregon.

of us maney miles. Cape Mendocin¹ bore North distant about 5 Leagues. *Thursday 7th.* we now ran for a place that looked like an inlett this place was in a large deep bay to the southward and Eastward of Cape Mendocin having ran in within about a Mile of a small Island we hove the Jolley Boat out and sent her to sound the Channel between the Island and Main and explore the Harbour if aney she soon made a signal that there was plenty of water within the Island we then followed her but soon discovered what we supposed to be an inlett to be no other than two hills seperated by a deep valey. we wore ship within $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile of the Land and found no bottom with a long scope of Line we now took the boat in and stood out on the other side the Island which could be compared to nothing elce but a hive with the becas swarming the birds were so numerous. they were of maney speces but most of them Pelicons at 4 PM foggy at 6 Cape Mindocin bore NNE distant about 6 or 7 Leagues a long and very daingerous Reef of Rocks ran out 6 Leagues westward of this promontory we stood of a proper distance to give this Ledge a proper berth, and then stood to the North[war]d for the Land obs[erve]d in Latitude $43^{\circ} 20'$ No.

There is a very deep bay to the Northward of the [52] Cape in which probably there may be some deep Sound and rivers but in the night we were imperceptably drifted by a current from the Eastward far from the Shore this prevented us from exploreing this part of the Coast a knoledge of this Situation might be asential for if there should bee a harbour here no doubt there would be great numbers of sea otter skins its situation is by no means too far to the Southward for these animels to exist in abundance of [*sic*] the Spanish misionares send anually several thousand skins that are collected on the Coast of California to China by the way of Manilla.²

¹ This is not Cape Mendocino, which lies south of the *Washington's* landfall. From the latitude subsequently given, it is probably Cape Blanco, the most westerly point of Oregon, in $42^{\circ} 50'$ North.

² Ingraham records in his manuscript journal under date December 3, 1791, that there were then 3,000 sea-otter skins in the custom house of Macao consigned to the Spanish company from Manila. Sea-otter were plentiful along the Californian coast, and an illicit trade therein went on for many years. It also took the form of poaching by means of Aleut hunters, who operated on shares with the shipowners.

About ten or eleven leagues to the Northward of the Cape we hoisted our boat out to more minutely examin the Coast while we sailed in the Sloop within a mile of the shore at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 the 9th we passed a bared inlett where tho' there appeared not to be sufficient water for our vessell yett I am of opinion it is the enterence of a very large river where great commershal advantages might be reaped in a small vessell about 18 or 20 Tuns this harbour is in Latd. $44^{\circ}20'$ No. and Longd. $122^{\circ}0'$ W from Greenwich.¹ The long boat in the evening returned alongside they had seen nothing remarkable except vast numbers of the natives they appeared to be a very hostile and warlike people they ran along shore waving white skins these are the skins of moose Deer three or four thick-nesses compleatly taned and not penetrable by arrows these are there war armour.² they would sometimes make fast there [53] bows and quivers of arrows to there spears of incredible length and shake them at us with an air of defyence every jesture they accompaneyed with hideous shouting the Coast trented [*sic*] by the Compass N b W at 8 PM we hove too with our head to the northward at 2 wore ship and stood in shore at 4 AM Made sail along shore at 11 AM there came alongside two Indions in a small Canoe very differently formed from those we had seen to the Southward it was sharp at the head and stern and Extreemly well bult to paddle fast³ they came very cautiously towards us nor would they come within pistol shot untill one of them a very fine look[in]g fellow had delivered a long oration accompaneying it with actions and Jestures that would have graced a Europan oritor⁴ the subject of his dis-

¹ Off the Alsea River, Lincoln County, Oregon.

² Dressed moose or elk skins were regularly traded by the natives of the Columbia River. See *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Reuben G. Thwaites, Editor (New York, 1905), III. 293-296. They found a ready market with the Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands and Alaska, who used them as armor. The *Jefferson* in 1793 obtained three sea-otter skins for a tanned moose skin; and for another, six. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI. 89. Captain Cook, in his *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), II. 307, mentions the use of tanned elk skins for armor.

³ Lewis and Clark give detailed descriptions and rough drawings of the canoes used by the Indians at the mouth of the Columbia River. They say that these canoes were "remarkably neat, light, and well adapted for riding high waves." *Original Journals*, IV. 30. The material was usually cedar.

⁴ Captain Cook had a similar experience at Nootka Sound in March, 1778: "Having come pretty near us, a person . . . stood up and made a long harangue inviting us to land as we

corse was designed to inform us they had plenty of Fish and fresh water onshore at there habitations which they seemed to wish us to go and partake of we made them understand that skins was the articles we most wanted these as well as we could understand them they would bring the ensuing day we could proceve there Language was entierly different from those we had first fell in with to the southward. after viewing the vessell attentively some time they departed well pleased with some trifling preasants they had recieved the place these people came of from is in Latd. 45° 0' No.¹

Sunday 10th. The first part of the tenth was pleasant but [54] the wind hauling to the Northward it came in foggey and disagreeable weather insued the middle part calm at 4 PM wore ship and stood in with the land at 9 we hove the boat out and she went in surch of a landing place duering her absence there came along side two Indion Canoes the one containing two and the other 6 people among them were our yesterdays friends they brought with them several sea otter skins and one of the best peces I ever saw.² they were a smart sett of active fellows but like all others without one exception on this Coast are addicted to thefts and we allways found those who were the most mistrustfull were the most adicted to commit the offence.³

They were armed with bows and arrows they had allso spears but would part with none of them they had both Iron⁴ and stone knives which they allways kept in there hands uplifted in readiness to strike we admited one of them onboard but he would not come

guessed by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us; and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it." *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 265f.

¹ Mr. T. C. Elliott remarks that the sloop has passed Yaquina Bay, Lincoln County, Oregon, without comment by Haswell. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIX. 170 n.

² A strange expression, seeing that Haswell had never before been on the Northwest Coast, Probably it is just the assurance of a boy of nineteen.

³ Captain Cook waxes eloquent on the thieving propensities of the Nootka Indians. Such thieving, so-called, was rather the childish desire to grasp and appropriate that which they thought to be of use to them.

⁴ Considerable discussion has been aroused regarding the probable source of the iron found amongst the natives on the coast when the first whites arrived. The better opinion is that it reached them from the traders across the mountains by intertribal exchange. The traders had now been four years on the coast.

without this weapon two or three of our visitors were much pitted with the small pox.¹

They were dexterous in the management of there Canoes they paddled with great velocity and tho' there canoes were long would turn them in there length there paddles were neatly made of Ash they run down of an equal bredth to the ent the Corners are pointed and End arched up like a swallows tail they departed promising to return again soon. I observed in [55] Latitude 45°02' No.

Monday 11th. The 11th was marked by no singular event we had light airs to the Northward and westward and frequently calm we had the small boat out and hogged the Ship the Coast we were abreast of looked pleasant I obs[erve]d in Latitude 44°58' No. having made 5 miles Southing.

Tuesday 12th. The 12th being pleasant weather at 3 PM we came to Anchor within half a mile of the shore hoisted the long boat and went to a small inlett where there was not suffishant water for the Sloop to enter we took of two loads of wood and then hove up and Came to sail with the wind favourable we saw while the boat was onshore² one of the Natives who were of on Sunday last, the place had been inhabited but was deserted no doubt as late as when they saw the boat coming onshore. Light br[e]zes to the Southward and drizzling rain all the latter part.

Wednesday the 13th there came alongside twelve Natives in a Canoe they had nothing to trafic but seemed enticed by curiosity off to view the vessell there Chief was the only person that was allowed to come onboard he observed every thing with great attention and was presented with a few preasants and departed well pleased with there entertainment at Noon I observed in Latitude 45°56'³ N about this time the wind hauled from the Northward with so rappid a current [56] from the same quarter that we could not make aney way to the Northward on the contorary we could

¹ This disease was contracted from the white people. It was epidemic in 1775 and later, and was said to have been brought by the Spaniards. See note 2 on page 371, below; Nathaniel Portlock, *Voyage round the World* (London, 1789), 271.

² Somewhere in Tillamook County, Oregon.

³ Nearly as far north as Tillamook Head, Clatsop County, Oregon.

not hold our own. *Thursday 14th.* Between the hours of 5 and 6 Last evening we passed a tolerable harbour but having a bar Where it broke pretty nigh all athort it looked as tho' we could with ease git into it this harbour was now 10 Leagues to leeward but in the afternoon it was determined to bear away and at 1 PM we lay her head to the Southward at 6 we hove too off and on and at 6 came too with the small bower in 7 f[atho]m water distant from the shore about 2 miles over a bottom of sand we now hoisted the boat out man'd and armed her and sent her to explore the Harbour and sound its enterence taking proper bearings and marks for sailing into it at 10 the boat returned with an account that the Harbour was tolerably Commodious and suffisient water for us in the proper Channel we immediately hove up with a commanding breze and went in without cuming into less than two fathom and a Quarter water we anchored half a mile distant from the shore in 3 f[atho]m in the Anchoring place I observed my Latd. to be $45^{\circ}27'$ N and Longd. $122^{\circ}19'$ W.¹ the Variation by Asmith was $14^{\circ}26'$ E[as]t in the afternoon it was pleasant with a moderate breze to the Northward. t'was with great persuasion late in the Afternoon that one of there small Canoes came alongside and received maney trivial preasants this soon entised maney others off and Each [57] Canoe brought with them large quantities of berries and Crabs ready boiled *Friday 15th.* these they liberally handed onboard as preasants seemingly without an Idea of payment, and these were the most acceptable things they could have brought to most of our seamen who were in a very advanced state of the scurvey and was a means of a restoration of health to 3 or four of our Company who would have found one months longer duration at sea fatal to them so advanced were they in this malignant distemper.²

Trafic on a very friendly footing being thus established before Evening we had purchased a number of Good Sea otter skins for knives axes adzes etca. but had we had Copper a pece two or three inches square would have been far more valuable to them, they would hand

¹ On August 14 the *Washington* was about thirty miles south of her position on the thirteenth. This is, perhaps, Tillamook Bay.

² The *Washington* had left the Falkland Islands on February 28, 1788, five and a half months previous, and in the interval, though she had seen land, had not called at any place.

there skins onboard without scruple and take with satisfaction whatever was given in return;¹ this we very seldom found the case in any other part of the coast. the nesecery operations of wooding and watering were the pri[n]siple objects of our attention the watering place was situated at a very considerable distance from the Sloop and totally out of the protection of her guns for this reason one turn of water was Judged suffishent to serve till some more safe place might be discovered at some other part of the Coast. [58] we took off several boat load of wood which was handey to the vessell and of a very good quality the natives while we were at work onshore behaved with great propriety frequently bringing us frute but they allways kept themselves armed and never ventured nigh us but with there knives in there hands uplifted reddey to strike, this we imputed to there being such total straingers to Europeans.

Saturday 16. On the 16 we had pleasant weather with a moderate breze to the eastward at this time an amazing number of the natives were alongside with boiled and roasted crabbs for sale which our people purchaced for buttons etca. they had allso dried salmon and buries in abundance.

At noon we weighed and came to sail with a very moderate breze which soon died away to a purfect calm and the flud tide still setting strong swept us on a reef of rocks. the water was smooth as glass and the tide still flowing the vessell could receive no meterial Damage we run out our kedge with a small worp and hauled off the sea breze cuming in prevented our geeting out we veared ascope and moared with our two bowers.

About this time the old Chief who came onboard of us on the 13 about 6 Leagues to the Northward he had a great number of the natives with him all armed and they had no skins with them tho' they were well [59] convinced it was them alone we wanted and he had promused to supply us with some however tho' he had not fullfilled his engagement he mett with a very polight reseption.

Having nothing else to do but wate for the next days tide to depart, Earley in the Afternoon I accompaneyed Mr. Coolidge onshore in the long Boat to amuse ourselves in taking a walk while our

¹ Dixon records the same confidence in the natives whom he met and traded with at Cloak Bay, Queen Charlotte Islands, in July, 1787. *Voyage round the World*, 301.

boat was loaded with grass and shrubbs for our stock we took all the people in the Boat who were affected by the Scurvey our number in all amounted to seven the disposition of the people seemed so friendly we went worse armed than ordinary we had two Muskets and three or four Cutlases we boath took our swards and each of us a pistol on our first landing we visated there Houses and such victles as they eate themselvs they offered us but they are so intolerable filthey there was nothing we could stumac except the frute.

They then amused us shewing there dexterity with there arrows and spears they then began a war dance it was long and hedious accompaneyed with frightfull howlings indeed there was somthing more horrid in there song and the jestures which accompanied it than I am capable of Discribing it Chilled the [60] bludd in my vains. The dance over we left the natives to themselves and walked along the beach to the boat where the people were cutting grass and only one or two of the Natives with them we went past the boat a little way but within call to a small sand flatt in hopes to find some clams while we were digging for these shell fish a young Black man Marcus Lopus a native of the Cape de Verd Islands and who had shiped Captain Grays servant at St. Jago's being employed carieng grass down to the boat, had carelessly stuck his Cutlas in the sand one of the natives seeing this took a favourable oppertunity to snatch it at first unobserved and run off with it one of the people observing him before he was quite out of sight called vehemonantly threatening to shoot him in hopes he would abandon the stoln goods and make his escape but I had given posative orders to our people not to fier but in cases of the most absolute emmergence when for self defence it might be nesecery.

'Twas the hollowing of our people that first roused our attention and we immediately flew to know the cause, we were informed of the sircumstance adding that the Black boy had followed him in spite of every thing they could say to the contorary.

I was struck by the daingerous situation the ladd was in and feared its concequences doubting of there being a posability of saving him from the impending [61] danger, but resolving no project should go untried without hesitation ordering the boat to keep abrest of us we ran toward the village we mett several Chiefs persons whose

friendship we had taken every opportunity to obtain by kind youseage and liberal preasants. Indeed it seemed before this period we had fully effected it to these people Mr. Coolidge offered several articles to them of great value to bring back the man unhurt, this they refused intimating there wish for us to seek him ourselves. I now remarked to Mr. Coolidge that all the natives we saw were unusually well armed having with them there bows arrows and spears however we proceeded still further and on turning a clump of trees that obstructed our prospect the first thing which presented itself to our view was a very large group of the natives among the midst of which was the poor black with the thief by the colour loudly calling for assistance saying he had caught the thief, when we were observed by the main boddy of the Natives to haistily aproach them they instantly drenched there knives and spears with savage feury in the boddy of the unfortunate youth. He quited his hold and stumbled but rose again and staggered towards us but having a flight of arrows [62] thrown into his back and he fell within fifteen yards of me and instantly expiered while they mangled his lifeless corse.

We were now by our passing a number whom as I remarked before we supposed to be our friends situated between two formidable parties. Those we had passed being reinforced by a great number from the woods they gave us the first salutation by a shower of arrows. Our only method was to get to the boat as fast as posable for this purpos we turned leaving the dead body; for it would have been the highth of imprudence as our Number was so small to have attempted its rescue. we made the Best of our way for the Boat assaulted on all sides by showers of arrows and spears—and at length it became absolutely nesecery to shoot there most dairing ringleader which I did with my pistol. Mr. Coolidge and one man who was with us followed my example and Mr. Coolidge ordered those who were in the boat to fier and cover us as we waided off for the boat could not come within a considerable dist[ance] of the shore. But undaunted by the fate of there Companions they followed us up to the middle in water and slightly wounded both Mr. Coolidge and myself in the hand and totaley disabled the person who was with us onshore who fainting with loss of blud lay lifeless several hours and continued to bleed a torant till the barb of the arrow [63] was ex-

tracted, we jumped into the Boat and pushed of and were soon out of arrow shot when we found this they launched there Canoes intending to cutt us off indeed they were well situated for it but some were timid some were bold and not half paddled but keeping a constant fier from the boat they came bairley within arrow shot before we were nigh the sloop, and they returned towards the shore as soon as we got onboard we discharged two or three swivel shot at them and in a few Moments not one Canoe was to be seen all having fledd, duering the whole of the night it was dismal to hear the hoops and houlings of the natives they had fiers on the beach near the spot where the ladd was killed and we could see great number of them passing too and froo before the blaze.

I must confess I should not have lett them enjoy there festerville so peasabley had I been Cap. Gray but his humanity was commendable.

Murderers Harbour for so it was named is I suppose the enterence of the river of the West¹ it is by no meens a safe place for aney but a very small vessell to Enter the shoale at its enterence being so aucwardly situated the passage so narrow and the tide so rapid that it is scarce posable to avoid the dangers. It is provable [*sic*] whenever a vessell goes there they may procure twenty [64] or thirty good sea otter skins. We know but little of the manours and customs of these people our stay among them was so short. the men ware no Cloathing but the skins of animels well dressed the women wore nothing but a petticoat of straw about as long as a highlanders kilt,² there hutts were very small made of boards and a neat matt on the flore they appeared to be very indolent and were intolerably filthey. there Canoes were very well shaped for paddling and every yousefull purpus there language we attained no knoledge of and I am of opinion it was very Hard to lern.

I am posative it was a planed affair which first gave rise to Our

¹ As before stated, this harbor is believed to be Tillamook Bay. The Columbia River, the so-called River of the West, empties into the Pacific Ocean some thirty miles to the northward.

² "The Women's petticoat is about 15 inches long made of arbor-vita or the white cedar bark woven to a string and hanging down in tassels and tied so as to cover the hips as low as the petticoat will reach and only covers them when standing, as in any other position the tassels separate." *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, III. 206; see also *ibid.*, 208, 239-242.

quarrel seeing how fue we were they had hopes of overpowering us and making themselves masters of our Cloths and arms and had we been taken it would have been no difficult jobb to have made a prize of the Sloop for Captain Gray had but three people left on-board. It was folly for us to go onshore so ill armed but it prooved a suffishant warning to us to allways be well armed ever afterwords.

Indeed I think it prudent no boat should land among the midst of such numerous tribes without another well armed boat to protect her landing.

On *Sunday the 17th* having a moderate breze to the Eastward at 4 AM we hove up and Came to [65] sail making a second attempt to gett to sea haveing passed the sand point of the Harbour and Middle ground, the wind died and the tide setting with great rapidity over the outer shoal we were obliged to lett go our anchor in two fat[ho]m water, the tide ebbed and the surf rose to so vast a size that we struck a great maney times so violently hard we could scarce stand the Deack the surf breaking over our taffle¹ stove in our cabbın windows and allmost filled it with water as soon as the tide began to slack we hoisted the longboat out and run a small anchor to the eastward which when hove taut on kept us clear of the ground till still water when we hove up and worped into deep water and came too with the small bower for the flud tide began to run so strong we could not gett out till the ebb returned while we lay on the bar we saw a large war canoe go out of the Harbour keeping at as great a distance from us as posable.

We received no damage from this accident except having the pintles and gudgins of our rudder bent so they would not admit it to come down into its proper berth.

Monday the 18th was calm and foggey. the natives of the Harbour all came down to the beach that was situated nearest our vessell with all there Canoes we [66] continually heard them shouting and it was answered by maney voises on the outside of the barr and at ½ past twelve we saw three large war canoes each containing upwards of thirty armed men it was so foggey that we did not see them untill they were within half a musquet shot we becken'd to them to keep there distance but they continued to paddle towards us and

¹ Taffrail, the upper part of the stern of a vessel.

we could plainly see that the better part of them satt with there bows reddy bent and there spears in there hands there behaviour being very suspisious three swivels were discharged at them¹ and they paddled off with great speed we then hove up and worped out without aney further difficulty.

Tuesday 19th. Tuesday was moderate and pleasant but having had a good run from Murders Harbour we had passed a considerable length of coast which no doubt afords maney valuable furs we were 4 or 5 miles from a strait coast trending NW *b* N in 18 and 20 fathems water observed in Latitude 47° 11' N.²

Wednesday 20th. The twentieth the winds were light and weather fair at ten AM two canoes with four people in each came alongside we purchased several sea otter skins of them at a very reasonable rate for iron but they expressed a great desire for copper.³

Thursday 21st. The 21st the breze was light from the southward [67] and a very strong currant setting in shore at 2 AM we had shoaled our water from 17 to 7 fat[ho]m water we came too with the small bower at 5 two Indion Whaleing canoes⁴ [came] each having 6 people they had nothing to dispose of except four or five beaver skins. There whaleing utentials were very curious but they would part with none of them at 6 weighed and Came to sail at 7 Green Island⁵ bore North distant 4 Miles Quunelth⁶ (for that is the indion name for the village where these Whalemen belong) bore NNE distant 7 Miles Tacked and stood in with the land I observed in Latd. 47° 30' N the land we were now abrest of at a

¹ Nowhere was the maritime fur-trade in more marked contrast with the land fur-trade than in situations like this. A murder had been committed; to punish it, indiscriminate shooting was indulged in. In the land fur-trade an effort would have been made to induce the tribe to surrender the murderer, or some step taken whereby the punishment for the crime would fall upon the guilty.

² This is some fifty miles north of the Columbia River and in the vicinity of Gray's Harbor.

³ The Indian taste was extremely variable as to the acceptability and relative value of the goods offered in barter. Such whimsicality greatly increased the risks of the trade. But through all these changes copper remained a steady medium of exchange, though some objection might be raised regarding the size or thickness of the sheets.

⁴ The Indians, from the vicinity of Cape Flattery northward along the Vancouver Island shore, were intrepid whalers. See *Adventures of John Jewitt*, Robert Brown, Editor (London, 1896), 122f., 178ff.; Gilbert M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), 226.

⁵ Destruction Island on the Washington coast, south of Cape Flattery.

⁶ Quinault Indian villages, on the Washington coast, south of Destruction Island.

distance inland rises to exceeding high mountains covered with snow.¹

Friday the 22nd the 23 and 24th the wind were conterary and the weather unpleasant, tho' we endeavoured to beat along shore we scarcely held our own. *Sunday 24.* I observed on sunday in $47^{\circ}43'$ N and Longitude $123^{\circ}50'$ W the variation by azmith $15^{\circ}44'$ E.

We had moderate brezes NNW on the 25th with foggey disagreeable weather plying to windward very near the Land in from 40 to 19 f[atho]m water at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 AM the fog cleard away and discovered a number of craggey and detached rocks and reefs laying at a [68] considerable distance from the shore² at meridian we sounded in 22 f[atho]m water over a bottom of Rocks and shells Tacked ship and stood off Observed in $47^{\circ}57'$ N.

Tuesday 26th. The 26 was fogey and it was but impurfectly that we saw the land and our distance from it was very considerable having been forced of by a current however I am of opinion the Straits of Juan de Fuca exist³ tho Capt. Cook positives [*sic*] assurts it dose not for in the very Latitude where it is said to lay the coast takes a bend which very posabley may be its Enterence⁴ I observed in Latd. $48^{\circ}5'$ No. and Longitude $124^{\circ}50'$ W and to the ENE lay a very Deep Bay in the enterence of which lay a great maney Islands to this was given the nam[e] of Companey's Bay⁵ and there is but little doubt but it affords Good Harbours.

Wednesday 27th. The 27th on the first part was Calm with a very large swell from the westward earley in the morning a light breze sprung up from the southward we made sail standing off West North West untill day light and then North West the coast trending Northwest by West the coast is low near the sea and rises one step after another into excessive high mountains covered perpetually with

¹ The Olympic Mountains in the state of Washington.

² Flattery Rocks, eleven miles south of Cape Flattery—a group of remarkably bare, rugged islets, the outer rock lying $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore.

³ The old question: one difficulty was that de Fuca had said that his entrance was between 47° and 48° , where no waterway exists. The so-called Strait of Juan de Fuca lies between $48^{\circ}23'$ and $48^{\circ}36'$.

⁴ Cape Flattery.

⁵ Barkley Sound, the southernmost of the sounds on the western coast of Vancouver Island, in latitude $48^{\circ}47'$, discovered and named by Captain Charles W. Barkley of the *Imperial Eagle* in 1787. It lies just northerly from the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

snow. I observed in Latd. $48^{\circ}43'$ No. Longitude $124^{\circ}54'$ W the variation $17^{\circ}6'$ E.

Thursday 28. Calm almost all the 28th all hands employed mending sails, at 6 In the morning two canoes came off with two men in each they looked at us a little [69] while with an air of great indifference and then paddled farther out to sea where they hove too to fish. My Latitude by observation was $48^{\circ}53'$ No. in the afternoon we were visited by 3 Canoes containing 46 people from among the islands in Companey's Bay as soon as they came within Muskit shott of us they paddled with exceeding great haste singing an agreeable air and keeping stroke in time to the tune with there Paddles and at the end of every cadence all together they would point there paddles first aft and then forward first hooping shrill and then horce, they went three times round the vessell performing this manual exercise,¹ and then came alongside without further sere-money the principle Chief in the Canoes came onboard on the first invitation they had no sea otter skins and but fue of aney other sort its beyond a doubt some English Ship must have visated here this season for they plainly articulated several English names² they were very extravagant in there demands for every thing we wished to purchase in consequence of which but little commercial intercourse took place it was late in the affternoon when they Departed but they first sang a song the air of which was very agreeable, the remander of the day was moderate and Cloudy and we gained only 5 Miles to the Northward the 29 the Wind to the Northward and westward beating to windward. [70]

Saturday 30th. Moderate brezes and pleasant in the Morning but the Affternoon it became foggey and unpleasant at 2 PM it died way calm and a very large swell going with the currant setting to the southward drew us nearer in with the shore than we were aware of and the first thing that discovered itself to us thro' the fog was a wide spreading rock laying nearly level with the waters edge over

¹ Fray Crespi describes the somewhat similar reception of Juan Perez in the *Santiago* by the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1774. Herbert E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi* (Berkeley, 1927), 323.

² Meares, in the *Felice*, had been in that vicinity in the preceding month. John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the Northwest Coast of America* (London, 1790), 172.

which the surf broak with violent rage not further distant from us than a hundred fathom and in a few moments we saw several others equelly dangerously situated it being a purfect Calm we were hove along by the swell on a direct line towards them we had seventeen f[atho]m water sharp corrol rocks we maned our sweeps and providentialey a light air sprung up which wafted us clear and we had but little to spare for there was scarce the hollow of one swell betwixt us and a watery grave.

While we were in this pittiable situation Several canoes came of having with them maney sea otter skins they would not come alongsid the swell was so great and our vessell had so much motion but by sines gave us to understand that a little to the Eastward there was a harbour which they called Nootka wether this name was applied to it to delude us in or it is the name of a harbour the great number of sea otter skins they were possessed of operated strongly in a determination to go in and its enterence was by this time fare in view the long boat was hoisted [71] out to tow in which she was asisted by the Natives in there Canoes and late in the afternoon we came too with the small bower in 7 f[atho]m water over a bottom of sand in a tolerable well sheltered roadsted¹ soon after sunsett the natives all left the vessell and retired to there habitations the night was exceeding pleasant.

Sunday the 31 the weather was exceeding pleasant earley in the morning a great maney of the Inhabitants came of Bringing with them an abundants of Skins but greatly to our mortification there was nothing in our vessell except muskits would perchace one of them but that was an article of commurce we were not supplied with having scarce armes enough for our defence copper was all there cry and we had none for them, the princible or superior Chief of this tribe's name is Wickananish² he visated us accompanied by one of his Brothers compleetely Dressed in a genteel sute of Cloths which he said Capt. Mears had given him. Capt. Mears's name was not the only one they mentioned for they spoke of Capt. Barkley Capt.

¹ The *Washington* is now at anchor in Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island.

² The head chief of Clayoquot Sound and vicinity. He is frequently mentioned by Meares and other early traders.

Hannah Capt. Dunkin and Capt. Duglas¹ what they said of them we now knew so little of there language we could not Comprehend.

The natives had left there summer habitation which is situated on the West side of the Roads and [72] followed the fish up the rivers at 7 in the morning we maned [and] armed the long boat and an officer went in her in surch of a good watering place this she easily found with a most excellant Harbour land locked and sheltered from all winds anchorage in 7 fathom water good holding ground its enterence is narrow and the tides rapid. the Roads is a good place of shelter and is by no means wild or dangerous while at anchor I observed in Latd. $49^{\circ}9' N$ the Longitude of the anchoring place is $125^{\circ}26' W$. at Merid[io]n we weighed and sailed from Hancocks Harbour.²

A good maney vessells having been at this port all in the fur trade³ there can be no doubt a great number of skins have been purchaced and even now were we possessed of Copper or Muskets or even chizles⁴ made in a proper form fifty or sixty excellant skins of sea otters might be purchaced in a few hours and very probably five times the number, for these tribes who have intercourse with the European traiders extend there trafic to those more remote collecting skins for the next vessell that may come, the shortage of our tarey prevented me from taking a sketch of the Harbour but I expect ere long to see it again.

September. Tuesday 2. We were scarce out of the Roads the boats in and anchors stowed when it began to blow a gale of wind at West norwest nor did it discontinue till the Second late [73] in the day we stretched off shoar and at Meridion we were as far to southward as $48^{\circ}9' N$ o. and the wind still continued strong at NorWest all the 3d, the fourth was nearly calm and so fogey we could not see the

¹ Captain Charles William Barkley of the *Imperial Eagle*, who was on the coast in 1787; Captain James Hanna of the *Sea Otter*, who was on the coast in 1785 and 1786; Captain Charles Duncan of the *Princess Royal*, 1787 and 1788; and Captain William Douglas of the *Iphigenia*, one of the so-called Meares vessels, 1788.

² This name did not persist. It seems to have been applied to the whole of Clayoquot Sound.

³ In 1786 there were five vessels; in 1787 there were also five vessels; and in 1788 there were six vessels. Most of these had probably traded in the vicinity of Clayoquot.

⁴ Chisels were bits of iron about an inch wide, drawn to a cutting edge like a chisel, to be fastened to a handle and used like an adze.

Land the fifth a light breze to the Westward we clawed along shore to the Northward as fast as posable and were at Meridion in Latitude $48^{\circ}50'$ No. and Longitude $125^{\circ}15'$ W. the 6th and 7 when ever there was a breze it was very light from the westward but it was generally calm with a very long swell from the Southeast we were on soundings from 30 to 40 fathom water over a rocky bottom and so near the Land and Reefs, that we could plainly hear the surf but it was so fogey we could not see the quarter of a mile the 8 at 10 PM the fog clearing off we saw the Land which appered to be Islands two or three Miles distant a light breze sprung up from the south[war]d and we stood off till 8 when the weather was more clear and we saw the land being Cloudy we had No observation nor was it posable to Calculate our Latitude with any degree of accuracy having been drifted about at a great rate in maney directions by strong Currants for several days *Monday* 8. we stood in with the land with a moderate breze and when about 3 Miles distant from it when we had 40 f[atho]m water the coast trending WNW with a great maney Cragey Barron Cliffs that looked like no land we had seen before; and before the late [74] gale and foggs we could planely see as far as Point Breakers¹ which is the southeast extreem of hope Bay of which Nootka Sound is the head consequently being strange land must be to the Northward and Westward of our intended port I imparted my opinion to Capt. Gray hinting I thought it best to hove too till we might gett the altitude of the sun and determin our latitude but Captain Gray supposing us to the southward and Eastward of the port caried a pressing sail along-shore to the Northward till Meridion *Tuesday* 9th. when we observed in Latd. $50^{\circ}22'$ ² this conformed my conjectures beyond a doubt. our Longd. $128^{\circ}30'$ W. we hauled our wind stretching off shoar to the Southward.

On the 10th blew a perfect gale of wind and the sea was greatly

¹ So named by Captain Cook in 1778, now known as Cape Estevan. It is at the easterly or southerly entrance to Hope Bay, as Cook called the water between Cape Estevan and Woody Point, now Cape Cook. The sketch of Nootka Sound in Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (II. 279) places it in a wrong position. Cf. the atlas to the 1785 edition of Cook's third voyage and Vancouver's chart.

² Haswell's opinion was correct. The latitude of Nootka Sound is $49^{\circ}32'$.

agitated observed in $49^{\circ} 53'$ No. the Wind SW stretching in for the Land.

Monday 15th. Heavy gales of adverce winds and very thick Disagreeable weather untill the 15th when the wind was moderate at WNW we stood along shore in hope bay and at 5 oclock in the Affternoon we were Disagreeably situated in shole water among large Beds of kelp we were in as shole water as 3 f[atho]m with a very rocky Bottom but we were lucky enough to dissengage ourselves before Dark at sunsett the north point of the enterence of Nootka Sound bore East distant 5 Miles.¹

Tuesday 16th. The night of the 16 was Calm at 5 AM we had a moderate breze of the land we made sail and stretched towards ship Cove² the place where Captain Cook Lay [75] when he was in this Sound intending to lay there till we could discover some more commodious situation here we expected to Meet the Columbia³ and we were all positive within our minds that she must be in the sound when we saw a Boat under sail cuming round north point we hove in stays and stretched for that side of the Sound but it was nearly Calm, 'twas not before the boat came very near that we discovered it to belong to some strange vessell⁴ as soon as they Came onboard the boat was ordered to assist ours in towing we lernt that there were two Snows⁵ laying in a cove on the west side the sound at the village where Capt. Cook visated and mett with so friendly a reseption⁶ thither these Gentlemen offered to Conduct us

¹ Maquinna Point, the westerly entrance of Nootka Sound.

² Now called Resolution Cove, on Bligh Island, Nootka Sound. Before the vessels left Brett's Harbor, Falkland Islands, Captain Kendrick had named Nootka Sound as a rendezvous in case of separation.

³ The *Washington* had separated from the *Columbia* off Cape Horn on April 1, 1788.

⁴ This was the longboat belonging to the *Felice*, one of the so-called Meares vessels. Meares, in his *Voyages*, says (219) that on September 17, 1788, "A sail was seen in the offing, which rather surprised us; and we were not without our apprehensions that it was the *Princess Royal*, who had met with some accident that obliged her to return. The long boat was immediately sent to her assistance, which instead of the British vessel we expected, conveyed into the Sound a sloop, named the *Washington*, from Boston in New England, of about one hundred tons burthen."

⁵ The *Felice Adventurer* and the *Iphigenia Nubiana* of the Meares concern. A snow is a two-masted square-rigged vessel, carrying a boom mainsail on a gunter mast, just abaft the mainmast. The terms "brig," "brigantine," and "snow" are used in the maritime trade as practically synonymous.

⁶ Friendly Cove, near the western entrance of Nootka Sound; see Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific*

and Captain Gray complied with there obliging request. it was the commanders of the two vessells and the chief officer of the smallest that were now onboard they breakfasted with us and About 9 AM there sprung up a light Sea breze that caried us into the Cove by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 and we anchored with the small bower in 5 f[atho]m Water over a Bottom of Sand and moared with the kedge to the westward we found riding here the Fillis Adventurer John Mears and the Efagenia Nubiana Wm Douglas Commanders fitted from Macao in China and under Portogees Coulers¹ both belonging to the same merchants one vessell had made the Coast to the Northward and the other to the [76] Southward and mett at this plaic having betwixt them collected a very valuable cargo of Furs² Captain Mears ariving here some time before Captain Douglas landed his second officer Mr. Funter and a party of artificisers who first bult a tolerable strong garison or place of Defence³ and then went to work bulding a small schuner about 30 Tuns while Captain Mears Cruzed the Coast collecting skins we found this vessell nearly compleet and they purposed to launch her in a few days.⁴

We found the natives had quitted there village and remooved far up the sound⁵ the Commanders of all three of the vessells and the Chief mate of Capt. Mears Mr. Duffin Dined with us in the course of conversation we lernt that Captain Mears would depart for Macao in two or three Days leaving Capt. Douglas to compleet rigging etca. of the Schuner then hee allso would leve the Coast to winter at

Ocean, II. 279-280. The sloop had been making for Resolution Cove, Bligh Island, in the easterly part of Nootka Sound, but she now heads northward for Friendly Cove.

¹ These vessels were in reality British but were masquerading under the Portuguese flag to evade the licenses of the South Sea and East India companies. See page xxvi, above.

² The *Iphigenia*, under Douglas, had taken the northerly course, while the *Felice*, under Meares, had kept to the southward. They had collected only 750 sea-otter skins. George Dixon, *Further Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, Esq.* (London, 1791), 67.

³ This was the spot which later (1792) was all that Quadra, the Spanish officer, was willing to deliver. It was a small flat, between two rocky projections, a few yards easterly from the Indian village at Friendly Cove.

⁴ The *North West America*, the first vessel built on the Northwest Coast of America. Meares says (*Voyages*, 116) that she was of forty or fifty tons. The keel was laid in June, and the schooner was launched September 20, 1788 (*ibid.*, 220).

⁵ They had gone to their winter villages: Coopte, at the mouth of the Tasis Canal, and Tasis, at its head. According to Jewitt (*Adventures*, 145), the former is thirty miles up the sound from Friendly Cove; it is, however, but little more than ten miles.

the Sandwich Islands.¹ All the time these Gentlemen were onboard they fully employed themselves fabricating and rehursing vague and improvable tales relative to the coast of the vast danger attending its navigation of the Monsterous Savage disposition of its inhabitants adding it would be maddness in us so week as we were to stay a winter among them. Capt. Mears protested both vessells ever since they had been on the coast had not collected fifty skins; on our smileing (for we had been differently informed) he said it was a fact upon his sacred word and honour, so intent was this Gentleman in deceiving us that he hesatated not to forfit his word and Honour to what we were convinced was a notorious [77] falsity.² The fact was they wished to frighten us off the Coast that they alone might monopolise the trade but the debth of there design could be easily fathomed. They very polightly offered to aford us every asistance that lay in their power.

Wednesday 17th. Disapointed at not finding the Columbia in the sound and at our geting no intercourse with the Natives not even to obtain the suplies of Fish and vegetables that were nesecery for the vessells youse Captain Gray in the long boat maned and armed went over to the other side of the sound in surch of some of there villages³ and by conversing with the inhabitants convince them of the friendly intention of our visate to the sound but they saw not one of the Natives all hands were employed onb[oar]d prepairing to haul on the ways to grave.

Friday the 19th We hauled onshore and payed her bottom Captain Mears polightly alowed his blacksmith to repair our redder

¹ At this time the maritime traders either completed their cargo in one season or, if staying for a second, wintered at the Hawaiian Islands. The *Columbia* and the *Washington* were, with the exception of Meares's ill-fated expedition of 1786-1787, the first to winter on the coast.

² Edward Bell says: "It was very difficult here to come at the truth of what numbers of skins ships collected; for the Masters of them and their mates and ships company, whether from a privilege they think they can claim by passing round Cape Horn, or from some unaccountable species of distrust or jealousy seldom agree in their accounts of their quantity on board, many of them, and often, varying hundreds of skins." "A New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vi (January, 1915), 56. This was written in September, 1792, but it was true at any stage of the maritime trade. Dixon (*Voyage round the World*, 157) notes the same peculiarity.

³ The Indian villages on Williamson Passage and Muchalat Arm, east of Bligh Island, Nootka Sound. They are shown on Burney's MS. map in his MS. journal, which is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

Irons which had been damaged on Murderers harbour bar.¹ this day they launched there Schooner and named her the North West America on this occasion the ships saluted and the Day among the English was spent in festivity and mirth² the 20th at high water hove off and moared ship. all hand were kept constantly emp[loye]d preparing for sea cutting wood and filling water.

Monday 22. An intimacey on a very friendly footing subsisted between the English gentlemen and ourselvs. and Captain Mears offered to be the bearer of aney letters he wished to communicate to China this offer Capt. Gray accepted and giving him a packit on the 22 assisted in towing her out of the harbour wishing him a good voyage returned [78] before Captain Douglas but how great was his surprize when Capt. Douglas returned, at finding his letters inclosed in a note from Captain Mears apolagiseing for returning them saying he was not certain to what part of India he should go therefore could not insure a safe Delivery of them. This scheem was well consurted he was fearfull that through the letters to our connections some information would be communicated relative to the trade on the Coast that would be of disadvantage to the intrest of his company. he knew had he refused to carey our letters we could have prevailed on some of his officers or people to convey them for us (for I take him to be a man of Deep penetration) he seemed obliaging on that score that he might make sure of no letters going by aney other convoyance. this ungentlemanlike maner of behavior gave us an unfavourable opinion of Captain John Mears.³ this Gentleman is a Lieutenant in the British Navy had been several years in India and about three Years ago he was fitted by a company of Gentlemen at Bengal in the Snow he is now in and a small Schuner for this coast he met with maney difficu[l]tys his small vessell was cast away on the Alaskion Islands and in his snow he wintered at Prince Williams Sound, where by the riger of the Climate and the Scurvy

¹ On August 17, 1788; see page 40, above.

² Meares (*Voyages*, 220) gives September 20 as the date of the launching. The difference of one day is due to the fact that Meares had come from China, while Haswell had come from Boston.

³ Meares has nothing to say on this point in his *Voyages*; but Captain Gray, in a letter to Joseph Barrell, July 13, 1789 (see below, page 122), writes that Meares "would not take any letters for me to China, which was worse than anything else, they being afraid my letters would injure them and hurt their trade the next season."

he losst allmost all his seamen and Officers¹ he left the coast without exploring aney great extent of it and tuched at the Sandwich Islands, from whence he took a young Chief of rank and went to Macao, Tiana the young Chief accompaney'd [79] him to the Northwest Coast, and from hear he is to be caried to his native Islands by Captain Douglas.² these vessells were very indifferently fitted for provisions and Cordage tho' they had plenty of the princple articles for trade (Copper and Iron) all the provisions Capt. Mears could spare reserving only a scant proportion to last him to China united to that Cap. Douglas had before was bearly enough to preserve existance till they could reach the Sandwich Islands. and but for the provisions we supplied them with they would have had maney a scanty meel.³

Tuesday 23d. Our people were employed constantly in the nesity duties of prepairing for sea our water filled and wood cut the hold and rigging overhauled, some of our Gentlemen were onshore and saw a sail in the offin which by our glasses we soon knew to be the Columbia I concluded at first sight her people were in an advanced state of the scurvy for tho' very moderate and pleasant her topsails were reefed and her topg[allan]t Masts down on deack. Captain Gray in the long boat immediately went out to render them all the assistance that lay in our power: and about 5 oclock in the afternoon she anchored within forty yards of us.

They had been so unfortunate as to loose two of there people with the Scurvy and most of the rest of the Crew were in an advanced state of that malignant Distemper:⁴ after we parted with the

¹ The reference is to Meares's unfortunate venture of 1786 in the *Nootka*, in company with the snow *Sea Otter*, under Tipping, which is the small schooner referred to. For details, see Meares, *Voyages*, 1ff. Meares lost twenty-three men by scurvy in Prince William's Sound during the winter of 1786-1787. Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, 154ff.

² Meares's *Voyages* (4) and Portlock's *Voyage round the World* (359) have pictures of Tianna. He is frequently referred to by both Meares and Vancouver. In Meares's *Voyages* (335-338) there is a lengthy account of the reception of Tianna at Hawaii where he had resolved to take up his residence.

³ Meares says (*Voyages*, 223) that he sent all the stores that the *Felice* could spare on board the *Iphigenia*, but he makes no mention of any provisions being obtained from the Americans.

⁴ This statement agrees with that contained in Kendrick's letter of May 8, 1789, to Martinez, the Spanish commander, in which he says that of his crew "two actually died with the disease [scurvy] a few days before my arrival." It is therefore strange that he should, on July 13, 1789, write to Joseph Barrell, the principal owner: "I have all the people which I brought from

Ship off Cape Horn¹ they encountered maney very heavy gales of wind they tuched at Masafuero But finding it would be attended with great difficulty to wood and water they immediately went to Juan Fernandies, and arrived about the 29th of May, [80] when we in the Sloop were in 12° North Latd. near 46 Degrees of Latitude to the Northward of them. They met with a very polight reseption from the Governer of the Island and were plenteously suplied with all things that were nesecery. and departed after a stay of about seventeen days.²

Wednesday 24th. As Captain Kendrick had now arrived every thing must of course wate for his orders. and as frequently as he was ask'd what he would have Done to forward the expedition, he as frequently said we can do nothing till these Englishmen have left the place.³

Accordingly Captain Kendrick set his Carpenters Caulkers Blacksmith etca. at work to fasilatate there Departure suplying them with provision naval stores etca. while they menopolized all the skins nor could we get intercourse with one of the Natives even for the purchase of fish or deer.

We had exceeding boisterous weather for a long time, which was unfavourable to our work onboard or onshore.

Sunday 28th. The 28th our uperwork being open and the weather tolerable pleasant the Caulkers were employed on them and on the 30th they were compleated.

Wednesday the 1st of October being the anever[s]ery of our departure from the East side of the Continent at 12 oclock in honour of the day the Columbia fiered 13 Guns⁴ we next fiered 13 and it

Boston except Mr. John Nutting [the astronomer] who was unfortunately drowned—and the Doctor and Mr. Woodruffe." These letters and one from John B. Treat are printed in this volume, pages 118, 120–121, and 124–125, below.

¹ On April 1, 1788. See, above, the entry for that day.

² The *Columbia* reached Juan Fernandez on May 24, 1788, and departed thence on June 6, 1788. The governor of the island, Don Blas Gonzalez, was dismissed from office because of his kindness to Kendrick on that occasion. In 1793, when Kendrick learned of it, he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, soliciting the good offices of the United States on behalf of the dismissed governor. See below, pages 154–156.

³ Haswell complains here, as elsewhere, of Kendrick's dilatoriness.

⁴ A federal salute. Martinez writes in his MS. diary, May 6, 1789: "They [Kendrick and Gray] told me that the reason for not giving more shots each time was since there were thirteen of the

was returned with 7 from Captain Funter¹ at the house onshore² and 6 Guns from Efagene. all the officers of each vessell were invited to dine onbord the Columbia and the remainder of the Day was spent in mirth and festivity.

The weather thro' all october was rainey and Disagreable. [81] The scarcity of provisions and oil onbord Captain Douglas determined him in a resolution to send the Schuner up the sound to purchase what fish and oil was to be disposed of and no do[u]bt to purchase skins was the princple object of there expidit[i]on Messrs. Ingraham Howe and Treat accompaneyed Capt. Funter they sailed the 14th.

The 16th and 17th was attended with very heavy gales of wind with much rain.

On the return of the Schuner we found they had not penetrated so far up the sound as they at first intended. and there mode of trading with the natives was. On there arrival at a village to plunder them of all the fish and oil they could find and give them perhaps a small pese of copper in return far less valuable than the provision they had taken by forse, and leav the poor harmless wretches unprovided for a long and rigerous winter. this cruel behaviour seemed allmost unpardonable. Nay from the snow they would frequently send there boat in chace of the canoes and bring them too by fiering musket balls at them, for they [*sic*] Natives were far more fleet in there Canoes than boats of the european bult are, and rob them of there fish.³

On 23rd in landing the long boat in a bad surf she was filled and a muskit broke.

*Sunday the 26th*⁴ we had moderate brezes with frequent showers

American states and thirteen stars in the canton of their flag they had orders from their Congress to fire their salvoes with a like number of shots."

¹ Robert Funter, in command of the *North West America*, the schooner referred to in the next paragraph.

² In the tiny cove where the *North West America* had been built.

³ Whether these charges be true or not, they illustrate the spirit of the maritime fur-trade. There was no such permanency in it as there was in the land trade. Its traders had one thought: to obtain a cargo by any means, leaving others to bear the Indians' revenge. This is the secret of many so-called unprovoked attacks. See the Introduction, pages xxvi-xxvii, above.

⁴ Here again there is the usual difference of a day between Haswell's and Meares's accounts, the latter giving the date as October 27. See note 2 on page 50, above.

of Rain at 10 in the morning all our Boats towed the Efagene out of Friendly Cove, bound to the Sandwich Islands.

The natives no sooner saw the snow¹ clear of the [82] Sound than they flocked to us in great numbers with fish oil and some venison and a very friendly intercourse soon commenced by which we were plentifully supplied with provisions and some skins. the natives are ha[r]mless and inofensive people, and well discribed by the Great Cap. Cook.

It was determined by Captain Kendrick to winter here in Noo[t]ka Sound² with both vessels he allso settled his mind on Rigging our sloop into a brig³ without consider[in]g he had not cordage duck nor blocks suffisiant for the purpose *Monday 27th.* with these projects in our heads we went to work and cut some of the spars but these labours soon relaxed and turned another way. For captain Kendrick had all hands turned too to buld a house onshore which kept them emp[loye]d several days and again this fell through.

Our Cabuse⁴ being in a shattered trim originaly of but little value being bult of wood was now become intierly useless, nesesiated us to burn a lime Kiln and buld a new one which we covered with a tolerable house large enough to contain all hands, much of our time was employed burning charcoal for the smiths.

November 19th. Wednesday. The weather now began to be coald with frost and snow, and on the evening of the 19th having frequently seen the tracks of deer on a beach not far distant from the ship it struck me if I lay wate in some seacret place near where they haunted by night favoured by the lightness of the snow I [83] might shoot some of them encouraged by these hopes I set off about 6 oclock in the evening the coald was severe nor was it very comfortable sitting in the crag of a rock but about 10 I was fortunate enough to shoot a fine large Buck I shouldered him tho' heavy and lugged him to the vessel exulting largely at having shot the first, tho' I met with equell success several times after.

¹ The *Iphigenia*.

² In Friendly Cove, at the western entrance to Nootka Sound.

³ This seems to have been a favorite project of Captain Kendrick. While in China in 1790-1791, he changed the rig of the *Washington* from that of a sloop to that of a brig, or, more probably, a brigantine.

⁴ Used in the original Dutch meaning—"kambus": "ship's chimney"; this chimney was built "where the mizzen mast had stood." See, below, the entry for December 12, 1789.

It was the constant employ of a considerable party of our people to burn coals suffishant to supply our Smiths.

Copper was the article in demand this we were unprovided with and the only substitute was Iron worked into chizles after there own plan these to they soon redused the value of inhancing the prise from three chizles to ten but had they been kept at three far more skins would have been parchaced.¹

Fue incidents marked the time the natives visated us allmost every day with fish deer and oil and a fue skins. our chief amusements were fouling and hunt[in]g. in both we had tolerable sucess. the weather was generally rainey and very disagreeable.

We had a shed made onshore of the long boat turned bottom upwardmost where a constant guard was kept to prevent the natives from steeling our water casks etca. which were landed at this place to make room onbord the ship. *Friday [December] 12th.* but to our great amazem[en]t on the morning of the 12th we found the natives had [84] landed and carried of 5 small cannon given to Capt. Kendrick by Captain Douglass, 15 water casks besides several things of less importants the water casks were a heavy loss² nor knew we aney method to retrieve the indions habitations were far distant from us of course there chiefs and people of consequence were out of reach, the next natives that visated us told us the people of the oposite side of the sound³ with hoom they were at war were the agressers this story pasafied Captain Kendrick for fearfull of punishing an inosent person he lett the matter drop unnotised. the cooper was immediately employed making the number of the ships water casks good.

Captain Kendrick had been for several weeks up to his elbos in mortar bulding a brick chimne where the mizon mast had stood tho' he had a good brass stove. its bad consequences we all dredded and endeavored to disswade Capt. Kendrick from it, but to no purpose. 1789. *January. Tuesday 13th.* on the 13th of January we were haled

¹ For the value of these so-called chisels in different parts of the coast, see John Hoskins' memorandum on the trade at Nootka Sound, pages 485-486, below.

² Kendrick's letter to Martinez, the Spanish commander, May 12, 1789 (below, page 119), speaks of striving "to procure Hoops to replace the Water Casks I made mention to you the Natives stole from me during the last Winter."

³ The natives of Muchalat Arm, east of Bligh Island, Nootka Sound.

told the ship was on fire we all went onboard directly to give every assistance that lay in our power the fire was near the magazine. the heat of the fire had communicated thro' to the Deck and burnt both deck and curtains the coals had dropped down the after hold and set the sails on fire as they lay [85] against the magazine bulkhead it was fortunate it was discovered before it went to an irretrievable length, but being discovered in time it was soon quenched.

Tuesday 20th. Having over hauled our rigging on the 14th we got it over head with new Jib and forestays about this time Venson was tolerable plenty for the Natives generally sold us two every day nor would the rigour of the weather deter them or some of them from there daily visits. The 20th Captain Gray intended to have hauled onshore to grave our bottom we slipped our S[t]ern cable and were short on the best bower. I believe cap. Kendricks approbation was not asked on the subject. seeing us unmolested without his orders he hailed us in a pett and ordered Captain Gray to moor ship immediately again. this of course we obeyed¹ however to make up for the detention his carpenters were employed making the spars for the sloop which we were deficient of for all idea of making her a brig was totally abandoned *Friday 23d.* the 23d we weighed and hauled onshore there was a large swell the wind was light with snow *Saturday 24th.* we payed both sides and on the 24th hauled off and moored with the best bower to the NE and the small bower to the SW we immediately ballasted and stowed the hold the 28th a large canoe with the chief of Hancocks harbour² his brother and several persons of distinction with [86] upwards 30 excellent sea otter skins but they sold us but few as they wanted Copper and muskets *Wednesday 28.* the natives now began to come down in great numbers and a friendly [] subsisted and a good many sea otter skins were purchased and about the last of this month the natives came to reside in the cove.

It was judged expedient for the better defence of the Sloop against the natives should she be attacked to build a bullwork all round her

¹ An outcropping of Kendrick's "very absolute" character, as Gray phrases it in a letter to Joseph Barrell, July 13, 1789 (below, page 122). Incidentally, it casts some light upon the real relations of the captains.

² Wickaninish, the head chief of Clayoquot Sound and vicinity.

with ports for an additional number of cannon this was immediately set on foot and added much to her strength and safety as we were defisnant of spare rigging and Junk on the 19th we recieved a suply of them and several other neseceries from the Columbia.

Sunday the 22d I accompaneyed the Captains Kendrick and Gray in two armed boats with an intention to Recover the stolen cannon having had inteligence at what village they were, but the place being much further distant than we at first had supposed we returned without success.

February. Wednesday 25th. The 25th we recieved 450 Indion Chizles.

March the 4th Recieved from the Columbia a hogshead of bread.

When we arrived in the sloop at this Cove we were informed by Captain Mears that he had had a very serious Mutiney onboard his ship and its ringleader was his Boatswane¹ [87] *Thursday 5.* these people where [*sic*] in confinement but supposing as we were week handed we would give shelter to one of them John Green the Boat-swane broke out from the house where they were confined and the evening we first hauled on the ground to repair and clean our bottom he made his case known to Mr. Coolidge adding that he was well acquainted with the Coast and the languages Spoke on it. such a man as this as we ware all ignorent both of coast and languages it naturally struck us might be servisable but Captain Gray had given captain Mears his word he would not take him on board while the snow was in the port. but we suplied him with provisions Captain Mears left him onshore, and when the Columbia arrived he was taken as a seaman onboard of her. he continued to do his duty onboard her till the 5th of March when he was told to Sign the articles this he refused and Captain Kendrick ordered him immediately onshore among the savages.² And George Monk a seaman ship't by Capta[in] Kendrick at St. Jago's having signed the shipping paper was

¹ In July, 1788, at Nootka Sound, the crew of the *Felice* mutinied and attempted to get possession of the ship. The attempt failed, and some eight men, including the boatswain, were put ashore. See the details in Meares, *Voyages*, 186ff., 190, 225.

² Meares states (*Voyages*, 225) that the ringleader of the mutineers, a "discarded boatswain," broke from his confinement on shore and arranged to enter service on the *Columbia*. "For the master of that vessel, with what propriety I shall not pretend to observe, not only sent him provisions to his hiding-place in the woods, but, immediately on the departure of our ships, received him on board his vessel, in which he did duty before the mast."

told his wagers [*sic*] was to bee less than the rest of the seamen and complaining it was not Just he was ordered to quit the ship which he did and dwelt in the woods. We had a goode deel of rain tho' the air was not cold for several days. *Tuesday 10th.* The 10 Captain Kendrick having been informed that shelter was given by the natives to [88] Monk threttened Culecum one of the greatest Chiefs with his most severe displeasure if the man was not delivered to him before long and in the evening we landed with two boats maned and armed and took him prisoner from one of the indion houses.

Wednesday 11th. We now painted our sloop payed her sides and bends and prepaired for sea.

Thursday 12th. The 12th being a clear pleasant day we sent on-board the columbia two casks of Iron wrought into axes adzes etca. to be altered into Indion chizles and recieved from the Columbia six hogsheads of Bread and thre quarters having recieved one the other day three Barrels of Pork and 4 of Beef we allso delivered to the columbia seventeen gallons of Molases and a Barril and a half of Indion corn. the columbia lent us there kedge and small hauser. The 14th we bent sails and were Reddy for sea our intended cruze was to the southward where we were to lay at Hancock's harbour¹ till the sun should cross the Equator.

Monday 16th. On the morning of the 16th being clear and pleasant with the wind to the northward we weighed saluted the columbia With five guns which was returned with 3 being safe out of the cove Captain Kendrick and his officers took leve of us with three cheers and returned on our part. [95]² While we are runing to Clioquot³ I will give a short account of Nootka Sound and its enverence.

Our constant converce with the Natives enabled us to gain a considerable knoledge of their Language Manours and customs I have here insurted a vocabulary which enabled us to converce on allmost aney Subject with facility.

Nootk[a] Sound was discovered by Captain Cook March the 30

¹ Clayoquot Sound, lying between Barkley Sound on the southward, and Nootka Sound on the northward.

² Pages [89-94] are three inserted leaves containing a "Vocabulary of Nootka Sound." See below, pages 102-107.

³ It will be observed that Haswell uses indifferently the American name, Hancock's Harbor, and the Indian name, Clayoquot.

1778 on his passag to the Northern hemisphere of this Ocean.¹ but from the natives we lern their was a Ship anchored at the enterence of the Sound forty months before Captain Cooks arrival from the description they must have been Spaniards but the natives say their boats weir not out duering their tarey,² the Sound is situated in Latitude 49°36' N and Longitude 126°46' W of Greenwich it abounds with good harbours well sheltered from all winds. the Sound is navigable near 20 Leagues where it again meets the Sea in another out let near as large as Nootka about 7 Leagues along shore to the Westward.³

Uquot or Friendly Cove⁴ is situated on the West side of the sound nearly at its enterence [it] is a well sheltered harbour on the west side is a beach allmost the length of the cove on the bank above the beach is situated a large town the sumer habitation of the Natives.

At this place we wintered and it was here Captain Cook met with remarkable sivel treatment from the Natives. [96]

Soil Their is but Little soil from the unequality of its surface that could be rendered arable indeed the trees are every where of so enormous a sise that it would be attended with emence labour to Clear the Land in the most level and promising place the mountains rise steep to a very great hight and to their sumits are clad with an emence forist whose roots wove in with the crags of their rockey foundation are cherished with but little soil and that nearly the decayed limbs and moss about two feet deep in a fue places the wind

¹ Captain Cook, seeking a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, anchored in Nootka Sound, March 30, 1778. *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 269.

² On August 8, 1774, the *Santiago*, a Spanish exploring vessel, under Juan Perez, anchored near Estevan Point, the southern cape of Hope Bay, in which Nootka Sound is situated. No landing was made, but some intercourse with the natives took place over the ship's side. The vessel only stayed a few hours and left hurriedly owing to bad weather. See Crespi's and Peña's diaries in *Publications*, Historical Society of Southern California (1891), 131ff., 201ff.; Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi*, 346ff.

³ The true position of Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, is 49°35'31" North and 126°37'32" West. Esperanza Inlet connects with Nootka Sound by Tasis Narrows and Tasis Canal, thus making Nootka Island.

⁴ "Uquot" is the anglicized form of an Indian word meaning "the village exposed to the winds." John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names* (Ottawa, 1909), 194. Friendly Cove is commonly stated to have been so named by James Strange in his expedition of 1786, but Strange himself speaks of it as "that bay mentioned by Captain Cook under the name of Friendly Harbour." *James Strange's Journal*, A. V. V. Ayvar, Editor (Madras, 1928), 20.

has blown the trees up by the roots and discovers that to the top of these huge mountains tis one continued mass of rocks.

In the woods we find Fir spruce of several sorts white pine Red and white Cedar white Cypruss Ash Alder Burch Hemlock popple maple Crab tree Wilde cherry and a small tree that resembles a Hemlock the wood is close graned and resembling mahoganey but heaveyer. and the natives tell me their is oak at Matchlat¹ a village far up the Sound we frequently meet with gooseberrys rausberrys currants blackberries strawberries and thimble berries in the spring their is plenty of small wild onions² but late in the season they are not so well flavoured. the rivers produce water creeses and the marshes Samphire. their is some good clover grows in the neighbourhood of the villages their are several sorts of fern roots the natives eat that I am not acquainted with one sort which [97] is very small and when boiled tastes like a sweet potato and is not unpleasant food but its not plenty.³ there is puslin wild celery hogweed sorril wild peas and mullin.

The natives of the sound are below the middle size they indid are prity Large about the sholders and those parts of there body they keep in exercize are well proportioned thier principle employment being paddling their arms and bodies become more muscular while thier Legs are crooked and ill shaped indeed they not only in their canoes but in the Houses set on their hams that when they walk they never straten their knee but from constant habit keep it on a bend walking parot towed. the faces of some of the females are pleasing but the generality of boath sex have high cheak boans a low brow a small black eye with a drowsey aspect their lips are thick mouth and nostrils large and their skin constantly covered with red paint and oil. Their dress is in general a garment with three sides square the lower edge rounding with a fringe and the uper edge trimmed with Fur. on each side about two inches in bredth the garment is composed of wool of the mountain sheep⁴ but the rest of the

¹ Muchalat, on the eastern branch of Nootka Sound, about fifteen miles from Friendly Cove.

² The camass.

³ Probably the wapato, the native potato.

⁴ The wool was from the mountain goat. The mountain sheep, despite its name, has no wool, but hair almost as coarse as that of a deer. Some of the wool used at Nootka Sound came from the dogs. Neither Captain Cook nor the surgeon, Ellis, could tell whence it was obtained; but

garment is made of the bark of a Cedar tree beat to a state that it sum resembles hemp these garments are gener[a]ly worn under the left arm and tied near the corners over the right sholder. with this they generally were another garment resembling a petty coat with a small [98] hole large enough to admit the head this when on falling over the sholders reaches as low as the elbows. they ware curious conical caps¹ on their heads but their feat and legs are allways bare in very rainey or coald weather they generally ware a Bear Woolf skin or dears they have allso blankits of excellent workmanship of the wolls of mountain sheep and as well dun as tho it was wove in a loom.

Their ornaments are necklaces of beads coper bresslets and ear-ring but orniments in the nose are not fashionable tho' all their noses are perferated but they highthen all these orniments by anointin[g] themselvs all over with paint and oil and covering their hair with fethers they throw onto their faces a sparkling sand resembling isingglass which sticks to the paint thus equiped they recieve visaters and pay visates where formality is nesecery.

House Furniture Domestic utensils the sides of the houses are purpendicular the top nearly flat both cover and sides are of excessive wide bords the ridge pole is an enormous size sum near 12 feet in sircomference and little short of an hundred feet in Length the side poles which are on a small decent from the ridge are not so large the houses are in general about 30 feet wide but of various Lengths from 20 to an hundred feet in Length each of these houses are divided into small apartments aproreated to the dwelling of seperate famelies these apartments are made only by a single board about three feet wide so when a person stands up they can see all over the house each famely has a fierplace and their is a long passage from the dore to the further end of the house² where the

John Ledyard, in his *Journal of Capt. Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (Hartford, 1783), says (71) that besides their bark garments they had another kind "principally made with the hair of their dogs which are almost white, and of the domestic kind." See, too, Frederic W. Howay, "The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, ix (April, 1918), 83-92.

¹ There is an illustration of these cedar bark hats in the atlas to Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*.

² This description of the inside of a Nootkan house corresponds with the more detailed one to be found in Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 315.

chief of the Famely usually lives at the right hand side [99] They sit on boards covered with mats elevated about six inches above the ground. for ornament on the inside of their houses they have the pillers that suport the ridge pole and side poles carved into the shape of human faces with extorted fetures others of beasts and imagenary animils¹ the Frame poles of the house is usually painted but frequently carved in a very curious maner the boards They have about their houses I have very frequently seen 6 feet wide and they are generaly more than 4. the[y] eat regularly breackfast in the morning Dine at noon and sup at Dusk. They are intolerably filthy and in warm weather they issue no very pleasant efluvia.

They amuse themselves in evenings and some times in Day time by making entertainments for their Nighbours on these ocasions their chief mirth consists in singing and dancing they are clamorous but accompaneyed in true time by the beating of paddles etca. against the roof and their voices met in exact unison indeed the womun sing sometimes malodiously. they have a game which is played by seting a stick purpendiculary in the sand he that knocks it down wins the bet such as knives etca.

Their weepens are bows arrows Spears Dagers and stone axes they now use fierarms but their usual method of fighting is with the speer they gener[a]ly surprise their enamey in the night and do the chief of the buseness before the rest awake with their stone axes these are of diferent forms sum of them [100] are made with a long wooden handle and at the top representing a mans head with hare on it and the stone placed in its mouth to represent an enormous tongue others are nearly a wedge with a handle cut round on the stone about 9 inches from the edge and above the handle is a human face with distorted features and are realy curious their are but fue of the native that are good bowmen nor do they throw a speer with dexterity it is a custom to adorn ther weepens with the teeth of their vanquished enemies.

Here are Bears Wolves Moose fallow and rain deer Foxes rac-

¹ "Extorted" should be, of course, "distorted." Captain Cook thought these carvings, which he says were called klumma, were probably of their gods (*ibid.*, II. 317), but we now know that they were their totems. See Charles Hill-Tout, *British North America: The Far West, The Home of the Salish and Déné* (London, 1907), Chapter IX, and especially page 177.

coons squirrels minks Land and sea otters Dogs Beavers Martins wild Cats and Mice.

In the woods we find several sorts of woodpickers, Robbins the Vergina red bird, snow birds, yellow birds, long tailed thrush ground birds, tomtits, s[p]arrows wrens, parterages, Quales, hawks, owls, Eagles of several sorts Ravens, Crows, swallows, Doves and pigeons of water fowl are Geese, Ducks, Brants two sorts of shags several sorts of Shrill drake, two sorts of teal, large Loons several sorts of divers and Gulls, Murs,¹ Marsh larks, kingfishers, and swans.

Fish their air plenty of whales, but few spermasity many right Whales and an abundance of humpbacks, Porpoises Salmon of various species Breem flounders Cod and halibut Sculpins Frost fish Their are fish resembling the West india Red and white snappers black fish Dog fish Herrins Serdenas and Seals The shell fish are Oisters Scollops Clams Limpts coules mussels pearl sea eggs and starfish.

Their Canoes are made of one log dug out and neatly shaped about 10 feet long, these are most generally in use [101] but they have others to the length of 30 feet these are used in war and whaleing the small canoes are intended to contain two persons and are chiefly employed in fishing the larger sort carry frequently 30 persons but the whalers never exceed six. these canoes are pritty titlish the stern rises perpendicularly and the head stands forward a considerable distance their extreme breadth is forward of the beam they are very swift they are well calculated and excellently adapted for every purpose of these people who manage them with great dexterity they make no use of any other sort of tool but a Chizzle a wooden wedge and a round stone for a mallet in the manufacturing of their canoes splitting of Boards falling of trees and Cutting of Fierwood.

The employment of all classes of people are building and repairing their Canoes splitting of Boards making and repairing their fishing gear and of the Lower Class and boys bringing home their Fierwood The Women prepare the bark of Ceders by soaking it and

¹ A murre is a small aquatic bird, about the size of a widgeon, and too fishy to eat. There are thousands of them on Triangle Island, off Cape Scott, the northwestern end of Vancouver Island, where they breed. They lay a very large egg, in color a smoky white.

beating it till it becomes in a flaxen state this they weve into garments also in making their caps or Hatts they allways split and Clean the fish and asist in hanging them up to smoak it is the lower class of the womens buseness to bring all the fish from the Canoes to the Houses and the gethering of Clams etca. at Low water when the food is preserved and sufishtantly Dry by smoak they pack it down in boxes or bales and Lay it a side till the time of need.

Food and manner of Cooking They eat but fue [102] Roots and these are allways collected by the Women in the spring of the year. Dried fish and oil constitute the principle part of their diate but whenever they can git it they eat Bear Deer and Geese Raccoons martins and Squerrils but they abhor either Woolf or Dog Dried fish spawn is also in abundants and great estimation in February the herrins became plenty and they seldom failed to Load their canoes in March the taking of these fish was forbit in the Nyhbourhood of the cove in which we lay when on a sudden to our great surprize every canoe and allmoast every person of the Village went up the sound and in a fue hours returned loaded with hemlock bows these they sunk with stoans a bead of considerable bulk this was intended for the fish to fix their spawn on¹ in about a month they will hawl them up and fix long spar raftures to dry them on by their account they must collect several thousand wate in a season their usual method of cooking is to boil the Food in a wooden box with hot stones by this method they make a nurishing soop and serve it out to each person in a small boat they frequently broil their dried fish. they begin to be fond of Rum and Wine they will eat bread or aney thing sweet but have great avurtion to salt or aney thing that is salted.

Religion and method of burieng ther dead the[y] pay great adoration to the Sun they believe in a supream god and a Deavil they have several strange stories of this strange monster they say they were doing some bad thing on the beach in some past ages when the dredfull fellow made his apearance they represent him as Black with fiery eyes he is of an enormious size and has but one

¹ The same practice prevailed seventy years later. "The natives put cedar branches or stalks of long grass into the water, and press them to the bottom with stones . . . and when the herrings have deposited their spawn the pieces of grass or the branches are lifted, and the egg-bed is found firmly adhering to them." Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 223.

Leg. [103] but so nimble that after eating twenty or thurty of them the blud runing a plentiefull streem down each side of his mouth he at one hop went across the sound and they now suppose he dwells in the woods they suppose their departed friends become guar-dions over and senders of the fish and anamils that are of most service to them and they think it gives the disceased great pain to cut particular sorts of fish cut with a Knife and that thay will send no more if it is allowed off. they think their is different degrees of bliss proportioned to their valour and dexterity in killing Whales or beasts and the taking of fish I have seen the old people appear to pray with great furer and shed tears They put the Dead of superior rank into boxes ornamented with the teeth of sea otters with their knees close up to their Chin into these Coffins they put the fishing geer or Weepen he was fond of duering his lifetime and carie this Box to the top of sum very high tree about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Village where they lash it securely bending the top limbs round the Box and as they decend they cut the limbs close off to the Tree which renders it diff[icult] of access. the lower class of people they put in boxes and lay under the trees or at the feet of rocks.¹

A plurality of wives is alowed among them and every person has as maney wives as he can purchase the parents of Chiefs generally purchase their sons Wives from distant tribes at a very exorbutant prise of Iron Copper Canoes etca.² when a child is born it costs near as much to perchace a name for it the Chiefs of other famulies generally name it and untill [it] arrives to a considerable [104] age they change their name every Year and when he arrives of age he asumes a number of Names or Titles.

When aney of the villagers die they make great lementations a little time before we sailed I was onshore with Captain Gray and had walked to the Distance of 2 or 3 miles from the village on our

¹ "The coffins of the highest chiefs, and sometimes also those of well-born infants are hoisted to a great height from the ground. . . . Old women and men and boys of no rank in the tribe, are wrapped in worn blankets or mats, and simply left upon the ground." *Ibid.*, 258-259.

² Polygamy and purchase of wives were common amongst the Indians of the Northwest Coast. "I was offered a young, pretty, well-born woman for one hundred blankets; but a wife can be bought sometimes for an old axe or half-a-dozen mink-skins. Though a wife is always purchased, it is a point of honour that the purchase-money given for a woman of rank—not for a common woman—shall, some time or other, be returned by her friends or her tribe in a present of equal value." *Ibid.*, 97-98.

return we were amazed to [hear] a Lowd and most pitious moan on inquiring the cause I was informed a Canoe loaded with herrins had upset and that a Mischimmee or Labouring man was drowned and that it was the Women condoling with the Widdow and moaning over the corps for they say they rewear the memery of a person who dies in so Laudable a persute.

The next morning their was a large contribution collected at the Chiefs house and from thence it was caried in prosesion to the house of the disceased and presented to the Widdow and Children. the Like donations they say are allways practiced on similar occasions.

Thes people are canables and eat the flesh of their vanqu[i]shed enemies and frequently of their slaves who they kill in Cool blud they make but little serimoney in owning the fact and I have seen them eat human flesh Myself.¹

The impliments for Fishing are for savages well contrived the harpoon is made of a stout mussle shell barbed with boan fastened together with gum and a worp fastened to it their is a small sockit in it to ship the Staff 9 feet long and as large at the end as a persons arm but very taper towards the harpoon their worps and lines are of Whale sinue and they have a number of Seel skins turned inside-out and blown up with wind these they have to Keep the Whale from diving deep.² [105]

1789. *March. Monday* 16. The weather was pleasant at Noon Breakers point³ bore East Distance 2 Leagues the wind noow sprung up lively to the Westward and we made sail along shore the Coast trending about E b S and maney Dangerous reefs set off far from it at sun sett we were within 4 Leagues of Clioquot when we hove too with the wind to the WNW with our Head off shore all night it was light brezes and pleasant *Tuesday* 17 in the morning

¹ The established opinion today is that the Indians of the Northwest Coast were not cannibals; and that anything that appeared to be cannibalism was in reality merely formal and a part of some ceremonial. Cook, Ledyard, Meares, Galiano and Valdes, Malaspina, Roquefeuil, and many others entertained the view that these people were cannibals; but not one well authenticated instance of cannibalism has been produced.

² The harpoon shaft was frequently made of yew; the points of large mussel shell were fastened to an eyed lanyard of whale sinew. When about to be used, a long rope of twisted cedar was attached to the eye.

³ Cape Estevan; Captain Cook's name, "Breakers Point," has given way to the name applied by the Spaniard, Perez, in 1774.

of the 17th the winds were variable we stood in shore and it died away Calm at this time it was flud tide sinking into several small rocky inlets we drew nigh the Land fast we were neseditated to anchor the outwardmost rocks at the enterence of Clioquot bearing SE *b* E Dist[ant] 2 leagues. While we lay hear Totees'cosettle¹ brother to the Chief of Clioquot came onboard at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 a smart Breeze from the Westward sprung up having Leyed an hour and a half we weighed and stood into the Roads at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 we anchored in 8 f[atho]m Water over a sandy Bottom.

Maney of the natives came off several of the Chiefs were onboard and sold sum skins at sunset we fieraed a gun and they all Departed peasably.

Wednesday 18th. Earley in the morning Captain Gray went up into the Harbour and returned at 12. I observed the situation of our preasant anchoring place to be $49^{\circ}6'$ No. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 with a light breeze from the Southward weighed and run up into the Harbour and anchored at 2 PM and at 5 Moored with the Kedge up streem² this day we purchaced a number of Good skins finding game plenty I went out and shot some Geese.

The 19th and 20th the weather remaining good the natives were onboard as usual one a Chief from the [106] Village A'howset³ that called himself Captain Hannah⁴ he sold us maney skins and seemed a very inteligent old Fellow As usual the weather as changable as the Wind *Saturday 21st* it now became southwardly accompaneyed with rain and it continued till the 23 blowing heavy having purchaced Skins Captain Gray determined to keep the remainder of his Chizles for the southern trade and tho' there were an abundance offer'd we purchaced none.

¹ A brother of Wickananish, the head chief of Clayoquot. He is frequently mentioned in Haswell's second log of the *Columbia*.

² Meares's Port Cox, in Clayoquot Sound, latitude $49^{\circ}08'$. Clayoquot Sound is about forty miles to the southward of Nootka Sound.

³ An Indian village, now on Flores Island, Clayoquot Sound, but in 1789 on the ocean side of Vargas Island in the same sound. The name is composed of two Indian words, "Ahoua aht," meaning "people ('aht') living with their backs to the land and mountains." It became attached to this village because from it there was an unobstructed view of the ocean.

⁴ Chief Cleaskinah, who exchanged names (a token of friendship) with Captain James Hanna of the *Sea Otter*, 1785 and 1786. Meares (*Voyages*, 136) describes him, in June, 1788, as "about forty and carried in his looks all the exterior marks of pleasantry and good humour."

We lay Doing nothing but amuse ourselves by Shooting etca. till the 27 Dewering which time I took a tolerable accurate survey of the Harbour *Friday 27th*. Earley in the morning which was hazey we unmoar and towards the last of the ebb we weighed and run out of the Harbour at 7 AM came too with the smaller bower in 4 f[atho]m Water above the bar I then in the Long boat being low water sounded the bar and Roads at 10 Captain Gray with the small boat sounded another Channel into the Harbour¹ at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 weighed and beat down into the roads at 2 anchored abrest anchor rock Captain Gray accompaneyed by Mr. Treat Went onshore to the Village² Moor'd Ship with the Stream anchor to the Eastward and Small bower to the SW at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 Capt. G. Returned from the Village the Night was gloomey with Rain.

Clayoquot or Hancocks Harbour³ is in Latt. $49^{\circ}9' N$ and Longitude $125^{\circ}26' W$ from the Meredion of Greenwich

In these Roads their is good anchorage and [107] Shelter at the head of the Roads which runs in an northwardly direction lay the Harbour well sheltered from all winds and totaly Land Locked from the Sea To sail into this port give the East point of Observatory Island a small birth and then border on⁴ the Western shore towards the Village Echahchisht⁵ about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from Harbour Island⁶ on the East Side Lays the spit and middchannel will carey in good water⁷ when you can See passage rocks open with fortification bluff you are Channel way and will carey 2 f[atho]m Water over the bar. then you pass to the SE of Harbour Island in the Channel their is from 7 to 14 f[atho]m the tide is run very rapid and at slack water is the only time that it is advisable to go

¹ Meares's Port Cox, in Clayoquot Sound. See the map (so-called) in *ibid.*, 202.

² Opitsat (now called Clayoquot) was the principal Indian village on Clayoquot Sound, on the southwest side of Meares Island. It is the most northerly of the villages shown by Meares on the map in his *Voyages* (202). The village of Haswell's day was destroyed in March, 1792, by Captain Gray's orders. Boit gives the story in his log.

³ Clayoquot, the name of the Indian tribe inhabiting the sound; Hancock, the name given by the Americans on this voyage, never came into general use.

⁴ That is, pass close to Observatory, now Lennard, Island and keep close to the western shore.

⁵ This village bears the same name today, but it is usually spelled "Echachis."

⁶ Harbour Island is now called Stubbs Island.

⁷ In this case four to five fathoms would be called "good water."

through the best anchoring place¹ is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from harbour Island on an eastwardly direction and a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the south shore here is 7 f[atho]m Water and a botom of Sand in this situation the passage Rocks are on a range with Opitsel'ah,² from the Harbour Island to the passage Islands except a narrow passage about twice the bredth of a Ship and here there is 5 f[atho]m Water at Low tide their are plenty of good streems of fresh water and wood is to be procured at every part for the Land is clothed with one continued Woods we found great abundance of game Geese espesially

We were all the time while in this Harbour on the moast friendly footing with the natives who discovered a very good disposition. The natives whose disposition manours and Customs exactly resemble those of Nootka are a stouter better proportioned people.

Their Towns are larger and much more numerously inhabited than those of the Sound³ they are better bult. [108] And are cleaner their Clumas or carved pillers are more numerous and better exicuted some of these are so large that the Mouth serves as doarway into their houses some of their ridgpoals which are of incredible Length and bulk are neatly Fluted others are painted in resemblance of various sorts of beasts and birds we met with resemblences of the Sun both painted and carved the rays shoot from every side of the orb which like our Country Sign painters they pictur with eyes nose and mouth and a round plump face⁴

In all these houses they have plenty of skins which they told us they would rediely part with for Chizles or Copper but of the former they demand an exorbutant price ten for a skin and the latter we are totally destitute of.

I realy think their is a great inland communication by rivers the whole land we could see I have good reason to suppose to be Islands⁵

¹ Evidently the Port Cox of Meares. Compare the above description with the map above mentioned in Meares, *Voyages*, 202.

² The modern spelling is "Opitsat."

³ Nootka Sound.

⁴ This is evidently a description of Opitsat. Boit gives a description of this village under date March 27, 1792.

⁵ This opinion was in the air. Haswell returns to it later in his entry for May, 1789 (see page 87, below). Meares exploited it in his celebrated map, on which he showed the "track of the

the village in the roads is on an Island on the West side called Echahchisht the village in the Harbour Opitselah and their winter Village Oakaminah¹ far up a fresh water river where they have plenty of Salmon and other fish. The large canoes of this Port are much like those of Nootka but the small ones are shorter and of a greater breadth of Beem here they perceive in the taking of Whales more than any place I have yet met with on the Coast² *Saturday 28th.* in the morning it was Clear and Cold at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 we unmoored and took in our boats and at 5 Weighed and Came to sail standing along shore to the ESE with a fine Northwardly breeze so close as to determine whether any harbour existed or not it was near 10 o'clock [109] before we saw any thing that had an appearance to furnish us with an Idea that there was even shelter for a boat we now opened the northern extremity of Company's bay and as we sailed along it saw it to much greater advantage than we had last summer, we could plainly perceive the Islands formed good harbours of easy access I regretted passing this port unexplored but it was Captain Gray's opinion that so high as it was to Clayoquot the price would be but little different but there is but little doubt we shall see it before our southern cruise is out and perhaps more remote tribes may trade on easier terms the hills to the south of this bay are more equal in height than those of the north the shore is bold and Ironbound at meridian I observed in Latitude $48^{\circ}44'$ North and at this time we saw a cape or Headland which I suppose to be Cape Flattery³ bearing SE $\frac{1}{2}$ E but to the eastward of this no

American sloop *Washington* in the autumn of 1789." Vancouver, in 1792, proved the existence of the island that now bears his name by sailing through the passage between Vancouver Island and the mainland.

¹ In Meares's *Voyages* (143) there is a sketch of this harbor under the name of Port Cox. Two of the villages shown in that sketch are Echachis and Opitsat, the latter being the northernmost. Perhaps Haswell's Oakaminah is the Indian fishing station on Tofino Inlet, Clayoquot Sound, known as Okeamin. The river may be Kennedy River, which flows into Tofino Inlet out of Kennedy Lake.

² The Indians of this vicinity were remarkable, in the hunting of whales, for their use of inflated seal-skins to impede the movements of the great mammal. Sproat's *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* contains (227-228) an excellent description of Indian whaling as practised at Clayoquot.

³ The *Washington* has sailed southeasterly from Nootka Sound to Clayoquot Sound. She now continues her course southeasterly along the Vancouver Island shore to Barkley Sound, which the Americans called Company's Bay.

Land could be seen as we proceeded E b S as the coast trended I fully concluded we were in the straits of Juan de Fuca. at 2 PM we passed the village Nitinat¹ it is in Latt. 48°42' N and Longitude [] W. we passed this and keeping the North shore onboard we proceeded along shore in an E ½ S Direction it now began to blow heavy and Looked like disagreeable weather we stood up the Straits till ½ past 4 in the afternoon when hauled into a deep bay² We stood up in a NNE direction and anchored under the Lee of the west shore about 2 Miles from the enterence in 7 f[atho]m Water sandy bottom with the small bower. we hoisted [110] out the boat and I went and sounded the bay but saw no natives at one place where their was an excellent streem of water I landed and saw a deserted hut and the feet marks of both men and beasts it blew very fresh when we came too but in the evening it died away Calm with Rain *Sunday 29th.* in the morning We saw the smoak of the Natives habitation at 8 we weighed and came to sail stood up the cove about 3 Miles and anchored on the East side about ½ a mile from the shore oposite to us is an excellent streem of water and the ground on which we anchored is a strong clay intermixed with shells at ½ past 9 we saw a canoe at a great Distance they approached us with great caution and when within hearing made maney exclamations of Friendship before they ventured nigh we were glad to find they spoke a dialect of the Nootka Language.³ they came nigh and received a fue presents but with great timidity. they appeared to be a poor set of Fellows and are of a very inconsiderable tribe they left us with promises to bring some fish and before long a good maney of the natives in two or three Canoes came off with Salmon for sale and they remained with us all day.

These people have seen vessels before as they are acquainted with the efect of Fier arms but they all say they never saw a vessell like

¹ Probably Cloöse, then, it would seem, known as Nitinat, situated about a mile eastward of the river discharging Nitinat Lake. It is in latitude 48°36' North and longitude 124°46' West.

² Port San Juan, on Vancouver Island, just inside the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca; the Port Hawkesbury of Meares; by the Indians called Pachenat; by the Americans, Poverty Cove.

³ Sproat (*Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 132ff.) says that the Nitinats have more words and changes of verbal form peculiar to themselves than any of the other Nootkan tribes. The Pachenats (a division of the Nitinats), being on the boundary of the Cowitchans, would doubtless incorporate into their speech some of their neighbors' words and expressions.

ours and I believe we are the first Vessel that ever was in this port. here may be expected but fure skins for they brought none for sale. This place by the natives is called Patchenat and by us Poverty Cove.¹

Monday 30th. The 30 Was rainy disagreeable weather the Natives brought [111] off Salmon as usual in the Night the wind was fresh to the Southward.

March 31st. The Weather became clear about 3 in the Morning of the 31. at 6 the boat was dispatched for a turn of Water and at 8 AM we weighed and stood out with the boats ahead towing at 9 a Breeze sprung up and we stood across South with the Wind at WNW as soon as we came within ½ a Mile of the South shore of the Straits we bore up and went along shore in an ESE direction about 4 Leagues w[h]en we saw a large canoe cuming off their was at this time a tumultuous sea caused by the meeting of the wind and tide we hove too to wate for the Canoe and the Sea made fare² breaches over us the canoe came nearly alongside they had no skins and told us their were none up the Straits but that the Chief Tatooth of Clahaset³ had purchaced them all they offer'd their own manufactored blankets which weir realy curious and Children for sale.⁴ but as their was so disagreeable a chop of a Sea we had no farther intercourse with them but hauling our Wind we stretched towards the North shore. To have run farther up these Straits at this boisterous season of the Year without aney knoledge where we

¹ In this harbor, on July 17, 1788, the longboat of Meares's *Felice* was attacked by the natives. The sailors replied with firearms. Probably this is the experience that made them acquainted with the effect of such weapons. See Meares, *Voyages*, 176ff., and appendix number 4. Haswell is right in his statement that the *Washington* was the first vessel to enter the port, Meares's longboat from the *Felice* not being a vessel.

² A nautical term meaning "without obstruction."

³ Tatooth, the chief of Cape Flattery and vicinity. "I had been given to understand that this promontory was by the natives called Classet; but now finding that this name had originated only from that of an inferior chief residing in its neighbourhood, I have therefore resumed Captain Cook's original appellation of Cape Flattery." George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (London, 1801), II. 390.

⁴ The blankets were probably of dog's hair. "The natives of Tatooth show much ingenuity in manufacturing blankets from the hair of their dogs. On a little island a few miles from the coast they have a great number of white dogs which they feed regularly every day. From the wool of these dogs and the fibres of the Cypress they make a very strong blanket." "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N. W. America [1824-1826]," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, VI (June, 1905), 196. See Frederic W. Howay, "The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish,"

were going or with what difficu[li]ties we might meet in this unknown Sea would have been the high of imprudence espesially as the wind was situated so we could not return at pleasure.¹ the straits appeared to extend their bredth a little way above our present situation and form a Large sea stretching to the east and no land to obstruct the view as far as the eye could reach the Land [112] on both sides was high and over grone with woods on the South shore as we run along it the water was deep and Shoars bould but as we stretched to the Northward the Water became shole and ground foul at 6 in with the North shore tacked in 7 f[atho]m water Rockey bottom² at 9 PM were again on the south shore but had the Mortification to find she was 3 Miles to Leeward of the place we departed from we tacked and again stood off the Wind veared to the southward and we Lay up West southwardly on the Morning of the 1 of April the weather was moderate and Clear and we saw the Sun rise clear from the Horizon up the straits the Variation [] E we were beating in with a place on the south shore that had the appearance of a Harbour when on a suden a very Heavy Squall struck us from the SW b S. however we got all our sail in without loss the wind and sea were much to violent for us to attempt [to] gain an offin and a lee shore tho' very thick was fair in view we now determined to run into Poverty Cove³ we bore away accordingly and were fortunate enough to hit the cove and anchored at 2 PM the weather was coald with heavy Squalls of

Washington Historical Quarterly, ix (April, 1918), 83-92, and note 4 on page 60, above. Children were frequently sold by the Indians of the Northwest Coast. Martinez, in his MS. diary, mentions their purchase by him for the purpose of teaching them the Christian religion. François Péron, in his *Mémoires sur ses Voyages aux Côtes Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1824), II. 2, says: "Après une assez longue négociation, Makouina nous le [the child] vendit, moyennant trois brasses de drap bleu."

¹ The *Washington* is now off Clallam Bay, some fifteen miles east of Cape Flattery. See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxx (March, 1929), 32.

² About fifteen miles eastward of Port San Juan (Haswell's Poverty Cove), on the northerly shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. This position and the one mentioned in the preceding note (and that referred to as having "the appearance of a harbour," which was probably Clallam Bay) mark Gray's farthest points up that strait. Captain J. T. Walbran estimated it as twenty-five miles from Cape Flattery. Gray told Vancouver (Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 42f.) that he had penetrated only fifty miles. It was this that Meares (*Voyages*, lvi) magnified into a circumnavigation of Vancouver Island.

³ Port San Juan, Vancouver Island. See notes 2 and 3 on page 71, above.

Rain wind and Sleet all night much hail and Wind. the morning was pleasant and Clear but a very great sea out.

Friday 3d. Earley in the morning of the 3, the weather was clear and pleasant with a light Northwardly breeze at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 we weighed and run out at 10 Poverty Cove bore North Dist[ance] 6 Miles. and a larg swell from the sea setting up the Straits and a good surf on the Shores behind an Island¹ on the south shore Captain Gray had formed very sanguine hopes of their being a good Harbour prompted to seek it by a number of Natives who were alongside with good [113] skins we stood in accordingly to a deep bay² open to the NW Winds and swell we anchored in 5 f[athoms] and veared a great scope but it was some time before she brought up, in fact our situation was so dangerous that Mr. Coolidge and Myself advised Captain Gray to weigh imediately this he complied with and we stood out. when we had got out abreast the enterence we hove too and purchaced a number of good sea otter skins they told us the village abreast of which we anchored was named Nee'ah and I have no doubt on the other side of the Island tolerable good anchorage might be found of these people we bought some good Halibut, I was not much prejaused in the favour of these people tho' they spoke Nootka Language but they wanted that harmless inofensive counteness so agreeable in our Northeren friends.

Their was now a strong tide setting out of the Straits and a Wind blowing strong from the Eastward at 1 Oclock PM we bore away and run out of the Straits at 2 Abrest a Reef of rocks³ which runs out from Cape Flattery in a WNW Direction Distance about 8 Miles betwixt this and the Cape is Tatooches Island or Chandie here we are informed by the Natives is a large tribe but the Sea was so high not one Canoe came off it is about 4 Miles⁴ from the cape

¹ Waddah Island, near Neeah Bay, in the state of Washington.

² Neeah Bay, on the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in the state of Washington. It is about four miles eastward of Tatoosh Island.

³ There is no such reef. Duntze and Duncan rocks lie at about northwest from Cape Flattery and about one mile distant. Probably Haswell was misled by the fact that in their vicinity the cross sea which arises in bad weather strongly resembles heavy breakers and extends a considerable distance into the strait.

⁴ Tatoosh Island lies not four miles, but only half a mile northwest of Cape Flattery.

which is in Lattd. $48^{\circ}20'$ N and Longitude $123^{\circ}55'$ W and makes the south cape of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The wind now grew light and a great Swell heaving on shore from the westward the evening was calm and Disagreeable the surf roaring awfully Chan-dee bears N $\frac{1}{2}$ W 18 Miles.

Saturday 4th. In the morning of the 4th it breezed up at SE [114] and we stretched off SSW and by 6 AM it blew a purfect gale of wind and we were reduced to very snug sail at 10 the wind shifted and became more moderate from the NW. we wore and stood SSE with a heavy sea Cape Flattery bearing North I observed in Latitude $47^{\circ}35'$ No. Light breezes and a heavy swell at 5 hove too with her Head to the Westward for the Night.¹

Sunday 5th. The 5th the weather was changable squalls of wind and Rain and alturnatively indeed so precarious that we could not venter in with the Land for to the South[war]d of Cape Flattery and to the Northward of $45^{\circ}28'$ N their is not a Harbour or at Least we know none² the Coast abounds with Natives and good Sea otter skins but at this season of the year it is attended with the most eminent danger to cruze this part of the Coast and the advantages that may accrew from so great a hazard are by no meens equivelent for when we came along this shore Last sumer when the weather was mild and pleasant fue of the natives came off tho' we were day after day close in with the Land how much less then may the Natives [be] expected off when it allmost constantly Blows a Gale of Wind the sea runing to a mountanious hight and we very Distant, for it would be the hight of imprudence to come near in such weather as we now experience.

Monday 6th. Earley on the 6th the Wind increesed in a violent degree and reduced us to a 3 Reef'd Main sail and head of the fore sail at 8 Captain Gray finding the gail likely to continue violent deturmined to bear away for the Straits Juan de Fuca in hopes to gain shelter in Poverty Cove. We bore up and [115] ran along the shore with the wind at SSE untill 10 when it blew with such heavy gusts that It obliged us to Reef again and before this was done it

¹ The *Washington* is sailing southeasterly along the coast of the state of Washington.

² Neither Gray's Harbor nor the Columbia River was then known. In July, 1788, Meares, in the *Felice*, had discovered Shoalwater Bay.

blew so violent and was so thick that we could not see the Land upon which we hauled our wind and stood off SW 3 hours upon a wind when it Shifted to SW and blew strong with a large sea. the coast to the southward of Cape Flattery trends about E \bar{b} S and we hauled our wind to the Southward heading SSE and often SE and the wind was so strong that we made two points and $\frac{1}{2}$ Leeway this decrees'd our offin very fast However deaf to our persuasions Captain Gray would not heav about but persisted in a southwardly direction tho we could soon regain our offin on the other tack,¹ at Dusk Cape Flattery bore NNE distance 7 Leagues and the Southwardmost Extrem of Land SE. It was Squally with hail and Sleet all the night *Tuesday 7th* carieing as much sail as the Vessel would allow off a Lee shore we made not better than a SE Course all night and at Day Light the southwardmost extrem of Land bore SE. Foggy rocks NW \bar{b} N Green Island E $\frac{1}{2}$ N.² Queenilth steeple rock ENE. at 6 the wind veared to SSW we wore Ship and stood off West at 8 Moderate Lowered the sails down to mend having been much shattered in the Late gale the weather was not unpleasant at Meredion I observed in Latitude $47^{\circ} 54'$ No. the wind at South Laying off shore it soon thretened bad weather and at 6 we took in the Jib and double reefed the mainsail it soon blew a gale at SSE and before Midnight blew very heavy. *Wednesday 8th*. On the 8th at 1 AM hove too under our foresail the gale increased so fast and we had found by experience they were so frequent and the sea so heavy that it was deturmined to bear up and lay [116] off the straits mouth and wate a favourable opertunety to go into Poverty Cove. at 4 AM we bore up under the foresail and steared NW to give the Land a proper birth the weather thick and Squalley at 8 AM set the mainsail still continuing our course at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 PM saw the Land ranging from NNW to ENE at 4 hove too with the Jib to windward and weather Moderate we were now on the north side at the enterence of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. we had the wind from the Southward and Eastd. and a strong

¹ After heading for the northward, Captain Gray again turns to the southward, or southeastward, persisting, according to Haswell, in a course that rapidly decreases his offing. Such incidents create the belief that Gray was as "absolute" as he charges Kendrick with being. See his letter to Joseph Barrell, July 13, 1789, page 122, below.

² Flattery Rocks and Destruction Island, both off the Washington coast.

current out of the Straits we hauled to the SW till Midnight when we wore and stood in to the NE intending to fetch to windward of Companey's Bay and go into it *Thursday 9th.* but so strong had been the current setting to the Northward that at daylight on the 9th we found ourselves Only 3 Leagues to windward of Cliaquot¹ it now came so thick that we could only discern the tops of the hills above the Harbour however we soon found our way in and at ½ past 8 anchored in the Roads² [] point bearing SE Echachisht³ East and Observatory Island⁴ South we anchored with the small bower in 7 f[atho]m water.

Friday 10th. The morning of the 10 was moderate and pleasant several of the Natives were off with skins at 10 Mr. Coolidge went up the Harbour to shoot some game. about Noon I was surprized at hearing a very sudden and Loud shout and seeing almost every Boddy running from the village to their canoes I was soon eased from my suspense by my Friend Hannah⁵ who told me Wickaninish had struck a Whale and that all the Villagers were going to his assistance I was curious to see them kill this large fish with such simple implements and went in a canoe accompanied by Mr. Treet to be [117] spectators on our arrival at the place of action I found the Whale with sixteen Bladders fastened to him with harpoons the whale was laying at this time unmolested waiting the return of the Chief who was in pursuit of another but immediately on his return he gave the order for the attack his mandate was answered by a low but universal acclamation the next brother to the Chief⁶ invited me into his canoe this I readily complied with we were paddled up to the fish with great speed and he gave him a deadly pierce and the enormous creature instantly expired they fastened a number of Boies on the Fish and took it in tow to the Village I had many invitations to visit and partake with them but with this I did not comply on my Return onboard I made particular inquiries relative to their customs in whaling. they told me the first Whale that

¹ Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island.

² Meares's Port Cox.

³ The Indian village Echachis, on Wakennenish Island, at the entrance of Clayoquot Sound.

⁴ Lennard Island, Clayoquot Sound.

⁵ Captain Hanna, the chief of the Indian village Ahousat. See note 4 on page 67, above.

⁶ Tatoochcosettle.

was killed in a season it was their custom to make a sacrifice of one of their slaves the corps they lay beside a large piece of the Whales head adorned with eagles feathers after it has lay'd their a certain time they put it in a Box as usual they say it is particularly pleasing to their Deaty to adorn a Whale with Eagles feathers for they suppose thunder is caused in conflicts between that Bird and fish that an Eagle of enormous size takes the Whale high in the air and when it falls causes the noise Thunder. on their Whaling excursions they frequently cut their tongues and paint themselves with the blood that the Whale may not be afraid of them and run from them or they afraid of it they have many other superstitious Id[e]as relative to this fish to consider the imperfection of their utensils musk shell harpoons and lances with [118] Roops we must allow them export Whalers.

The 11 was strong gales and Squally from the SE. purchased of the natives a number of good skins *Sunday 12th.* in the morning of the 12th We had a light breeze to the westward with which we weighed and stretching out shaped our course for Companys Bay at Meridion I observed in Latitude $48^{\circ}54'$ N. we found the bay abounded with sunken Ledges which but seldom make their appearance on the North their appearance to be a good entrence between a high rock and a long ledge but Captain Gray chose to run rather to leeward in search of a more roomy passage about 2 We were abreast the Village Cechasht¹ and we run in past several dangerous reefs. the westwardly wind followed us but a little time when we took it from the other side of the Islands directly Contrary to the direction in which we wanted to sail and we had the mortification to find the tide made Strong against us we continued to ply upwards of 3 hours but finding we could do nothing we came too in 30 fathem Water but she dragged and we were soon off the bank we hove up and made a stretch to the Northward and wore for the vessel would not stay and stood out upon a wind Captain Gray wished to have stood too and fro in the Bay all night but in this we overpersuaded him considering the number of reefs that would take us up

¹ A large Indian village on Barkley Sound, now deserted. The name survives in the village of Sechart and Sechart Channel. The latter lies north of the Broken Group and connects Western Channel with Middle Channel in Barkley Sound.

tho obscured by water and our being unacquainted with their situations we should have run Eminent Danger.

Monday 13th. We stood off upon a wind untill 1 AM when we wore and stood in NNW at day light we had the satisfaction to See the northern entrance of the Harbour under our lee we bore away for the south entrance with the wind at WNW and a lively breeze but on our doubling the SE point off the Islands the wind served us as it had on [119] the 12th but the tide being under our Lee we made but two bords before we fetched into an excellant Harbour a great maney of the natives were round us but we were disapointed in finding they had no skins they told us Wickananish had been down there and purchaced all they had. in the latter part of the day I sounded the Harbour and in allmost every part found from 10 to 17 f[atho]m W[ate]r the place is very snug and in every [way] as good a harbour as aney I am acquainted with on the Coast of North West America.¹

Tuesday 14. Earley on tuesday Morning We hoisted the long boat out and I was ordered to sound the North entrance I found in it 30 fathems water and nearly the bredth of $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile the north part of the entrance is a Ledge which it will be prudent to give a good birth but the southern part which is a steep Rock which you may go within 15 yards of and have more than suffishant water for the Largest ships this is a very good passage for ships bound in with a fresh Westwardly Wind but it will not do to go out with for when the wind is westwardly their is not Room to beat out and when Southwardly it is fair within $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile of the narrows when it draws round the South Islands and renders it by no meens safe we set two sunken reefs in the offin and found one to bear SW δ S about 2 Miles and the other S δ W about a Mile at 12 I returned the latter part of the day was Rainey disagreeable weather and in the night it blew hard from the southward *Wednesday 15.* the 15 was dissagreeable Weather with the wind southwardly. [120]

Thursday 16th. Earley in the Morning of the 16th with the Wind to the southward we weighed and towed out of Cechasht Cove followed by a great number of Canoes we made several stretches

¹ It is impossible to identify this anchorage with certainty. It may be Meares's Port Effingham, on the western side of Village Island. See a view of that port in Meares, *Voyages*, 172.

athwart the Bay but had the bad fortune to fall to leeward of the harbour from whence we sailed and we were obliged to send the boat ahead and man the sweeps to gain an anchoring place and at 11 AM came too with the small bower in 14 f[atho]m Water.

It was calm all the remainder of the day and all night *Friday 17th.* in the morning of the 17th the wind was to the Eastward but very Light at Noon a light breeze sprung up to the Windw[ar]d we immediately unmoored and swept out of the Harbour when the b[r]eeze began to freshen but it was but of short duration and we had the mortification to find it was an edey wind we had felt and the true one was SW which blew directly into the bay we hauled our wind to the southward and made a stretch over to that shore two Large canoes came off from a Village on that side of whom were purchaced 4 good skins I have no doubt but at their village they are tolerable plenty.

We made several bords before dark but gained but little at Sunsett the outwardmost breacker from the North Island bore SW b W distance about 3 Miles the southwardm[os]t Ile SE and the hole in the rock NW thus situated it fell Calm and the tide caried the Vessel at Randum at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 a light breeze sprung up with which and with sweeping we were enabled to lay out SW 1 Knot and at 9 saw the breakers a little distance from our lee beam at 10 PM it was moderate and clear and being out of danger we [121] bore up for the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

Saturday 18th. At Daylight the Straits was open to view the wind was moderate at NE at Noon I observed in Latt. $48^{\circ}27'$ No. and Longitude $124^{\circ}25'$ W Cape Flattery bearing $E \frac{3}{4} S$ distance 7 Leagues Poverty Cove by its bearings and Distance must be nearly in Latitude $48^{\circ}38'$ N and Longitude $123^{\circ}34'$ W¹ It was moderate all the afternoon and sometimes Calm untill $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 PM when it obliged us to take in our light sails the wind came off the land in flaws in the night it was Calm.

Sunday 19th. At 2 AM on the 19 a light breeze sprung up at NE

¹ The exact position of Port San Juan (Poverty Cove) is latitude $48^{\circ}33'$ North, longitude $124^{\circ}30'30''$ West. These early traders usually got the latitude nearly correct, but their longitudes were always very far from correct. Again the *Washington* is headed southward along the Washington coast.

and we s[t]ood in to the eastward untill 6 when we saw several Canoes cuming off. of these people we purchaced several good sea Otter Skins at 5 Chizels each we lay too off this place where their is a village little to the Southward of foggy Rocks¹ off which place we were on the 26th of August 1788. having purchaced all their skins we made sail for the Southward with a gentle breeze at NW at Meredion I observed in Lattd. $48^{\circ} 1'$ No and Longd. $123^{\circ} 48'$ W Foggy rocks bearing No. Distance 6 Miles and Cape Flattery North Distance 18. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 PM the wind hauled to the SW with a moderate breeze and we hauled our wind plying to the southward but on Monday we found we were only 4 Miles to the Southward of Chandee or Tatoоче's Island² while in this situation the Chief with 2 canoes came off and sold upwards of 20 prime Skins and they departed well pleased with recieving 5 Chizels each and promised to bring a great number more the next day. so strong did the current set that tho' it was Calm allmost all the succeeding night we were hurried into the Straits³ at daylight several [122] Canoes came off and upwards of 30 sea otter skins were purchaced but we had the Mortification to see them carey off near 70 Others all of excellent quality for want of Chizels to purchace them and they repeatedly told us they had left great abundance onshore. *Tuesday 21.* we now made sail for Nootka Sound and as we passed the Village Nittenat the Chief⁴ came off he allso brought with him maney good skins. had we been provided with aney thing that would have purchaced Skins we should no doubt at this place have got near 200 in the evening we had a moderate breeze at SW and Clear weather.

Wednesday 22nd. In the morning of 22nd by Degrees the wind drew round to the SE. at Daylight we were abreast of the north cape of Companey's Bay⁵ it now became a lively Breeze and at 9 Clioquot bore NNE. the weather now became thick and hazy the wind Fresh and thretened a gale it was nesecery as we intended to gain the port of Uquot before night to carey sail very hard

¹ La Push, south of Flattery Rocks, on the Washington coast.

² Again, by force of wind and current, the *Washington* is near Cape Flattery.

³ The Strait of Juan de Fuca.

⁴ Cassacan, who is mentioned in Haswell's second log.

⁵ Amphitrite Point, the northern entrance to Barkley Sound.

at 1 PM we were abreast of Breackers point¹ when we took in topsail flying Jib and Squairesail set the Jib and foresail and hauled up for Nootka Sound going at the rate of 10 Miles per Hour at 3 we anchored in Friendly cove we found Captain Douglass² riding here having a fue days since arrived from the Sandwich Islands. but the Columbia had remooved up the sound to a cove about 7 Miles Distant from us.³ we Moor'd Ship hoisted out the boats and Captain Gray went up to Mawenah to inform Captain Kendrick of his arrival in the afternoon two of the Columbias Gentlemen came down to visate Captain Douglass they [123] informed us all were well onboard it was heavy Gales and Rainey all night.

Thursday 23d. Earley the next morning the NW American Schuner was seen in the offin standing in⁴ at 10 the Captains Kendrick and Gray came down they had determined the Sloop should remove to the situation where the ship was and at ½ past 10 we weighed and at 1 PM anchored in Mahwiank or Kendricks Cove in 3 fathem water within 15 Yards of the Shore and within 40 Yards of the Columbia we were greatly surprized to find the ship not reddy for sea she was now nearly a Hulk had not been graved or scarce aney prepairation been made for sea. they had indeed landed their Guns bult a Good house bult a good battery landed most of their provision and Stoars and had their blacksmith forge erected in the House and when we arrived in the cove they were casting their balles prepairing to grave her bottom the smiths were immediately employed to furnish us with another Cargo of Chizels and all our people in refiting our Vessel for sea repairing the sails and recruting our stock of wood and water.

On Wednesday the 30th earley in the Morning I accompaneyed Captain Kendrick on a shooting excurtion we went up the sound

¹ Cape Estevan, the distance from which, by water, to Friendly Cove is about eighteen nautical miles.

² In the *Iphigenia*, one of the so-called Meares vessels. She had arrived from the Hawaiian Islands on April 19, 1789.

³ Marvinas Bay, a corruption of the Indian name Mawinna. It lies some four miles north-northwest from Friendly Cove. It was a favorite anchoring place of the American traders, who sometimes called it Kendrick's Cove.

⁴ The date given in Meares's memorial for the return of the *North West America* is a few days after April 24. In the Haswell-Smith log of the *Columbia* it is given as April 23, 1789, as here. The schooner had come from the Hawaiian Islands.

and entering the first arm about 2 miles to the Westward off Coop-tee¹ we went up about 5 Miles and turning to the east we found the shore on our starbord hand was a small Island² and a branch of the sea about a mile in bredth runing to Cooptee in a Southwardly direction. we could see a large arm [124] of the sea for it did not appear like a river stretching to the NNW³ this we followed up to its head at which is situated the winter village of the Uquat Inhabitants⁴ their were several scattering villages distributed on the banks, at several of them we landed and met with very hospitable treatment but Tashies their winter village was uninhabited⁵ having shot a number of foul we bult a little house here we quartered ourselves for the night and earley in the morning we went round the head of this River which ends in a small Brook about 2 feet deep. we found Geese ducks and Teel in plenty and amused ourselves in shooting. on our return about 5 Miles from Tashies we entered a branch trending to the southward and westward and proceeded down about 5 Miles.⁶ I have no doubt it has a communication with the sea and if we may credit the natives we were not maney miles from the enterence⁷ however as the day advanced we returned onboard the Tashies River is about 20 Miles in length and generally about a mile in bredth navigable for Vessels of the largest burden to its head.

About 15 Miles from the village Cooptee is the western passage which was navigable as far as we went down for aney vessel and from the information of the natives there is a good passage to Sea by that channel the night cuming on prevented us from going far down it was late before we arrived onboard our ships.

On *the 1st of May* I accompaneyed Captain Kendrick down to Uquot to visate Captain Douglas and delivered to him a man whom

¹ Coopte, the Indian village at the mouth, or southerly entrance, of Tasis Canal.

² Narrow Island, the small island at the entrance of Tasis Canal.

³ Tasis Canal.

⁴ Tasis, an Indian village frequently mentioned in Jewitt's *Adventures*.

⁵ The Indians had probably removed to Uquot (Friendly Cove), for Martinez, in his MS. diary, states that they were there when he arrived on May 5, 1789.

⁶ Hecate Channel, which connects with Esperanza Inlet, an arm of the Pacific Ocean.

⁷ As indicated above, the surmise is correct. Esperanza Inlet, Hecate Channel, Tasis Canal, and Nootka Sound separate Nootka Island from Vancouver Island.

had run from Captain Mearse last fall and had conseled himself in the wood untill his departure from the coast he then applied to Captain Kendrick for protection but this Captain Kendrick refused untill such time as Captain Douglas should sail on his departure the [125] man came onboard and did seamans duty untill this period and as Captain Douglas expressed a wish to have the deserter Captain Kendrick immediately returned him.¹

On our arrival at Uquot we found the NW Schooner had sailed for the Northward.²

On Saturday every thing being prepared for sea at 1 PM we sailed with a lively breeze down the sound³ but as soon as we were out the wind hauled to the westward and as we were bound to the northward were nesesi[t]ated to beat we continued plying to windward all night and the ensuing day at 4 PM saw a Sail inshore of us and in a little time she fiered a gun and hoisted spanish coulers she hauled her wind towards us and at 5 we spoke they requested us to hoist our boat out and send her onboard this we did.⁴ he was no sooner informed who we were than he said if thare was any thing in his ship we stood in need of he would supply us⁵ he informed the officers that went onboard that his ship was fitted out in companey with two others from Cadaz to make discoveries on this Coast that he had put in on the Coast of new Spain and loss't most of his European seamen the defishancy he was obliged to suply with the Naturelized natives of California that he had been to the northward and we noticed he had a Northern skin canoe lashed on his quarter

¹ See notes 1 and 2 on page 57, above. According to the entry of March 5, this mutineer had then been sent ashore amongst the savages.

² The *North West America* sailed on April 30, 1789. See below, page 147.

³ The *Washington* sailed on May 2, 1789, on a cruise. See below, page 147.

⁴ This meeting was on May 3; both Haswell and Martinez agree on that. Martinez, in his MS. diary, says that the sloop was armed with four cannon and six swivels and carried "the American colors of the Congress of Boston." Having forced her to bring to, "I ordered her boat let down into the water and her captain to come on board." Martinez inquired their purpose in being in Spanish waters. "They replied that their ship was in the convoy of Captain John Kendrick; that they had left her in the port of Nootka with the frigate, named the *Columbia*; and that they were sailing along the coast of America in search of material for pipe and barrel staves. They said that the Indians of the nearby village had robbed them of the most of their hoops when they had left their casks on shore."

⁵ This was contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of his instructions, sections 14 and 15. They are to be found in his MS. diary (7) and in William R. Manning, *Nootka Sound Controversy* (1905), 305.

he said he had been in Berings straits and that he had found much snow¹ And that he had parted with his consort a fue days ago in a [126] gale of wind and he expected them to Joine him at Nootka sound he was very inquisitive what ships were laying in the sound when he was informed Captain Douglas lay thare he said it would make him a good prize.²

This Ship name is the Prinsessa belonging to his most Catholic Majesty commanded by Don Stephen Joseph Martinez³ this gentleman endeavoured to do everything to serve us he made Captain gray preasants of Brandy wine hams sugar and in short every thing he thought would be acceptable when we parted with him we saluted him with 7 Guns and the compliment was returned.

We now hauled our wind to the southward the wind continuing at WNW and continued in that direction till midnight when we tacked and stood in shore.

On thursday the wind increased to a gale and tho' we had beat to the westward of woody point we were driven by violent advars winds again into hope bay and on friday morning we stood into a place called by the natives Chickleset⁴ where there is every appearance of a good harbour Nay the natives signify as much it is the westwardmost inlett in the bay. about 2 leagues to the Eastward of this place is situated Cauquot⁵ which I believe is a harbour.

All Friday night it was calm and at daybrake a light breeze sprung up from the SE with which we made sail for the westward as soon as it was clearly day light we saw a snow to the SE she fiered a gun and hoisted spanish Coulers and is no doubt one of the Concerts of the spanish ship we spoke the other day however as

¹ If Haswell correctly reports Martinez' statements, they were half-truths. He had been northward, but that was in the preceding year.

² A strange statement. Martinez' MS. diary says: "They likewise said that there was anchored in the port of Nootka a packet from Macao, whose captain was a Portuguese, the first mate a Scotchman, and the crew English; and that she was engaged in collecting sea-otter skins."

³ The *Princesa* was on her way from San Blas for the purpose of taking possession at Nootka Sound. Martinez later seized Meares's vessels, four in all, in that sound, imprisoned the crews of two of them, and sent the two vessels to Mexico for condemnation as being illegally in Spanish waters. This highhanded conduct almost precipitated a war between Britain and Spain.

⁴ Nasparti Inlet, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. In that inlet was the cove so frequently mentioned in Haswell's second log, Columbia's Cove.

⁵ Kyuquot Sound, on the western coast of Vancouver Island.

the breeze was so very [127] favourable we took no notice of the signal to Speeke but continued our course¹ we coasted along shore with a moderate breeze at ESE going at the rate of five knots we saw several places that had the appearances of harbours but did not enter them directing our course to the northward with all posable speed at 7 PM we passed Cape Ingraham² which lays in Latitude [] N and Longitude [] W going betwixt it and a group of Islands which lay off it in a Westwardly direction³ the channel betwixt the Islands and the cape is about 5 Miles wide⁴ and appears to be pretty shoal about 2 Miles from the cape which appears to be the southern boundrey of a very larg gulf or sound which runs up in an eastwardly this inlet runs up a very remote distance for tho' the horizon was clear we could not see aney thing as far as the eye could reach⁵ We steared across N b W to the oposite shore 14 Leagues and the coast trended westnorthwest a few miles and again another Large bay discovers itself⁶ on the western enterence of which thare is a Dangerous reef makes out to a great distance to sea the weather was now frequently foggy the coast as we advanced to the westward became craggy with low detached small Islands and dangerous sunken rocks as we proceeded to the northward we entered within a number of Islands in a very intricked channel and by noon we were in every direction surrounded with Isl[an]ds and Reefs, about two miles distant from the main the water in this sound is deep and sometimes rocky with the kelp floating on the surfice of the water tho the roots were fast to the rocks at the bottom in upwards of 20 [128] fathem water I observed in Latitude 52° 37' North and Long. [] W. about 2 PM a canoe came alongside

¹ This was, of course, the *San Carlos*, the consort of the *Princesa*.

² Cape Scott, the northwestern extremity of Vancouver Island, in latitude 50° 47' North and longitude 128° 26' 25" West. It, like the Scott Islands, was named by the Strange expedition in 1786 in honor of David Scott of Bombay, one of the large owners therein. The name Cape Ingraham never came into general use.

³ The Scott Islands, five in number.

⁴ Scott Channel, 5¼ miles wide, lying between Cape Scott and Cox Island, one of the Scott Islands group.

⁵ Queen Charlotte Sound, so named in 1786 by James Strange. It was called by the Americans Pintard Sound, but, again, the name never became common.

⁶ The *Washington* now sails from Cape Scott, on Vancouver Island, to the mainland. The general language renders it impossible to say with certainty where she is; but it seems likely that she is somewhere in the vicinity of Milbanke Sound.

the natives that were in her appeared to be a very friendly disposed people they were in a Canoe exactly like those used by the natives in Juan de Fucas Straits and I am of opinion there must be some inland communication by lakes or perhaps the sea may continue by large arms and have communication in the interior parts perhaps by the way of Pintard Sound.¹

Their Language differed intierly from the natives we had last left,² and Iron was the only article of trade held in high estimation by them we purchaced of them between twenty and thurty Sea Otter skins for a very trifling number of Chizles. we stretched into a place whare the natives endeavoured to persuade us in hopes it was a harbour but on finding it was not we stood off and had the mortification of finding we were set to the Leeward 4 Miles by means of a strong current and we were obliged to bear away under the Lee of a reef of rocks, and in a very narrow space we were obliged to Stand too and fro all night closely hemed in by the Continent on one Side and on all others with Reefs Island and Ledges The night was not dark and by tacking frequently we kept this situation all night in the morning at 8 AM two more canoes came off with a number of natives male and female the men were dressed like the natives of Nootka Sound but the Women wore a Lethern apron but of all thing the most proposterous that ever I saw is the orniments they ware [129] to their mouth³ an insision is cut in the Lower lip reaching from one corner of the mouth to the other into which is forced a pece of wood in form ovel with a groove cut to Receive the Lip and the other part formed to Lay against the gums. this huge trencher nearly as large as a barbers Lather box as they speek flies up and down and when hanging couver all the chin

¹ See note 5 on page 69, above. Pintard Sound, so named in honor of John M. Pintard, one of the owners of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, was the name applied by the Americans to Queen Charlotte Sound.

² Probably the Kwakiutl language, which is spoken by the natives of Milbanke Sound and vicinity. Though the Nootkans and the Kwakiutl are of the Wakashan linguistic stock, the relationship is apparent only on close examination.

³ This is the labret. The *Washington* is probably somewhere near Milbanke Sound, because on the mainland of British Columbia that hideous adornment was only customary amongst the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Heiltsuk. The latter were the most southerly and were of the Kwakiutl family, inhabiting the neighborhood of Milbanke Sound. The custom also prevailed among the Indians of Texas and Florida.

canted up half the nose is hid¹ the [wind] now came out of the NE Quarter and we stood in shore when about a mile of we tacked and having the wind off Shore we lay up for the Northern passage which we gained about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 AM passing a number of shoal places and had very little to spare in weathering a reef of rocks that were washed by the surface of the Sea we passed from this very dangerous Laberinth to a good open bay the North part of this Sound which I denominate Lob Lip sound² from the women of this place being the first I had ever seen who adopted the horrid custom of making insision in their Lips to admit the huge wooden ornaments Lays in Latitude $52^{\circ}50'$ North and Longitude [] West we stood over to the north shore of the bay which is a very remarkable ridge of high mountains utterly barron the whole fronteer of the coast thus far appeared to be a chain of Islands by the time we had arrived nigh the shore it was dusk and we hove too for the night nigh two or three large high rocks that lay five miles from the Shore at daylight we made sail with a lively breeze at SE at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 AM we were followed by a large Canoe full of Indions shouting loudly we immediately [130] hove too to wate their aproach this they no sooner observed than they allso halted we wated for them a short time and then made sail directly as they saw us going they followed us with great presipitation we again hove too and they came within a Quarter of a mile of us and then mounted a rock and Shook a parcel of Skins at us we now hove the Jolley boat out and an officer and fore people armed went to endeavour by friendly treetment to entice them alongside they returned without Success they gave them several presents but the poor fellows were so intimidated that they dare not aproach the sloop it is very probable that these people never saw a European before³ and if so their timmidity

¹ Dixon (*Voyage round the World*, 208) describes and illustrates a labret $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches long and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in the widest part; it was inlaid with a small pearly shell, around which was a rim of copper. The friars Crespi and Peña, who accompanied Juan Perez, gave the first description; and from their time downward until the custom was abandoned every traveler who saw the labret has striven to describe it. For another description, see Hoskins' narrative, below, page 205.

² This may be Milbanke Sound or Laredo Sound, on the mainland coast. The general language renders it difficult to say where the sloop is, and the latitude is not to be taken as conclusive.

³ Dixon, in the *Queen Charlotte*, had been in that vicinity in 1787, and Douglas, in the *Iphigenia*, in 1788 and 1789; but the former had kept close to the Queen Charlotte Islands side in his trading, while the latter does not appear to have sought trade in that neighborhood.

is easily accounted for we made sail alongshore again passed between the main Land and a Number of sunken ledges and Reefs we passed a Deserted village as we ran within ten furlongs of the Shore at Noon at a very great distance we discried land bearing SW $\frac{1}{2}$ So. it puzzled me much to gess what it could [be] wether an Island or a part of the main Continent and the Sea we were now sailing no other than a large Bay or Gulf But we generally agreed it must be an Island¹ the wind shifted to the WNW and we stood over for the Island with a very light breeze at 2 AM the 16th we hove about for 2 hours and then resumed our former direction at noon the Land was seen at upwards of 90 miles extent ah[ea]d 6 miles distance from the nearest shore we had 2 f[atho]m $\frac{1}{2}$ water rockey bottom the land nearest the shore had a very pleasant appearence [131] in Land it rises into very high land couvered with snow. but its probable later in the season the snow will be melted off. we saw no inhabitants but a vast number of Sea Otters continually playing on the water from the form of the land we may judge thare is harbours and it is not probable so larg a tract of land is without inhabitants we again stretched over for the continent in a NNE direction we had soundings about a thurd of the way across in 20 f[atho]m water and about half way across we had soundings on a bank in 9 f[atho]m and again we resumed the former debth from 20 to 30 f[atho]m² we now hove too and wated till day as soon as it was light we made sail inshore and soon saw an opening which promises a harbour. we ran past several Large rocks that [lie] four miles from the Coast and then passed a low Island³ that is on the south enterence and sounded but got no bottom with 40 f[atho]m of Line we now saw a smoak in the NE part of the bay this led us in without hesitation and we were soon visated by two Canoes we entered a small cove and anchored within cables length of the

¹ The Queen Charlotte Islands, which at their southern extremity are about seventy-five miles distant from the mainland.

² These soundings seem to show that after sighting the Queen Charlotte Islands the sloop sailed across Hecate Strait to within six miles of them, perhaps in the vicinity of Skidegate, and then steered north-northeast for the mainland. On such a course she would find the soundings mentioned.

³ Butterworth Rocks, which lie about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles off Tree Nob Island at the entrance to Brown Passage. The low island is probably Tree Nob Island.

Shore in 17 f[atho]m on sounding the harbour I found good anchorage in every part of it¹ the natives that came off to us had with them a fue otter skins these people were on a hunting excursion and made us understand they were at a great distance from their village they were very anxious that we should tarrey here two or three days supposing they wished to inform the rest of the tribe of our arrival that they might bring their skins for sale they departed [132] making expressive Jestures to inform us they would return in a fue days a party was now employed wooding and watering We found wild geese and ducks of which we shot a number saw allso the tracks of Deer and wolvs and saw Turkies on the wing² in a plain some distance from the harbour I found Cranberries it gave me very great satisfaction to find ourselvs in so good a harbour in so boisterous a time for the weather all the time we lay in this Harbour was windy with much Rain that it would have been attended with emmenent danger to have Cruze[d] the coast it was not till the 19th that our Friends returned and much to our disappointment they had been to Kill the otters insted of informing the tribe of our arrival they had ten Otters in the boat several of them yet warm with life the natives imployed all the insueing night in drying and prepairing their skins for sale which in the morning they disposed of to us for 2 or three picks each and a Chizle or two. At 7 AM we weighed and stood out of the Cove the wind was light and it was dark before we were out of the Sound this inlet appears to be of vast extent and communicates with several other large Sound to the NE of it³ Captain Gray gave it the appellation of Derby Sound in honour of one of our owners.⁴

It was now Captain Grays intention to assurtain to a surtinty

¹ Brown Passage, between the Dundas Islands and Stephens Island. The location of the cove cannot be identified, but the passage connects with Chatham Sound. The *Washington* is now amongst the Tsimshian Indians. She is not far from the spot later known as Metlakatla. Prince Rupert, the terminus of the Canadian National Railway, is in this neighborhood.

² There are no wild turkeys in British Columbia. The bird was probably a sandhill crane, which is sometimes mistaken for a wild turkey. See also Haswell's second log, below, under date May 23, 1792.

³ Chatham Sound and Portland Canal.

⁴ John Derby, a shipmaster of Salem. Derby Sound is today known as Brown Passage, the latter name having been given it by Captain Vancouver after William Brown, the master of the *Butterworth*.

wether it was an Island we saw on the 15th or part of the continent and as a surch for tribes was a principle object he ment to keep the main coast onboard. And as thare was every appearance that Derby Sound at some season of the year is numerously inhabited we thought it probable some tribe might be found at no very considerable distance. Earley in the morning of the 21st a light breeze sprung up from the eastward and we stood to the WNW under [133] Easy sail a fue Leagues from Derby sound we discovered a large inlet trending to the Westward this we entered and is I suppose the entrance of Adml. de Fonts Straits¹ its extent we could not See but thare is but little doubt it is very great we sounded but found no bottom with 40 f[atho]m as it would take a great length of time to explore this place we stood out resolving to examen it at some other time we now stood to the NW with a lively breeze and met with no remarkable occurance till late in the afternoon we pass't a broaken coast that forms deep dangerous Sounds with much broaken detached Island and Sunken Rocks the weather became suspisious and a southwardly Gale thretend we observed a canoe following us with grate haste shouting loudly for us to return. as soon as we saw them we hove about and stood inshore they soon came alongside and were very anxious for us to go to their village making signs that they had vast abundance of skins tho' they had none in their Canoe they were armed with iron barbed speers and wished one of us to go with them onshore a Chief offering to rema[i]n onboard as an hostage for our safe return. But the wind by this time had incresed to a heavy gale and it would have been madness to attempt to seek a harbour so late in the day and in such weather we hauled our wind to the SW and had not stood far in that direction before we saw the Land² about two points on the lee bow extending far to the NW. this lee shore could not be weathered without a very heavy press of Sail and even then we passed nigh a high bluff cape. if we could not have weathered it I know not what

¹ This non-existent strait was identified by the early traders as being first one and then another of the waterways of the coast. Haswell here appears to identify it as Clarence Strait or Dixon Entrance.

² From Brown Passage the *Washington* steers towards Cape Chacon at the southeasterly termination of Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, and thence southwest until she sights the northern coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

would have been the consequence except [134] it was a deep bay we passed we must have inevitably have gone on shore and the thickness of the weather together with night drew so thick a veil over us that we could not see twice the Ships length.

About 11 PM we supposed we had passed the Extreem of the Cape we had seen before dark and Judging ourselves in tolerable safty we shortned sail the wind veered to the ENE and we lay up south the remainder of the night going at a moderate Rate Untill daylight when we saw part of the same Island about a League distance bearing from SE to WSW behind which we had been these several days. it was now a purfect gale of wind and we bore up to run along shore to the westward and were followed by a small canoe paddled by an eldely man and two lively boys they manuvered their boat with great skill we hove too to allow them to come alongside but the sea ran so high they dare not venter but beckened us to run round a small bluff and they would come to us this we complied with and we purchaced of them several good skins and a number of Pluvers we could not understand a word of their Language¹ but it was a great satisfaction to find this Island well inhabited which we could planely discover by the vast number of green banks on the coast which are their residence at some seasons of the year.

For so plenty as otters are round this Island the natives would be plentifully stocked with their skins. This Island from what little I know of it extends from 52° to $54^{\circ}30'$ North about a hundred and seventy miles in length it [is] about 15 Leagues from the continent laying nearly parrellel to it the southern parts appeared high and were couvered with snow but the lands lying farther north asume a more [135] hospitable appearance the hills are of a regular and pritty equel hight thickly clad with wood and could with little trouble be brought into cultivation the Straits between this Island and the main appeared very intricked but it perhaps would appear less dangerous were we better acquainted with the navigation of it. this great tract of Land was named Washington Island in honour of that great American General² I was sorrey to leve it so sudenly

¹ This was the first meeting of the Americans with the Haidas, the natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² The Queen Charlotte Islands, so named by Captain Dixon in 1787. In 1786 James Strange

but Captain Gray wished to avail himself of the Southwardly wind which now blew to geet to the North[war]d meening to explore the Islands more thuroughly on his return.

All the latter part of the 22nd we stood to the NW edging in to the Continent which by this time was planely in sight¹ the weather was thick with strong gales to the southward and we joged under easey sail in the night we lay too shifting our possision from one tack to the other to retain our station in the morning we stretched in towards an inlet that lay in Latd. [] N and Longitude [] W where thare was the appearance of a good harbour but we found so strong a Current seting to the northward that we could not fetch we now bore away and stood to the West[war]d passing several inlets that might have aforded good Harbours had we met with more moderate weather to have explored them.

At noon I observed in Latitude 55° 30' North. Captain Gray was very anxious to geet into a harbour before night and not far from us thare appeared to be tolerable good shelter we hauled into it with a Free wind that blew so strong that we could suffer no more than a double reefed mainsail and Jib. but we were no sooner entered in this cove than a heavy Gust from [136] the mountains took us aback. we attempted to fill and stay but having lost her head way we could not get her round we now attempted to Wear but our limmits were too narrow and by the time we were before the wind our Jibboom and Bowsprit struck the rocks these were instantly carried away by the board and the next surf took us far up into a nook in the rocks whare we ware surrounded with huge craggy cliffs nearly as high as our mast head whose summits clad with lofty pines awfully shaded the agitated billows that were making their sport Every surf that arose lifted us high in air and as it desended dashed us against the rocks with the utmost fuery and to add to our disstress the wind increesed violently at this instant as the[y] combined against us and every surge left us resting dry on the pinacles of this murcieless Iron bound coast.

Thus were we situated on one of the most drery parts of the coast

showed their southern point on his chart, but he gave it no name, either thereon or in his narrative.

¹ The *Washington* now proceeds northward along the ocean coast of Dall Island, Alaska.

we had seen upwards of five hundred miles from Nootka Sound the only place we could hope for relief but now is no time for reflection every nerve must be strained to extrecate us from the dire delema, however difficult the case might appear thare still remained a posability Some of us jumped on the rocks and made fast roaps to haul her clear while others hoisted out the boat we sent in her a Kedge and hauser and the boat was so fortunate as to pull out through the surf without filling we ran out the whole length of the String and let go the anchor and by keeping the hauser taut every time she fleeted gained something and we soon hauled off so far that she seldom struck while on the Rocks we beat the small bower anchor off the Bows and were obliged to cut from it as soon as we had hauled close up to the Kedge we let go the best bower and [137] again run out the whole length of the Hauser and wharped up to it again and again let go the best bower anchor and Cleared the wreck of our Bowsprit and Jibboom. it had been Captain Grays intention to have wharped up the cove and thare have examened the vessels bottom before we went to sea but the Kedge caught fast of a rock and our utmost efforts would not weigh it and without it we could not put this in execution of course we must go to sea but we had this satisfaction to find our vessel was yet tight having got the Riging in such order that it could be worked with facility we had to use great surcomspection in geting under way for the rocks were less than pistolshot off. having pass't the hauser aft and hauled it taut to cast her the right way we hove up the best bower and as soon as it broke ground we cut the hauser and Ran out clear without aney farther damage we stood out a little way and hoisted in our boats struck our Yards and topmast and secured our Bowsprit in such a manner that we could carey the Jib. our stem and cutwater were bruized into the wood ends the sheething off great part of the bottom and in all probability maney fragments of the rocks sticking in the bottom indeed every thing to dred from the shocks she had Recieved. It was thought most prudent to relinquish the design of going farther to the Northward and make the best of our way for Nootka Sound before the Columbia left it and geet our vessel repaired.¹

¹ This dramatic incident, which might have ended the cruise, probably occurred in some cove in or near Bucareli Bay, Alaska, on May 23, 1789.

May 24. A situation more critical than ours had been for about two hours cannot be imagined even by those who have been wrecked in civilized countreys. A Coast inhabited [138] by a most horrid race of savage canables¹ in whose hands we could not hope for life and even tho' not inhabited so destitute of every thing that we esteem requisite to sustain life that a Europain could not exist. To admit we had got every thing from the wreck we could have wished and saved our arms and boats our return then would have been precarious our boats were insuffishant to carey us a much shorter distance and ni'ther carpenters or smiths to enlarge them but had these difficulties been surmounted the maney dangerous tribes we must have pass't might have prooved fatal to so small a number. This disasterous place we called Distress Cove it is in Latitude 55° [] North and Longitude [] West.

It blew fresh for some hours after we put to sea and our Vessel made little more water than she formerly had done the 25 26 and 27 were exceeding pleasant and the Latter day was calm we were generally in Latitude 55° 10' No. and about a degree to the westward of Distress cove on the latter part of the 27th it sprung up a light breeze at SE with this we stretched in shore and at Meredion the 28th I observed in Latitude 55° 43' No. in this part the fronteer of the coast appears to be a chain of Large liffy Isl[an]ds but the good weather did not continue long enough for us to pass in between them the weather came on thick with the wind at SE and we stood off to the Southward.²

The winds continued so advurce with such thick weather that it was the [] before we saw Washingtons Island³ and at 6 PM a vast number of Natives men Women and Children came off and brought with them several sea otter skins we understood of them that their

¹ The Indians on the Northwest Coast were not cannibals. See note 1 on page 66, above. Ingraham, in his MS. journal of the *Hope*, September, 1791, says: "I believe they are cannibals, yet this arises from no ocular demonstration but from their own confession and declaration that they had eaten men and that their flesh was good." Speaking of the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, Dr. George M. Dawson, in his *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands* (Montreal, 1880), says (167): "It is unnecessary to say that no evidence of cannibalism, properly so-called, is found amongst these people."

² The *Washington* is proceeding along the western shores of Prince of Wales Island, Dall Island, and the neighboring islands.

³ The Queen Charlotte Islands.

was a large tribe not far off the weather was very thick hazy and we were but little distance from the land We soon saw their village from which they lunched twenty or thirty very large canoes and came off in great parade paddling off swiftly and singing a very agreeable air.¹ 1789. *June*. of those people were purchased [139] to the amount of two hundred skins in a very few moments for one chisel each² we bought all the skins they appeared to have by 10 in the evening when they returned to their Village for the night no doubt intending to bring off more in the morning but we did not stop but stood on to the southward the natives called their village *Custa* it is situated in a sandy bay on the NW end of the Island³ their Chiefs name is *Cuneah* and appears to be a very good old Fellow his wife was off and had vast authority over every person alongside⁴ I was grieved to leave them so soon, as it appeared to be the best place for skins that we had seen. The weather was now become so foggy that we could but seldom see the Land⁵ the wind hung at SSE generally on the 8th I observed in Lat. 53° 8' No. and the Wind seemed more unsettled on the afternoon of the 9 Nearly Calm and it continued so all night *Wednesday* 10. at daybreak a light breeze sprung up at NW and we made sail along shore that trended SE by E. we had passed a very considerable part of the

¹ The *Washington* has now reached Dixon's Cloak Bay—Parry Passage—which separates North Island from Graham Island of the Queen Charlotte group. There is a remarkable similarity between Haswell's account and that of Dixon two years before.

² This incident has been more misrepresented than any other in the story of the Northwest Coast. Perhaps the most glaring is in A. C. Laut, *Vikings of the Pacific* (London, 1905), where it is stated (228): "At one point off Prince of Wales Island, the Indians willingly traded two hundred otter skins, worth eight thousand dollars, for an old iron chisel." For a description of these "chisels," see note 4 on page 45, above. They are what Dixon calls "toes." The furs which Haswell laments leaving behind were gathered in a few days later by the *Iphigenia*, one of Meares's vessels, under William Douglas.

³ "Custa" is now spelled "Kioosta." It is now a deserted village, situated on the south side of Parry Passage, near its western entrance. See Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 40, 162. Burling's (wrongly called William Sturgis') MS. journal of the *Eliza*, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has a drawing of Kioosta as it appeared in 1799.

⁴ The women of the Queen Charlotte Islands exercised great power over the men. "Here," says Ingraham in his MS. journal, under date August 12, 1791, "in direct opposition to most other parts of the world the women maintain a precedence to the men in every point, inasmuch as a man dare not trade without the concurrence of his wife; nay, I have often been witness to men's being abused by their wives for parting with skins, before their approbation was obtained. In short it seemed this precedence often occasioned much disturbance."

⁵ As usual on the Queen Charlotte Islands coast in the summer.

Island without having it in our power to view so accurately as I could have wished¹ at Noon I was in Latd. $52^{\circ}32'$ No. at time a place that bore the appearance of a Harbour bore NNW distance 8 Miles. I judge Custa² to be in Latitude $54^{\circ}15'$ No. and Longitude [] W but I had no observations to ascertain it to a surtinty the North entrance of the Straits that divides Washingtons Island from the Main³ is in Latd. $54^{\circ}20'$ No. and Long. [] W but here to the southward the land has a far less hospitable appearance it Rises up into high steep mountains whose Rockey summits where the Snow is off is barren of verdure and cast a very unpleasant aspect.

Thursday the 11 early in the morning we were abreast an Inlet⁴ that is in Latitude $52^{\circ}12'$ No. and Longitude [] this we were standing in for when we saw a Canoe paddling out towards us this was an agreeable surprize as we had apprehended this part of the Island was not inhabited. [140] we soon saw several others on the moove we stood into the Sound and saw the village on the SE part of a Bay a little behind a small Island⁵ and nigh it appeared a good cove for our vessel to lay. Captain Gray sent the boat in to sound the place before he went in in the vessel the officer that went on the service reported the cove would answer very well for us to lay in a few days We bore up and anchored in 14 f[atho]m Water with a hard bottom of Sand.

A brisk trade was soon set on foot by Coya the Chief who bartered for all his Subjects,⁶ and a number of Sea Otter skins were purchased before night. Iron was of far less value with them than with those natives we were last with cloathing was most in demand these people had been visited by several navigaters they spoke distinctly

¹ The *Washington* has been proceeding southerly along the ocean coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² Kioosta was the village to which belonged the Indians from whom the great number of furs had been obtained, probably on June 6.

³ Dixon Entrance.

⁴ Houston Stewart Channel, between Prevost Island and Moresby Island of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Gray, as appears later, named it Barrell's Sound, in honor of Joseph Barrell, the principal owner in the venture. It was a favorite trading place. Its real position is latitude $52^{\circ}08'$ North, longitude $131^{\circ}05'$ West.

⁵ Anthony Island, at the western entrance of Houston Stewart Channel.

⁶ This seems to have been the custom in the Queen Charlotte Islands. Ingraham, in his MS. journal, August 8, 1791, says that the chief, Cumshewa, was serviceable to him, for "he traded for his people."

of Colinnet and Dunkin and they brought a pece of Paper that Informed us the NW American Schooner had been here May the 24th last.¹ This Sound was honoured with the name of Barrel sound in honour of our owner duering our tarrey hear I landed to take an excurtion in the woods when I met with a fortified Rock which I suppose in case of invasion is their place of refuge it was purpendicular about forty feet high the top was flat about twenty yards wide it was inaccessible on all sides except by an oald rotten lader that was erected by its side this fort they call Touts² and when their northern neghbours come to molest them they put their Women and Children up thare while they fight the battle they say it is their custom to eat their vanquished enemies and said it was excellent food. the [141] natives brought us for sale a number of excellent hallibut and Boiled gulls eggs the intercourse with the natives while we lay in this Port was on the strictest Friendship they indeed pillaged aney little trifling thing they could find a good opportunity to take unobserved but as we took no rash meens with them it never interrupted our trade.³ By this time we had stript the natives of allmost all the skins they were possessed of and we got in redeness to moove the first opertunity the weather and winds should give us. it had been very boisterous for several day with the winds strong from the southward this left so large a swell that when we attempted to geet out after making several bords we were neseseated to bear away under the lee of a large rock that lay in the mouth of the inlett and anchor in 50 f[atho]m water over a rockey bottom while we lay here I thought it a favourable oppertunity to view the sound nigher its head I took the boat and accompaneyed by one of the other Gentlemen went about six miles up but I found no convenient place for a ship to lay the water was every whare deep and the bottom rockey and not well sheltered I discovered that the

¹ James Colnett of the *Prince of Wales* and Charles Duncan of the *Princess Royal*, who were on the Northwest Coast trading in 1787 and 1788. The *North West America*, one of Meares's vessels, sailed from Nootka Sound on April 30 and returned on June 1, 1789.

² These fortified retreats were common in the Queen Charlotte Islands. One existed on the little island opposite Skidegate village (Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 171); and Dixon saw one on Hippa Island (*Voyage round the World*, 205). The native name is "touts." As to cannibalism, see note 1 on page 66, and note 1 on page 95, above.

³ This was unusual conduct in a maritime trader. Ordinarily, when such thefts occurred, the maritime trader turned his guns on the canoes.

southern part of the Inlett was an Island seperated from the nother[n] Shore by a narrow rocky channel.

It was quite calm untill about 3 in the morning when a very light breeze sprung up off the Land with this we weighed and stood out and by 5 AM were clear of the Land. we stood to the southward as the Shoar trended [142] which was rocky and dangerous the wind gradually incresed to a fresh breeze at WNW. Off the south point of the Island in a SE direction lay several small Islands with a fue trees on them and ESE from these two Leagues lay several Reefs that brake with great rage.¹ but in times when the sea is more smooth I suppose the danger would lurk totaly consceled under the Surfice of the water the South extremity of Washingtons Island is in Latd. [] No. and Longitude []² At Noon I observed in Latd. [] No. and Longitude [] W and made all sail on our passage for Nootka Sound. Had we not met with the misfortune of runing on-shore our discoueries would have been very interesting but cramped as it was by that unforeseen accident we discovered that the straits of Adml. de font actually exist³ and I have but little doubt that they penetrate very far into the Continent the princple enterence appeared to be in latitude [] a fue miles from Derby Sound tho' I believe all the Range of coast North of Juan de Fuca Straits as far North as we went is a vast chain of Islands and the entrances betwixt them may be taken for Straits Gulfs etca.⁴ but when explored it will be found the coast of the continent has not yet been seen it is probable when that shall be penetrated too and explored, large rivers and Lakes may be found that may overlap the westren bounds of the Lakes that have their vent in our Eastren coast and perhaps Lakes are now discovered that is the sourse of Large navigable Rivers that emty themselves in the North Pacific Ocean. to survey this coast would be an allmost endless task tho' indispenably nese-

¹ Cape St. James and the Kerouart Isles, named by La Pérouse in 1785. These isles extend in a southeasterly direction from Cape St. James, the southerly point of the Queen Charlotte Islands, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and the sunken ledge or reef, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther.

² Cape St. James lies in latitude $51^{\circ}34'$ North and longitude $131^{\circ}03'$ West.

³ The mythical Strait of Admiral de Fonte is here identified as Clarence Strait, which extends in a general northwest by west direction 107 miles, and is of an average width of six miles. See note 1 on page 91, above.

⁴ The surmise was correct, as is shown by Vancouver's explorations, 1792-1794.

cery to finish the geography of north America trading vessels to this coast will make considerable advances towards this but it never can be thoroughly done intill it is done at some national expence whose Commanders are uninterested by commerce. [143]

We steered ESE from this cape for the Islands off Cape Ingraham¹ going about 5 Knots and at 5 AM we made the outwardmost of them ahead. The weather was thick and hazy and the breeze Fresh and at 6 PM we pass't Woody point² and at 10 PM we hove too for the night, but in the morning the wind grew light and it was two in the afternoon of the [June 17, 1789]³ before we caught a Breeze which wafted us into Nootka sound when we pass't Friendly Cove I was surprized to find a fort on Hog Island.⁴ the Spanish Ship was laying in the Cove with a Spanish Snow and an English Sloop⁵ the spanish Ship fiered a gun to bring us too but not knowing how every thing was situated with respect to the spaniards and Captain Kendrick we thought it most prudent to stand up the sound to Mahwinah where Captain Kendrick Lay⁶ we were borded by Captain Kendrick and Don Martenaz sometime before we got into the cove we found Mr. Hudson⁷ the commander of the Sloop Princess Royal of London the Sloop we had seen at Uquot on a visate to Captain Kendrick as we arrived we were saluted by the Columbia which we returned.

We had sailed several days and Captain Kendrick and Captain Douglass by laying at a considerable distance from each other had but little communication with each other but by letters which [were] on the most friendly footing when on the morning of the [5th] of

¹ The Scott Islands, off Cape Scott, the northwestern end of Vancouver Island.

² Cape Cook, the most westerly point of Vancouver Island.

³ See below, page 147; Martinez' MS. diary, June 17, 1789.

⁴ By the Spaniards called San Miguel.

⁵ The Spanish vessels were the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*; the English sloop was the *Princess Royal*, later captured by the Spaniards.

⁶ "At five o'clock in the afternoon there came in the schooner [sic] *Washington* (Captain Robert Gray) of the convoy of Captain John Kendrick of the American *Congress*. She made her way to the interior of the port, where her commander was stationed in the frigate *Columbia*." Martinez' MS. diary, June 17, 1789. For Mawinna, see note 3 on page 82, above.

⁷ Thomas Hudson. The *Princess Royal* was now one of the so-called Meares vessels. She had been on the coast in 1787 and 1788 under Charles Duncan, but she was then owned by Messrs. Etches and their associates under the name of the King George's Sound Company.

May they saw an Indion Canoe paddled by six naked natives coming towards them with great haste when she came alongside they found our Friend Culecum¹ in her with a letter from Captain Douglass to Captain Kendrick informing him that there was [144] a large ship in the offn standing into the sound Captain Kendrick accompanied by several of his officers set out to escort the Ship into the Harbour. Captain Douglass allso went out with his boat they were recieved by Don Martenaz with great attention he came into friendly cove and moor'd and seemed to live on a very friendly footing with Captain Douglass he paied Captain Kendrick a very formal visate and staied with him two or three days on his return to Uquot the St. Carlos arrived, the snow we saw in Hope Bay.

Don martinaz now demanded Captain Douglass' papers² and from what pretence I know not said they were false and made the vessel his prize. this Snow tho' British property was under Portogees coulers and had a portugee by the title of Capt. to clame them. the snow was immediately discharged of all her cargo and put in prepairation for a passage to St. Blass. the officer and Seamen of the Ephagena, were kept prisoners for several days when on a more critical examination of the ships papers it was found that they could not detain the vessel with propriety, and she was delivered up to the former commanders upon conditions that should the court of Spain demand her as a prize she was to be delivered up and as the Ship was in want of cordage cables sails and in short allmost every Nese-cery that was proper on a passage of such duration with these Don Martenaz supplied them and took Bills on their owner and in part pay the Schooner NW American was to be delivered to him as soon as she should arrive every thing being settled thus Captain Douglass sailed for China.³

¹ The Indian chief called by Meares, Callicum. He was shortly afterwards shot by Martinez, who gives the following blunt account in his diary, July 13, 1789: "Irritated by such abusive language, I took a gun from among those my men had carried over when they went to bring the sloop in, . . . and I took another and fired it, killing Kaleken."

² The papers of Meares's ship, the *Iphigenia*, then commanded by William Douglas. Haswell, in this and the preceding paragraph, is giving a recital of the happenings in Nootka Sound after the arrival of Martinez on May 5, 1789.

³ The details of these events are set forth by Meares in his celebrated memorial of April 30, 1790.

Voyages of the "Columbia"

VOCABULARY OF NOOTKA SOUND¹

NOOTKA	ENGLISH	NOOTKA	ENGLISH
Tsawaak	<i>One</i>	Tsecomits	<i>Neck</i>
Utlah	<i>Two</i>	Ah upetso	<i>Arms</i>
Cutsah	<i>Three</i>	Cook anexo	<i>Hands</i>
Moo	<i>Four</i>	Papee	<i>Ear</i>
Sucha	<i>Five</i>	Up ah tsoot	<i>Palm of the hand</i>
Noopoo	<i>Six</i>	Enah pulthz	<i>Back of the hand</i>
Attlepoo	<i>Seven</i>	Ehhah comitz	<i>Thumb</i>
Attle a coalthz	<i>Eight</i>	Coopayack	<i>First finger</i>
Tsaw a coalthz	<i>Nine</i>	Tiyee	<i>Middle finger</i>
Haioo	<i>Ten</i>	Oatso	<i>Ring Finger</i>
NOTE. When they count up to Ten, they begin again at one and count as follows:		Catt'ecah	<i>Finger nail</i>
Tsawcates	<i>Twenty</i>	Klaptshomah	<i>Breast</i>
Cutsaak	<i>Thirty</i>	Kla sa pee	<i>Shoulder</i>
Mooyaak	<i>Forty</i>	Tachah	<i>Belly</i>
Suchaak	<i>Fifty</i>	Kopatz	<i>Back</i>
Noopoak	<i>Sixty</i>	Ah up tsux	<i>Thigh</i>
Attlepook	<i>Seventy</i>	Klish tlinna	<i>Leg</i>
Attle a coathy auch	<i>Eighty</i>	Kahtlah to me	<i>Feet</i>
Tsawa coalthy auch	<i>Ninety</i>	Che che sugh to me	<i>Toes</i>
Haioo yauch	<i>One hundred</i>	Hysah	<i>Blood</i>
NOTE. They cannot count any higher than an Hundred.		Anne catsemah	<i>A mask resembling a Quadrupeds head</i>
Upitsaska	<i>the Head</i>	Noolootsamah	<i>A mask resembling a Human face</i>
Upsee oop	<i>Hair</i>	Topulsheetle	<i>to Sneeze</i>
Uppa pee ah	<i>Forehead</i>	Wasucsheetle	<i>to Cough</i>
Casee	<i>Eyes</i>	Ahsecho	<i>Cedar bark worn round the Head for ornament</i>
Ahie chee	<i>Eyebrows</i>	Chamass	<i>Victuals</i>
Hatsamixamee	<i>Eyelash</i>	Nucksheetle	<i>to Drink</i>
Neetsah	<i>Nose</i>	Ahoah	<i>to Eat</i>
Ahah mas	<i>Cheek</i>	Chauch	<i>Fresh water</i>
Etluthsool	<i>Mouth</i>	Tupulthz	<i>Salt water</i>
Choop	<i>Tongue</i>	Shucksheetle	<i>to Strike</i>
Chee chee chee	<i>Teeth</i>	Hoxup	<i>to Overset</i>
Tsewaap	<i>Chin</i>	Tahatsanoolthz	<i>a Knife</i>
Apaxamah	<i>Beard</i>	Chaha pah	<i>a Red fish [90]</i>
Cutsack	<i>a Garment</i>	Tenass ²	<i>a Child or small</i>

¹ Almost all the traders have left vocabularies, more or less extensive. This one may be compared with Captain Cook's in his *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 335-336; III. 540ff.

² This word lives in the Chinook jargon with the same meaning.

NOOTKA	ENGLISH	NOOTKA	ENGLISH
Cleetanick	<i>a Ditto</i>	Siahhao	<i>a great way off</i>
Iacopes	<i>a Man</i>	Hannas	<i>Nigh</i>
Winnapee	<i>Stay</i>	Nass	<i>Day</i>
Weltsheatle	<i>Go away</i>	Peeshackisnass	<i>Foul weather</i>
Clotuwah ¹	<i>Paddle off</i>	Commatax ¹	<i>I understand</i>
Chuckguo	<i>Come here</i>	Mamahlee	<i>a Ship or Vessel</i>
Tiye ¹	<i>a Chief</i>	Na nah neich ¹	<i>Let me see</i>
Ahco	<i>Here</i>	Clack a miss	<i>Oil</i>
Cap sheetle ²	<i>to rob by force or steal</i>	Clack a mish ish	<i>Oily</i>
Patcheetle	<i>to Give</i>	Enicksee	<i>Wood in general</i>
Kaksabut	<i>to Kill</i>	Mooney	<i>Rocks</i>
Suck quit chee	<i>to Bring</i>	Choo coo	<i>Come here</i>
Enetsheetle	<i>Coming</i>	Ushanick	<i>Make haste</i>
Wakush ha well	<i>Terms of friendship</i>	Oxamah	<i>a Goose</i>
Cloosh ¹	<i>Good</i>	Mustata	<i>a Bow</i>
Peeshack ³	<i>Bad</i>	Seihatee	<i>an Arrow</i>
Clyomee	<i>Give me more</i>	Seitah	<i>an Arrow case</i>
Aye or ao	<i>Yes</i>	Tappahlah	<i>a Spear</i>
Mischimmas	<i>Lower class of people</i>	Clehalthz	<i>a Matt</i>
Macook ⁴	<i>to Barter</i>	Qotseecahauch	<i>a Dancing apron cover'd with Deer's houghs</i>
Nahnook	<i>to Sing</i>	Cahtler	<i>Hand it</i>
Hanook	<i>to be Angry</i>	Mah	<i>Take it</i>
Sickeminnee	<i>Iron</i>	Mamahlee	<i>Birds in general</i>
Cheepokes	<i>Copper</i>	Wassa	<i>Where</i>
Sumah	<i>Fish in general</i>	Uquot	<i>Friendly Cove</i>
Suhah	<i>Salmon</i>	Clyoquot	<i>Wickananish's Harbour</i>
Cloosmit	<i>Herrins</i>	Tashees	<i>a Village so called</i>
Amanolthz	<i>Sardines</i>	Tashees	<i>a River so called</i>
Mowich ⁵	<i>a Deer</i>	Copetee	<i>a Village so called</i>
Cloonimina	<i>A Moose</i>	Tashee	<i>Door, Path etca.</i>
Wik atish	<i>I have not</i>	Micklah	<i>Rain</i>
Ayemahah	<i>I don't understand</i>	Quiece	<i>Snow</i>
Quotluck	<i>Sea Otter Skins</i>	Quemals	<i>Frost</i>

¹ This word has also been incorporated into the Chinook jargon, and has retained the same meaning.

² This word still lives in the Chinook jargon as "kapsualla," meaning "to steal."

³ The traders carried this word to the Queen Charlotte Islands where for a time it seems to have been incorporated into the language; but it has now been dropped. Cow, a chief of Kaigahnee, used it in speaking to Ingraham; see Ingraham's MS. journal of the *Hope* under date July 13, 1791.

⁴ This word is included in the Chinook jargon and means "to barter, buy, or sell."

⁵ This word is incorporated into the Chinook jargon with the meaning "deer," "wild animal," and, loosely, "domestic cattle."

Voyages of the "Columbia"

NOOTKA	ENGLISH	NOOTKA	ENGLISH
Siapokes	<i>a Hat or Cap</i>	Koo	<i>Ice</i>
Clootsmah	<i>a Woman</i>	Malthzlah	<i>Cold</i>
Toque	<i>Ornament for the Ear</i>	Cheetasheetle	<i>to Shiver</i>
Aneelte	<i>a Dog</i>	Ahietsio	<i>{ a small root they dig early in Spring, a leaf like clover</i>
Cahsheetle	<i>Dead</i>	Kleet see oop	<i>{ a Root like Sassaparilla, tastes like a Carolina Potatoe</i>
Cepotts	<i>a Canoe</i>	Cleesook	<i>White</i>
Tequinnee	<i>a War Canoe</i>	Tubcook	<i>Black or Blue</i>
Tupsheetle	<i>to Sink</i>	Clahoke	<i>Red</i>
Ocquappee	<i>a Paddle</i>	Wah kee tuck	<i>Green or Yellow [91]</i>
Macquinna	<i>Shot by order of Don Martinez July 1789</i>	Opahcoostahah	<i>Sunrise</i>
Callicum ¹		Opatutlish	<i>Sunset</i>
Wickananish	<i>Names of Chiefs</i>	Topesheetle	<i>tomorrow</i>
Hannappee		Waaeitch	<i>Sleep</i>
Cloopaninish		Cleethach	<i>a Bear skin</i>
Oomees		Queequick	<i>a Raccoon Skin</i>
Tatoocheatecus		Cheetlechee	<i>Cut</i>
Clackokenah		Tee tlee tee	<i>Rub</i>
Mannakin		Cloopah	<i>Warm</i>
Nashnachook		Uk kuck	<i>What's that?</i>
Nooche		Unnah	<i>Only</i>
Wahclassemah		Cloook	<i>a Beard</i>
Qaohommes	<i>Paint</i>	Winnah	<i>Voyagers</i>
Maas	<i>a Town or Village</i>	Tumiss	<i>Charcoal</i>
Mah hah tee	<i>a House</i>	Cleesheetle	<i>to Write</i>
Ah chucklah	<i>what's your name</i>	Cheeteuch	<i>a Saw or file</i>
Mic took ish	<i>Old</i>	Cheemah	<i>a War Knife</i>
Homees	<i>Cedar Wood</i>	Tacoalthz	<i>Sit down</i>
Wicktup	<i>a hard red wood</i>	Clackeshueetle	<i>Get up</i>
Iacopes clyomaas	<i>a Man of another Town</i>	Clah	<i>Now</i>
Toohook	<i>Frightened</i>	Ahnah	<i>Friend hark ye</i>
Chimmis	<i>a Bear</i>	Tsahoak	<i>Sour</i>
Etscola	<i>a Mouse</i>	Mahak	<i>Smarts</i>
Ahyuck	<i>a great many</i>	Matchelclat	<i>a Town so called</i>

¹ Martinez, in his MS. diary, under date July 13, 1789, says that Callicum (whom he calls Keleken) insulted him by calling him a bad man and a thief ("Martinez peshak, Martinez kapsualla"), alluding to his capture of Meares's vessels; and that, irritated thereby, he fired two shots at him—the second with fatal result. Callicum is frequently mentioned by Meares in association with Maquinna, the great chief of Nootka. Meares (*Voyages*, 182) shows these two chiefs arrayed in sea-otter skins.

NOOKKA	ENGLISH	NOOKKA	ENGLISH
Oona	<i>how many</i>	Clakeeso	<i>a Boy's name</i>
Klummah	<i>a Wooden Image</i>	Aptsheetle	<i>to Hide</i>
Koalthz	<i>a Slave</i>	Ahack	<i>to Cry</i>
Nuche	<i>Land</i>	Cleewhoah	<i>to Laugh</i>
Suchass	<i>Trees</i>	Mamook ¹	<i>to Work</i>
T'sitsa anna	<i>to Talk</i>	Tahielt	<i>Sick</i>
Wahwatleacoalthz	<i>to Scold</i>	Chimmetah	<i>Well</i>
Noowahickso	<i>Father</i>	Callichahmah	<i>an Egg</i>
Oo mah exo	<i>Mother</i>	Quo co quo	<i>like this</i>
Mahek'leuts	<i>Son</i>	Ita ita	<i>a Falsehood</i>
Clootsutz	<i>Daughter</i>	Heia	<i>Wind</i>
Clootchmoop	<i>Sister</i>	Cosha	<i>Smoak</i>
Clootchah ²	<i>Wife</i>	Yahuch	<i>pain</i>
Cathlatick	<i>Brother</i>	Yahuch ish	<i>painfull</i>
Hah hulthz	<i>a Cover or Inlet</i>	Hycheenah	<i>a Cockell</i>
Opulthz Iacopes	<i>Sun</i>	Oyelthz	<i>to Dance</i>
Opulthz Clootsmah	<i>Moon</i>	Ah wattanee	<i>a White headed Eagle</i>
Tahtoose	<i>Stars</i>	Suwah	<i>Your</i>
Cheetuqualish	<i>Night</i>	Seeyah	<i>me [92]</i>
Ehulsheetle	<i>Knock</i>	Suquit't	<i>take hold</i>
Hoconic	<i>a Chest</i>	Tta sheetle	<i>Let go</i>
Oquilth	<i>make</i>	Wah sheetle	<i>Throw away</i>
Cheeminnee	<i>a Fish hook</i>	Mooshaap	<i>Shut</i>
Tah ah tee	<i>Fish hooks of different kinds</i>	Quosaap	<i>Open</i>
Malthz	<i>a Horn</i>	Chicksemah	<i>a Mast</i>
Mowickmalthz	<i>a Deers Horn</i>	Nah'ah	<i>Hark or listen</i>
Ishl so gottee	<i>a Pearl shell</i>	Seeyah Opoolthz	<i>I'm deaf</i>
Iyelth	<i>a Feather</i>	Toosh koa	<i>a Cod fish</i>
See e sook	<i>a Grass fishing line</i>	Poa	<i>a Halibut</i>
Tsemah	<i>a Net</i>	Quo ah miss	<i>Herrin sparrow</i>
Clah paat	<i>a Cedar bark bag</i>	Chitcoak	<i>an Instrument to catch Herrin</i>
Mutcheetle	<i>to Bite</i>	Hye yeh	<i>a Snake</i>
Neekeeneeco	<i>to Scratch</i>	Pilthz lah	<i>too small</i>
Cutsheetle	<i>to Pinch</i>	Clahomitza	<i>a Cousin</i>
Yetscah yetscach	<i>to Kick</i>	Taugh a mis	<i>Spittle</i>
Chut e chut	<i>to Shove</i>	Taughsheetle	<i>Spit</i>
Clicksheetle	<i>to Beat</i>	Noo ak sheetle	<i>to Swallow</i>
Ah wayatle	<i>Enough</i>	Ak ah lapso	<i>What seek you?</i>

¹ Incorporated into the Chinook jargon with the meaning "to work." It has in that jargon a function similar to the French *faire*.

² In the form "klootchman," meaning "woman," this word exists in the Chinook jargon.

Voyages of the "Columbia"

NOOTKA	ENGLISH	NOOTKA	ENGLISH
Ahyemahahcheetz	<i>I don't remember</i>	Ahchiscahwalthza	<i>Move this way</i>
Son a pulthz	<i>Kelp</i>	Nutsocoalthz	<i>Move that way</i>
Cliptsheetle	<i>to Wash</i>	Tsamaha	<i>Silence</i>
Cleatsheetle	<i>to Shoot an Arrow</i>	Toohwhoahsoolth	<i>I'm tired</i>
Cloos' isht	<i>Smoak'd Herrins</i>	Haaspeyaksheetle	<i>to Yawn</i>
Eneatile	<i>Come in</i>	Ah ah coak	<i>What is that</i>
Ena shaas	<i>Shall I come in</i>	Cloo quee tee	<i>Broad</i>
Ah loop	<i>Wild cellery</i>	Anne kee tee sah	<i>Narrow</i>
Tootootch	<i>Thunder</i>	Amm'aok	<i>a Calm</i>
Clahsheetle	<i>Lightning</i>	Cowilth	<i>to Steal</i>
Cutsoominnee	<i>Hail</i>	Oyea	<i>Presently</i>
Sheelah	<i>a Root</i>	Shewitsowan	<i>Maquinna's Son</i>
Ahchispah	<i>this side</i>	Hawelpiltso	<i>Maquinna's Daughter</i>
Quispah	<i>t'other side</i>	Kaashookonook	<i>Hannapees Son</i>
Quispite	<i>each side</i>	Wesuck	<i>Glad</i>
Nah chook	<i>Look</i>	Susuck	<i>to abuse with bad Lan- guage</i>
Chanee	<i>I can't see</i>	Mah wah	<i>Return</i>
Nut soo	<i>I see</i>	Quotchheetl ¹	<i>Break</i>
Way yuck	<i>Who</i>	Cap cut see	<i>Give me to eat</i>
Chee cheetle	<i>to Pull</i>	Ahomah	<i>Good to eat [93]</i>
Chatchatah	<i>to Divide</i>	Ahmee	<i>Yesterday</i>
Anneekish	<i>to Bend</i>	Clootsmuck	<i>a Wife taken in the Town the man lives</i>
Clacko	<i>Thank you</i>	Sahsintz	<i>a humming Bird</i>
Cock a mahack	<i>a small fish or bream</i>	Ya'ak	<i>Love</i>
Noopoot waietch	<i>Last night</i>	Cah meetuck	<i>a Snare to catch Geese</i>
Isuks	<i>Leeks</i>	Hoh oh yeh	<i>to Change</i>
Ahmeetle	<i>tomorrow</i>	Commatacheet'l	<i>I remember</i>
Clyother	<i>Another</i>	Ish ish sha	<i>to Chew</i>
Mah'ahk	<i>a Whale</i>	Sedgkas	<i>a Comb</i>
Nootcheeuck	<i>a Sling to throw stones</i>	Ammoot	<i>a Bone</i>
Cocoobsooiechuck	<i>a Ring</i>	Tsiscomiss	<i>the lean of a Whale</i>
Ameteeshee'tl	<i>Tell or told</i>	Claak	<i>Whale blubber</i>
I'tak tish coaz	<i>Lying fellow</i>	Teetch	<i>alive</i>
Wemasish	<i>Asham'd</i>	Waw waw ²	<i>you said</i>
Athy	<i>Dark</i>	Mattsquinna	<i>a Fly</i>
Ahcoathly	<i>Lend</i>	Setah	<i>the Tail of anything</i>
Why	<i>Then</i>	Mist sheetle	<i>to Smell</i>
Waugh ah nee	<i>a Land Otter</i>	Climmichsheetle	<i>Daylight</i>
Mookwhoah	<i>to Boil</i>	Ackea lammaak	<i>What have you been doing</i>

¹ Its present form in the Chinook jargon is "kokshutt," "to break or destroy."

² In the Chinook jargon its meaning today is "to talk" or "speech."

NOOTKA	ENGLISH	NOOTKA	ENGLISH
Moochitch	<i>Put on</i>	Ky a a	<i>Take care</i>
Hah nah toot'l	<i>Pull off</i>	Ah choo chee	<i>to Stutter</i>
Wik hah micklah	<i>Does it not rain?</i>	Ah chukes tick	<i>What do you call it</i>
Ao ayuckish	<i>Yes, very much</i>	Poo all yal too	<i>I'm sleepy</i>
Cloopahish nass	<i>It's a fine warm day</i>	Tloo ah tluttle	<i>I forget</i>
Commetcook	<i>to Walk</i>	Hemucks	<i>Deer's Tallow</i>
Yetsook	<i>to Run</i>	Tsistoob	<i>Twine or String</i>
Goutheeegish	<i>Heavy</i>	Tyee sum	<i>a Large rope</i>
U wheesish	<i>Light</i>	Oshtock	<i>Work</i>
Tak'sheetle	<i>to Feel</i>	Wee ee chit'l	<i>I am sorry</i>
Copecheetle	<i>to Point</i>	Weektock	<i>Hazy</i>
Mietch hy	<i>Both alike</i>	Shuma athat	<i>Names of the Towns which they visit and trade with to the Northward of Nootka Sound [94]</i>
Apuksheetle	<i>to Hug</i>	Noocho tlat ¹	
Hah welt tut'l	<i>a Youth</i>	Ahatesut ²	
Hah got'l	<i>a Young Woman</i>	Che neckenet	
Tanas ³	<i>a Boy or Girl</i>	Otluckchaal	
Mictook Iacopes	<i>an old man</i>	Kyuquot	
Mictook Clootsmah	<i>an old woman</i>	Chee ah clec sutt ⁴	
Clah o quilth	<i>Night before last</i>	Cly ish hut	
Ah mee ahhy	<i>Last night</i>	Qushkeemoowhoat	
Hash coal	<i>Names of the Towns which they trade with to the South- ward of Nootka Sound</i>	Hiesekackomilth	<i>January</i>
Matchetlat ⁵		Weeyackomilth	<i>February</i>
Manoish		Hiakomilth	<i>March</i>
Otsoosutt ⁶		Enuckhechetermilth	<i>April</i>
Kitsmahat		Quahkermilth	<i>May</i>
Clyoqot		Tahahtakahmilth	<i>June</i>
Ut looetlet		Sahtsmilah	<i>July</i>
Clyees uh		Eneecoresamilth	<i>August</i>
Tootooch ⁷		Nahalth	<i>September</i>
Uahtee		Cheecakomilth	<i>October</i>
Toox elth	<i>North wind</i>	Mahmee exso	<i>November</i>
Toochee	<i>South wind</i>	Cathlatick	<i>December</i>
Ashlithet	<i>East wind</i>	Moot shittle	<i>Flood tide</i>
Keeshack	<i>West wind</i>	Hah utle	<i>Ebb tide</i>
	<i>Crooked</i>		

¹ Nuchatlitz, an inlet in the northwestern part of Nootka Island.

² Ahatasat, an Indian village on Hecate Channel, Esperanza Inlet.

³ This word is found in the Chinook jargon today with the meaning "small" or "a child."

⁴ Checleset, an Indian tribe living near Cape Cook, northwestward of Nootka Sound.

⁵ Muchalat, in the eastern part of Nootka Sound.

⁶ Perhaps Ahousat, in Clayoquot Sound.

⁷ The names following "Otsoosutt" are intended for Kelsemart, Clayoquot, Ucluelet, Clööse, and Tatoosh.

Miscellaneous Papers
Relating to the First Voyage of the "Columbia"

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Relating

*to the First Voyage of the "Columbia"*¹

ORDERS GIVEN CAPTAIN JOHN KENDRICK OF THE SHIP COLUMBIA
FOR A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1787²

SIR:

THE ship Columbia and sloop Washington being completely equipped for a voyage to the Pacific ocean and China, we place such confidence in you as to give you the entire command of this enterprise. It would be impossible upon a voyage of this nature to give with propriety very binding instructions, and such is our reliance on your honor, integrity and good conduct, that it would be needless at any time. You will be on the spot, and as circumstances turn up you must improve them; but we cannot forbear to impress on your mind our wish and expectation that the most inviolable harmony and friendship may be cultivated between you and the natives, and that no advantages may be taken of them in trading, but that you endeavor by honest conduct to impress upon their minds a friendship for Americans. . . .

If you make any fort or improvement of land upon the coast, be sure you purchase the soil of the natives, and it would not be amiss if you purchased some advantageous tract of land in the name of the owners, if you should let the instrument of conveyance bear every authentic mark the circumstances will admit of. . . . You will constantly bear in mind that no trade is to be allowed on the coast, on any pretence whatever, but for the benefit of the owners. . . . You are strictly enjoined not to touch at any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven there by some unavoidable accident, in which case you will stay no longer than is absolutely necessary, and while there be careful to give no offence

¹ Except where otherwise stated, the originals of all the material printed in this section are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² *Senate Document Number 335* (32nd Congress, 1st Session).

to any of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and if you meet with any subjects of any European prince, you are to treat them with friendship and civility.

The certificate you have from the French and Dutch consuls you will make use of if you meet with any ships of those nations, and you will pay them every respect that is due to them.

The sea letters from Congress and this State you will also show on every proper occasion; and although we expect you will treat all nations with respect and civility, yet we depend you will suffer insult and injury from none without showing that spirit which will ever become A FREE AND INDEPENDENT AMERICAN.

JOHN KENDRICK TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Thursday November 15th 1787

On board the Ship Columbia at

anchor in English Road in Isle May

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

I ARRIVED here after a passage of forty two Days with the Washington in company, we are all in good health and high spirits, Our Ship sails very well,¹ is a good Sea Boat, and very tight—We have got plenty of fresh stock on board and shall sail this Day for St. Jago [Santiago] to fill our Water, from that place I shall Write you more fully²—Please to present my Compliments to the Gentlemen Owners and blieve me

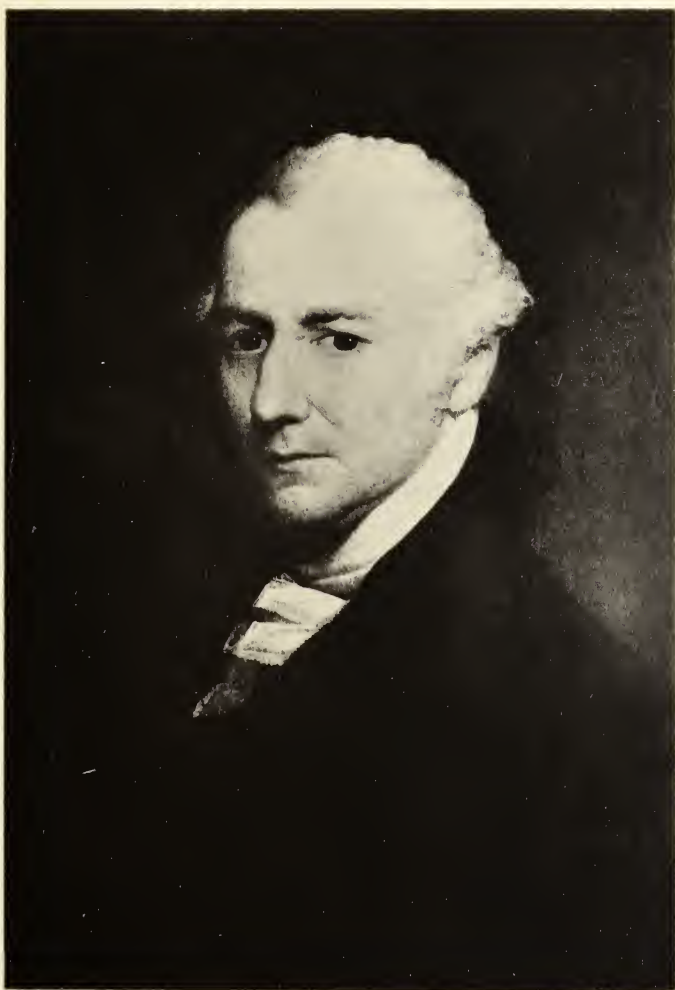
Sir, to be with esteem

Your very humble servant

JOHN KENDRICK

¹ Haswell's complaint is that Captain Kendrick did not give the *Columbia* a chance to show her mettle.

² This letter, if written, has disappeared.



JOSEPH BARRELL

MEMORANDUM OF MONIES PAID ON THE
SHIP COLUMBIA, [September 27, 1787?]

Copy of Advanced Wages per Articles

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Robert Gray	3	12		Jno. Maud	2	5	
Simeon Woodruff	27			Jno. B. Cordis	2	5	
Davis Coolidge	3			Miles Greenwood	1	10	
Robert Haswell	2	8		Saml. Thomas	1	10	
Richard Howe	2	5		James Hambleton	2	5	
Jno. B. Treat	1	10		Paul Brownwell	3	3	
Jno. Barber	4	10		John McCay	3	3	
Jona. Gilbert	4	16	8	Phillip Capps	2	5	
Wm. Bowles	5	19	11	John Nutting	2	5	
Jno. Annis	3	6		Joshua Dinsdall	1	3	
Nathan Arnold	4	10			£139	11	4
Jno. Kendrick, Jr.	4	10		Paid for shot molds	1	1	
Otis Liscum	4	10		Cath[er]n[e] Grays			
Robert Green	4	10		Bill for b[oar]d	11	8	
Joshua Hemminway	2	14		Thomas Thaxon	3	3	
Josiah Dodge	6	10	9	Jno. Smith	3	6	
Thos. Foster	2	5		Geo. Glover	2	5	
Isaac Ridler	2	14		Saml. Nutting	1	19	
Jno. Fuller	1	10		James Clark	1	4	
Bartholomew Ballard	2	5			£163	17	4
Abra[ha]m Waters	4	10		Cr. Owners	£185	10	
James Mackie	4	10		Ditto advance Wages			
Andrew Newell	1	10		to Capt. K.	45		
Jabez Westeval	1	7			£230	10	
John Cocks	3	9		Cr. Capt. K. for the			
Solomon Kendrick	1	10		above	163	17	4
James Crawford	4	10		Ball[anc]e in favor of			
Thos. Jeffrey	2	5		Owners	£66	12	8
Cr. Owners of Columbia and Washington					£185	10	
Cr. Captn. Kendrick for Advance Wages as per							
Rec[eip]ts					163	17	4
Ball[an]ce in favor of Owners					£21	12	8

JOHN KENDRICK'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ROBERT GRAY

*on Board Ship Columbia Lying in
Britts harbour in falklands Islans*

CAPT. ROBERT GRAY as you have the Command of the Sloop Washington my orders is that you Sail with the Columbia and do all in your power to Keep Company with her But Should you get Seperated from her By Bad weather or any other axerdent What Ever you air to proseed on your voige Round Cape horn in to the pacific ocan and then Stand to the Northward as far as the Lattd. $49^{\circ}36'$ North and Longitude of $126^{\circ}42'$ West from the Meridion of London their you will find a harbour By the Name of Nootka Sound on the West Side of North america. Should you want wood or water after you have arived in the pacific ocean I advise Stopping at Masafuero in Lattd. $33^{\circ}45'$ South and Longitude $80^{\circ}46'$ west from the Meridion of London. Should the Weather Be So Bad that you Cannot get a Surply at Masafuero you must go to Juan fernandes But take great Care not to put your Self in the power of the Spaniards If possibal to avoide it. When you Stand to the Northward from these Islands you must Not Come nigher to the Continant of america then Seventy or Eighty Leagues till you get thrue the trade Wind into the varibel on the Coast of California on account of the indraft of Wind that Blowes in on the Coast their air many Small Island Lying nearly in our fair Way from Juan fernandes to the Coast of New albion therefore a good Lookout must Be Ceept at Sum of these Island I make no Doubt But Surplys may Be got after your arival at Nootka Sound I would have you purchase as much furs as possibal of the Natives and in perticuler the Sea otters But not Refuse any Should you git five hundered Sea otters Skins and other furs in perpotion the first Season I would have you proseed from thence to Macao in China and their inquire for Letters Directed to me or your Self and then follow the orders you Receve from them Butt Should you not git the Number of Skins mentined I would have you Stay at Nootka or Sum other harbour on the Coast of america all winter By all means and in the Spring If you find the trade not good at Nootka or their abouts to proseed to the Northward as far as Cook-River But I would have you vissit the Coast as

you pass a Long in Ever place whare you think it Safe and try for trade I would have you treet the Natives with Respect whare Ever you go Cultivate frind Ship with them as much as possibel and take Nothing from them But what you pay them for according to a fair agreement and not Suffer your peopel to affrom them or treet them Ill and allways Remember that their is no trade to Be made Butt for the Benifet of the owners and Should it Be in your power to Catch Sea otters with the helpe of your traps or any orther way it must Be for the Bennifit of the owner of Ship Columbia and Sloop Washington When you arive at Macao Should you not fine Letters Loged their then you must apply to Messrs. Shaw and Randall at Canton and If they have the Consignments of Ship Clombia and Sloop Washington then follow their orders But Should they have no orders from the owners of Said Ship and Sloop or from me then you must Sell to the Best advantage you Can and Should you have ocasion for assistance you may vally on Said Shaw and Randall for their advice or assistance after you have Sold what Ever you have got on the Coast of america in China Lay out your money in Such goods as you think Be Most Sailabel in america and take the proper Season to Return to Boston in america By the way of the Cape of good hoop.

[JOHN KENDRICK]

JOHN KENDRICK TO JOSEPH BARRELL

*On board the Ship Columbia
Cumberland Bay, Juan fernandes
May 28th 1788*

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you of our safe arrival at Juan fernandes in the Pacific Ocean after a fatiguing passage of eighty six Days from Faulkland's Islands, and the misfortune of parting with the Sloop Washington on the first of April—We are all in health and our Ship sea worthy—I have only an oppertunity of a

few moments to write, which I hope will be a sufficient apology for not being more explicite.

I have the honour to be
Sir, with esteem
Your humble Servant
JOHN KENDRICK

P.S. The Sloop Washington has Orders to Stop at Massafuera, which induces me to think that she is safe.

JOHN KENDRICK TO ROBERT GRAY

[*March* 11, 1789?]

Capt. ROBERT GRAY

SIR

The Sloop Washington of which you air Commander Being ready for Sea you are requested to Sail the first fair Wind and to procede to Clyoquat in Latt. $49^{\circ}15'$ North and their Remain till after the Next new moon But Should you not Be abel to make trad in that time I would have you to proceed on your Cruse to the South ward along the Coast But not to the South ward of Latt. $45^{\circ}00'$ North and make all the trade you Can for Sea otter Skins But Remember that you must Return hear By the Last of Next may with out fail to Receve my farther orders Should you not find trade according to our Expectations you will Return Sooner and Should you Be Separated from me By any means that you think you Shall not Be abel to join me a gain on the Coast of America you will follow your former In Structions you Received from me

[JOHN KENDRICK]

ACCOUNT OF SHIP CHANDLERY, ETC., SUPPLIED THE WASHINGTON

1787

Octr. 2 To 1 pair Bellows
 1 singnal Lanthorn
 1 pump Bolt
 2 Chizells 1 and 2 Inch
 1 Gouge
 1 Morticing ditto
 1 Orger
 1 pair pinchers
 1 Keg Oil

Novr. 15

7 Cheese
 1 Saw
 1 bundle pencils
 1 Barr lead
 3 Saws
 1 Quoil 15 thread Rigging

*Decr. 15**19*

4 lb. Twine
 8 Cartridge Boxes
 1 Chizell
 1 Gouge
 16 files

1788

Feby. 9

1½ lb. Twine
 7 ½ pint Jacks

Decr. 2

6 Case Knives
 50 lb. Tobacco

1789

Mar. 13

12 files
 36 Gimbletts
 6 file Steels

JOHN KENDRICK TO DON ESTEVAN JOSÉ MARTINEZ

Nootka Sound

8 May Anno Dom. 1789

DON ESTEPHEN JOSEPH MARTINEZ

*Commander of his most Catholick**Majesties Ship PRINCESSA*

SIR:

IN answer to your request how I came to be riding at anchor in Nootka Sound belonging to the King of Spain I wou'd inform you that in the month of September 1788 I arriv'd on this Coast on discovery and anchored in the Cove Uqot on the Western entrance of this Sound haveing prior to my arrival sprung the Head of my Miz[ze]nmast, and in a Gale from the NE my Rudder receiv'd some considerable Dammage, likewise my Stern post became lose, to repair these Defects and recover my men the most of which were sick with the scurvy and two actually Died with the Disease¹ a few days before my arrival, I was Infallibly oblig'd to anchor Finding the natives Inofensive and a good Harbor to repair my ship which had been then near 12 months from Boston the Season being Far Advanc'd I was induc'd to remain the Winter² and proceed to the Northd. in the Spring follow[in]g which is the present and now as you may Observe we are getting our Ship in readiness for Sea with all possible dispatch³ and as soon as this is accomplish'd shall depart from the port⁴ for myself and Officers who's names are here unto Jointly Affix'd

I have the Honor to asure You

I am very respectfully

Your Most Obedient and Very Humble Servant

[JOHN KENDRICK]

¹ This agrees with Haswell's first log (September 23, 1788) but not with Kendrick's letter to Barrell, July 13, 1789 (below, page 121). Cf. Treat's letter (below, page 124).

² This is scarcely the whole truth; for at Brett's Harbor, Falkland Islands, Kendrick had instructed Gray, in the event of separation, to proceed to Nootka Sound. See Kendrick's instructions to Gray, above, page 114.

³ Under date of May 6, 1789, Martinez' MS. diary says that Kendrick informed him he had entered to make repairs similar to those mentioned, and that in the winter his ship was damaged by fire.

⁴ The *Columbia* was not ready for sea until the following July, and then she sailed for China. On this first voyage she did not cruise a mile for furs.

JOHN KENDRICK TO DON ESTEVAN JOSÉ MARTINEZ

May 12th [1789]

DON ESTEPHEN JOS. MARTINEZ

Com[mande]r of His most Catholic majesties Ship PRINCESSA

SIR

YOURS of the present date¹ is now laying before me and the Contents Noted, I observe with pleasure you are satisfied with my Answer relative to my Ship, with respect to my Sloop she being ready for sea the 2d of May that is the present month I thought best to employ her on discovery to the Northward of this port particularly to explore the Streights of Admiral De Fonte likewise if possible to procure Hoops to replace the Water Casks I made mention to you the Natives stole from me during the last Winter² holding in Idea this wou'd be employing her advantageously while the Ship was getting ready

I have the Honor to Remain

Sir Your

[JOHN KENDRICK]

JOHN KENDRICK TO DON ESTEVAN JOSÉ MARTINEZ

May 16th [1789]

DON ESTEPHEN J. MARTINEZ

*Commander of His most Catholic**Majesties Ship PRINCESSA*

DEAR SIR

THIS moment receiv'd a Letter Handed me by a man of Capt. Arrows³ Boat which I take to be the Blacksmith by what I can understand by him you want some Iron work Done and if that should be the Case I will have it done for you with all possible dispatch that I can I hold myself in readiness to serve you in any and

¹ Martinez, in his MS. diary, makes no reference either to his letter or to this answer.

² Cf. Haswell's first log, December 12, 1788.

³ Gonzalez Lopez de Haro, in command of the snow *San Carlos*, which arrived May 12, 1789.

every thing in my power¹ but as to the Letter it is so unintelligible as to the English that I can make nothing of it.

I have the Honor to Remain Sir
Your Devoted Servant

JOHN KENDRICK

JOHN KENDRICK TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Nootka Sound July 13th 1789

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

AN opportunity unexpectedly offers² which affords me the pleasure to inform you and the Gentlemen of the Comp[an]y of my arrival in this Sound on the month of Septem[be]r last;³ found riding at Anchor the Sloop Washington Capt. Gray whom I parted with coming round Cape Horn on the first April previous,⁴ the season being so far advanced I found it necessary that both Vessels should Winter here.

The Sloop has made two Cruizes⁵ and is now ready to accompany the Ship to the Northd. part of the Coast which I intend Cruizing the Season and from thence proceed to China where I shall follow your further Instructions, and inform you perticularly of the Success of the Voyage, which I am sorry is not by any means equal to your expectations when we left Boston⁶—shall leave this port on the morrow.

This will be forwarded you by the goodness of Don Estephen Joseph Martinez, Commodore of His Most Catholic Majesty's Squadron in these Seas, he has taken possession of this Sound, and

¹ Kendrick set out to ingratiate himself with the Spaniards and succeeded, thus saving his vessels. Within ten days of the seizure of the *Argonaut* his eldest son entered the service of Spain, "abjuring," as Martinez says, "the heresies of Luther." *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIII. 296.

² The sailing of the captured British ship *Argonaut* from Nootka for San Blas.

³ September 22, 1788.

⁴ The *Washington* had reached Clayoquot on August 30 and Nootka on September 16.

⁵ Her first cruise was from March 16 to April 23; her second, May 2 to June 17.

⁶ When he made this pessimistic report, he had not cruised a single mile for furs.

has orders to take possession from the Spanish settlements to Cook's River.¹

I have only to add that I have all the people which I brot from Boston except Mr. Jno. Nutting who was unfortunately drowned²— and the Doct[o]r and Mr. Woodruff which probably you have been inform'd off previous to this and that Captn. Gray with the Gentlemen desire to join me in respects to you and the Gentlemen of the Comp[an]y.

After which Sir

I subscribe myself

Your and the Comp[an]ys

Obedient Humble Servant

JOHN KENDRICK

JOHN KENDRICK TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Nootka Sound 13 July 1789

His Excellency

PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SIR

AT the Island of Juan Fernandes³ I took the liberty of enclosing a letter to your Excellencys care, and I must now beg leave to intrude further on your goodness to forward the enclosed as directed, The Extreame distance these letters have to pass through the spanish dominions renders it Necessary to direct them to some public Carachter to insure their safety, this I trust will sufficiently Apologize to your Excellency for the liberty I have taken on this occasion.

I have the Honor to be Your Excellencys

Most Obedient and devoted Humble Servant

JOHN KENDRICK

¹ Kendrick strangely fails to notice the seizure of the British vessels, and omits to mention that for nearly ten months the *Columbia* has swung idly at her anchors.

² Cf. Kendrick to Martinez, May 8, 1789, above, page 118; see also below, page 124.

³ The visit to Juan Fernandez brought trouble to Don Blas Gonzalez, its governor. See below, pages 154-157.

ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Nootka Sound July 13th 1789

FROM the time of leaving Boston, we had good weather and excellent winds to St. Jago, where we lay forty one days, which was thirty six more than I thought was necessary, and after Sailing from St. Jago, very little care taken to make a quick passage to Cape Horn, which has occasioned me to suffer very much in getting round Cape Horn, in the month of March and April, in the worst season to attempt it, but all this I have mentioned over and often to the Commodore at St. Jago, but all to no purpose, he being very absolute and would not hear to reason.

I had the good luck to part Company the first day of April in a severe gale and thick snow storm to the Southward and Westward, of Cape Horn, which enabled me to make the best of my way along, and I made the Coast six weeks sooner by being alone, but being so late on the Coast, entirely lost the season, it being the 2d of August I made New Albion in the Latitude of $41^{\circ}36'$ North, and Cruised the Coast to Nootka Sound, in the Latitude of $49^{\circ}33'$ North, Longitude 126° West, but with little success, where I arrived the 16th of September, and found Two English Snows and one Schooner under Portuguese Colours,¹ who treated me very well on some accounts, but would not take any Letters for me to China, which was worse than any thing else, they being afraid my Letters would injure them and hurt their Trade the next season, for they had made a good Summers work this Season.

September 21st arrived the Columbia from Juan Fernandes, all well on board, except a small touch of the Scurvy, I being then nearly ready for Sea, which I intended to went to Macao, in China in case the ship had not arriv'd here; there to get some articles of Trade which I had not on board, that suits best on this Coast; which in case I had done it I should have made the best voyage that ever was made on this Coast, but Capt. Kendrick's arriving depriv'd me of my intentions, and acting myself he thinking it best to winter here, and wait for the Spring to open, and cruise the Coast as early

¹ The snows were the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*; the schooner was the *North West America*. They were all under Portuguese colors, though in reality British.

as possible, which I began the 16 March, and have made two Cruises with considerable success, considering the way that I was sent, but not half equal to going the way that I wanted to; which has since appeared to us;¹ the *Columbia* has rid it out here all the time, but now means to sail in Company with me to the Northward, where we shall be able to cruise about one Month² and then for the want of Provisions leave the Coast; We are now in good friendship with the Spanish Commodore and expects to sail in a few days, who has taken possession here and erected a fine fort, and claims this Coast, who I think, has the best right of any Nation, they have stopped three English vessels here, that came from Macao in China, to take possession of this Coast and fortify here, but they being of very little force are obliged to give themselves up, and go to St. Blass for a Tryal. I have nothing more to inform you except the voyage will not turn out to the Owners expectation, all for the want of a nimble leader, so I conclude and remain Your affectionate Friend and ever well wisher

ROBERT GRAY

P.S. I have to request you to call upon Capt. Hatch, and the Gentlemen of the Company and present my best respects to them, together with Mr. Howe's and inform them that as we have orders not to write them, we must refer them to Capt. Kendricks Letter for all information relative to the voyage.

R. G.

¹ This paragraph and the postscript give a glimpse of Gray's view of Kendrick and of the relations between them.

² This accords with Kendrick's letter of the same date. But the changeful commander had plainly even then changed his mind, for on July 15, as Martinez tells in his MS. diary, the two vessels sailed together from Nootka, and the *Columbia* departed on July 30 under Gray for China and Boston.

JOHN B. TREAT TO SAMUEL BRECK¹

Nootka Sound July 14th 1789

SAMUEL BRECK ESQR

SIR

ON the 22d of September last we made the long-looked for North-west Coast of America; and the next day arrived in Nootka Sound where we joined our *Consort*² after an absence of near six months. her Officers, and men were all in good health but hade suffered some with the scurvy, which disorder became prevalent among our Ships Company the latter part of the passage but fortunately we lost only two of them (foreigners) who entered with us at the Isld St Jago,³ and our Astronomer,⁴ who being *insane* threw himself overboard and was lost. The most important news on our side the Continent is the arrival of his Catholick Majesty's Ships of war, la *Princessa*, and la *St Carlos* which took possession here in May last and are now fortyfying with the greatest diligence four other arrivals have since taken place, three of which are Captured: two of them under Portugueze colours,⁵ and the other an English Snow:⁶ Commanded by J. Collinett, whose orders were to establish a factory at this place. this will undoubtedly occasion Some altercation between the two Powers, particularly Should She be condemned at St Blaz, for which she sails to morrow, and permission is Obtained for us to depart in twenty four hours after. Both vessels are now in good order, the *Columbia* not having been out of port, and the *Washington* thoroughly repaired after beating several hours upon the rocks.⁷ the remainder of the season will be spent examining the Coast to the Northward and probably we shall

¹ The original of this letter is in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Samuel Breck Papers). It appeared in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, xxx (July, 1940), 285-286, and is reproduced by the kind permission of the editor.

² The sloop *Washington*, which had separated from the *Columbia* on April 1, 1789.

³ No other source refers to this accretion to the crew of the *Columbia* at the Cape Verde Islands.

⁴ John Nutting. Kendrick mentions his death but does not enter into any details.

⁵ The snow *Iphigenia* and the schooner *North West America*, Meares's vessels. They were, in reality, British.

⁶ The *Argonaut*.

⁷ For Haswell's account of the accident, see above, pages 93-94.

leave it the Begining of October,¹ and Sail for China, touching at the Sandwich Islands to recruit our provisions. Captain Metcalf is daily expected here from Macao, in a Snow belonging to New York:² It is hoped he will be more fortunate than to come in [he] may not receive the indulgences we have experien[ced from] Don *Estephen Joseph Martinez* Commander at this place A Sail now in the Offing makes me conclude, adding we have hitherto, and still continue to enjoy an uncommon share of good health: and may you, with your family and friends receive the same Blessing, is the ardent wish

of Sir Your Humble Servant

JNO B TREAT

July 15. the Sail described yesterday is the Princess Royal an English Sloop, Consort to the Snow she left this place ten days since but imprudently returning for intelligence, has her flag shifted,³ and men made prisoners—how long it will detain us we cannot tell but shall be extremely happy to take our leave.

INVENTORY OF SKINS

Harbour Clyoquot July 28th 1789

Invoice of Sundry Sea Otter Skins and others Ship'd
on board the Ship Columbia by Jno. Kendrick Esqr.

700 Sea Otter Skins

No.	1	17lb.wt.	Do.	pieces
	2	15 Do.	Do.	Do.
	3	14 Do.	Do.	Do.
	4	17 Do.	Do.	Do.
	5	19 Do.	Do.	Do.
	6	11 Do.	Do.	Do.
	7	14 Do.	Do.	Do.
	8	14 Do.	Do.	Do.
	9	10 Do.	Do.	Do.
	10	10 Do.	Do.	Do.

¹ The traders then usually left the coast about the end of September.

² Captain Simon Metcalfe in the brig *Eleanora*.

³ That is, she was captured by Martinez.

From No. 1 to 34 Bundles of 10 pieces each.

11	17	Do.	Do.	Do.
12	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
13	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
14	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
15	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
16	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
17	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
18	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
19	13	Do.	Do.	Do.
20	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
21	11	Do.	Do.	Do.
22	13	Do.	Do.	Do.
23	13	Do.	Do.	Do.
24	11	Do.	Do.	Do.
25	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
26	11	Do.	Do.	Do.
27	11	Do.	Do.	Do.
28	10	Do.	Do.	Do.
29	7	Do.	Do.	Do.
30	13	Do.	Do.	Do.
31	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
32	13	Do.	Do.	Do.
33	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
34	12	Do.	Do.	Do.
35	4 ⁸	Do.	pieces unnumber'd	
36	18	Do.	Do.	Do.
37	24	Beaver Skins		
38	6	Land Otters 3 Martins		

ROBERT GRAY TO JOHN KENDRICK

[*Canton*] *Novr.* 21st 1789

CAPT. JNO. KENDRICK

SIR

IMEDIATELY upon our arrival at Macao we made application for Letters lodged for you agreeably to instructions relative to Ship Columbia which you will receive, the purport of which we

have attended to and have consigned the business to Messrs. Shaw & Randall, who's advice it is, that you by no means attempt to bring your Sloop to Canton, but that you at all events dispose of vessel¹ and Cargo at Macao, for Cash and come up to Canton to invest it in such articles as you wou'd wish and return to America, this is the only practicable method you can adopt which may be accomplish'd by the assistance of Mr. McIntire to whom Messrs. Shaw & Randall has wrote on the subject—Should you bring your vessel here the Expense will amo[un]t to at least 2500 Doll[a]rs² and would involve you in the greatest difficulty.

We are Sir

Yours etca.

[ROBERT GRAY]

BILL FOR THE COLUMBIA'S SUPPLIES

Owners of Ship *Columbia*

DR.

To *Wyqua Compradore* for Supplies

	Tael	Mace	Canda- reen	Tael	Mace	Canda- reen	Cash
932 Catty Beef			7	65	2	4	
448 do. Yams and Potatoes			3	13	4	4	
170 Loaves Cabbin Bread			4	6	8		
23 Baskets Sallad			3		6	9	
165 Eggs			8 per doz.	1	1		
190 Catty Fowls			1 per Catty	19			
14½ do. Tea	1		6	2	3	2	
75 do. Sugar			5	3	7	5	
8 Pots Milk			3		2	4	
2 Bottles Vinegar			6		1	2	
75 Catty Chenam			1	7	5		
16 Brooms			5		8		

¹ Kendrick made a "sham sale" of the *Washington* as he admits in his letter to Barrell, March 28, 1792, below, page 471. Grave suspicions of his purpose were afloat as appears, for instance, by the introductory description of the first voyage in his friend Hoskins' narrative in this volume.

² There may be slight exaggeration in this amount; but Marchand declares that had he taken *La Solide* to Canton (Whampoa) the duties would have amounted to "not less than six thousand dollars."

1 Basket Lampblack				5		
76½ Catty Paint Oil	1	2	9	1	8	
1300 Brads and small Nails	3	per 100	3	9		
1 Catty Nails				3		
5 Pieces Dungarees	3	0	6	15	3	
15 Catty Twine		2		3		
11½ do. Paint		3		3	4	5
306 do. Ship Bread			4	12	2	4
12 Pieces Boards		7		8	4	
80 Catty Oakam		1		8		
24 bundles Grass			3		7	2
6¾ Catty Hinges for Companion	3			2	2	5
5 Catty Lobchocks	1				5	
100 Great Coat Mats		5		5		
250 Bambo do.		3		7	5	
29 days work for Carpenters	3	6		10	4	4
48 do. do. for Caulkers	3	6		17	2	8
December 1789				228	7	3 5

ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Canton Decemr. 18th 1789

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR. AND COMPANY

GENTLEMEN

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival at Canton in the Ship Columbia from the NW Coast of America in the Lattd. 49° 9' N. the 30th July, where Captn. Kendrick thought best to change Vessells¹ and take all the property on board the Sloop Washington and Cruize in her himself on the Coast, and for me to make the best of my way to the Sandwhich Islands, there to procure sufficient provisions to carry us to Canton, our provisions on the Coast were not sufficient for both Vessells to Cruize the Season out was the reason of our seperation.

¹ This cryptic expression is all that Gray has to say about the transfer of command of the *Columbia*. Cf. the statement by Hoskins (below, page 164), who doubtless is giving his friend Kendrick's view. Kendrick's letter to Barrell, March 28, 1792 (below, pages 470-473), is as indefinite as usual.

I had four weeks passage from the Coast to the Sandwhich Islands, where I lay three weeks and salted five Punchions of Pork and took on deck One hundred and fifty live hogs—our passage from the Islands to Canton was nine weeks, where I arrived on the 17th Novr. found fourteen Americans and about seventy Ships of other Nations—I received Instructions with Mr. Howe (whome Captn. Kendrick appointed to assist me) to value on Messrs. Shaw & Randall which we have done on Mr. Randall Mr. Shaw being absent.¹

The Cargo consists of seven hundred skins and three hundred peices which is not yet disposed of, but expect will be in a few days—I am getting the Ship in readiness in order to receive a Cargo of Bohea teas for Boston, and expect to Sail by the last of Jany.

The Ship is much out of repair and the expenses will I fear exceed your expectation but rest assured that nothing Shall be wanting in attention to render the expences as light as posible²—when I parted with Captn. Kendrick he was well and all on board the Washington the Sloop in good order and better found than when She saild from Boston, haveing on board twenty men, and am in hopes they will make a good Cruize, having provisions to Cruize two months³—but Captn. Kendrick never informd wether he intended to come to Canton or not in case he meet with no accident, which makes it a matter entirely uncertain, in case he does not arrive this month I shall conclude he means to Stay another season or has meet with some accident.

The Spaniards have taken possession of all the Coast and forty-fing in many places, they have taken possession of a Snow and Schoo[ne]r under portugueas Colours and have captured a Brig and Sloop belonging to English merchants in this place and sent them to St. Blass for tryal.⁴

¹ See Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston, 1817), 21, 39; *Old Shipping Days in Boston* (Boston, 1918), 9, 12.

² The *Columbia's* cargo sold for 21,400 hard dollars; the expenses and disbursements (including commissions) amounted to 10,163.20 hard dollars, leaving 11,241.51 hard dollars to be invested in return cargo. See page 141, below.

³ For Kendrick's cruise, see his letter of February 6, 1790, below, page 136.

⁴ The snow is the *Iphigenia*; the schooner, the *North West America*; the brig, the *Argonaut*; the sloop, the *Princess Royal*. Only the two last named were sent to San Blas. They are the so-called Meares vessels.

Our expedition Gentlemen will not be equal to your expectations nor is there any American Ships here but will make bad Voyages—I have only to add that Mr. Howe joins me in best wishes for your health and prosperity, and to Subsribe myself

Gentlemen

Your Obedient devoted
and very humble Servant
ROBT. GRAY

MESSRS. SHAW & RANDALL TO JOSEPH BARRELL





Canton Decemr. 18th 1789

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

WE have the honor to inform you of the safe arrival here of the Ship Columbia commanded by Captn. Gray who with Mr. Howe has valued upon our house for the transaction of their Business, we shall therefore make every exertion to give the Vessell a full return Cargo to America but her funds will not admit her carrying home any other than bohea tea—Mr. Howe will write you more particularly.

We are Sir with esteem
Your Obedient Servants
SHAW & RANDALL

MEMORANDUM OF THE CARGO OF THE SHIP COLUMBIA AT CANTON 1790 *January 4th* Our Cargo went to Town in a Chop Boat guarded by 8 Men with Muskets and the Captain—the Cargo consisted of 105 bundles of Skins ten in each bundle one large Chest containing 96 Skins¹ one Ginn Case Mark'd  containing 10 Skins one hog Skin Trunk mark'd  containing 20 Skins one Small Chest marked  containing 19 Skins one bundle marked  containing 7 Skins one

¹ The ninety-six skins were part of the cargo of Meares's *North West America*, captured by the Spaniards and sent on board the *Columbia* as security for the expense of carrying her crew to China. Gray kept twenty-four in payment of his charges. See Frederic W. Howay, *The Dixon-Meares Controversy* (Toronto, 1929), 80.

bundle marked × containing 13 Skins—Jany. 19 the Boat went to Town after water James Jones carried a Skin under his Jacket to Town for Mr. Ingraham.¹

FROM THE *Massachusetts Centinel*, JANUARY 16, 1790²

THE Concerned of the Ship *Columbia*, and Sloop *Washington*, bound on a voyage to Kamschatka, have received letters from the Governour of a Portuguese island, near the mouth of the river Canton, in China; by which he informed them, that the Sloop had been spoken with on the back part of the Continent of America—and that when they should arrive at his island, they should be treated with friendship etc.

RICHARD S. HOWE AND ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Canton January 18th 1790

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

IN our last by Captn. Carpenter we inform'd you that we had obtain'd permission to land the Cargo of Skins—they are yet

¹ An outcropping of the forbidden private trade said to have been common on the *Columbia*. Compare this inventory with that (page 125, above) taken two days before the *Columbia* sailed for China and with Gray's letter to Barrell, pages 128-130, above.

² The distorted information in this report must have been carried to China by John Meares's vessel *Felice*, which sailed from Nootka in September, 1788, and reached Macao, the Portuguese island referred to, early in December, 1788. This seems evident from the fact that the only other ships then on the Northwest Coast which later sailed to China were the *Iphigenia* and the *Columbia*; the former arrived in China on October 5, 1789; and the latter, on November 17, 1789. The interval between either of these dates and the publication of the item is too short to allow of its being brought to China by them. The *Washington* had reached Nootka on September 16, 1789; Meares departed on the twenty-second; and the *Columbia* anchored in Nootka Sound the next day. This, probably, accounts for the absence of any reference to the *Columbia*. From China to New England, the sea lane had already been worn smooth: Meares mentions fourteen American vessels, besides the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, as trading to China in 1789. Once the news had reached China, its transmission to Boston was, therefore, a simple matter. The letter from the governor of Macao does not appear to have been preserved. It is difficult to understand the statement that these two American vessels were bound for Kamchatka, for it was common knowledge that they were pioneering in a trade in the furs of the Northwest Coast as an integral part of the commerce between New England and China.

unsold by reason of the Mandareens putting their *Chop*¹ upon them, but have great prospects of closeing the business in a few days.

Mr. Randall has engaged six hundred Chests of Bohea Tea, but cannot tell the amount of our funds untill the Cargo is sold—we shall begin to pack in the course of five days, and in all probability sail by the last of this month²—cannot but express our anxiety for Captn. Kendrick who has not yet arrived, but are in hopes of seeing him previous to our departure, and of giveing you pleasing accounts of him on our arrival in America, untill which time we remain with every sentiment of respect to you and the Gentlemen of the Company your

Devoted
and Obedient
humble Servants
R. S. HOWE for
himself and
ROBERT GRAY

JOSEPH INGRAHAM TO ROBERT GRAY

CAP. ROBT. GRAY at *Pinguas Hong Canton*

SIR

PLEASE pay to Mr. Thos. Barrow or Order Nine Dollars being for Rice supplied the Ship *Columbia*.

Your Most Obedient Servant
JOS. INGRAHAM

Wampoa 22 Jany. 1790

Received the Contents in full
JAS. HOLLAND
Purser

¹ The original meaning of "chop" in the Far East was a stamp or seal; hence, a clearance, passport, or almost any sealed and official document. For a description of the mandarins' commercial methods, see Marchand, *Voyage round the World*, II. 96.

² The bill of lading, which is reproduced in the *New England Magazine*, VI (June, 1892), 479, showed 220 chests, 170 half chests, and 144 quarter chests of Bohea tea.

JOHN KENDRICK TO ROBERT GRAY AND RICHARD S. HOWE

Macao Jany. 27th 1790

GENTLEMEN:

I YESTERDAY anchored in this Road, and have since mad[e] application for liberty to enter the Typa, but cannot obtain it. therefore request your advice and assistance, together with the owners instructions how to proceed, being entirely destitute of every necessary or Cash to purchase unless I dispose of my Furrs which I wish to avoid till you can inform me what the Current Price is—Make mine and the Gentlemens Compliments to those of the Columbia—and believe me with respect and Esteem

Your Humble Servant
JOHN KENDRICK

Messrs. GRAY and HOWE
Canton

ROBERT GRAY TO JOHN KENDRICK

Canton January 29th 1790

JOHN KENDRICK ESQR.

SIR

WE sincerely Congratulate you on your safe arrival at Macoa, and are very sorry to inform, that our business is attended with the greatest trouble and difficulty, Mr. Randall to whom we consign'd the Ship, (Mr. Shaw being absent) positively declines transacting the business of your Sloop as he has a large Ship now loaded and nothing prevents his sailing but the difficulty that arises from our skin Cargo which cannot as yet be disposed off. we have six hundred Chests of Tea on board, and as soon as the *Hoppo*¹ will give a Chop for the sale of the skins we shall be ready to sail for America.

Mr. McIntire to whom you are recomme[n]ded, wishes you to transmit to us a list of the Quantity and Quality of skins on board, and advises, that you wou'd remain in Macoa road, untill you can again write us, and receive further advise, Shou'd the weather be

¹ A Chinese custom-house officer.

unfavorable, that you would run into dirty butter bay,¹ for which purpose you will apply to Mr. Bruces boatman, by the name of Appo, who will be found at the Chop house fry grands,² to pilot you—Should you go there be very cautious as several vessells have been boarded by the Ladroons.

We also wish you Sir to inform us wether you intend loading for America, selling your vessell, or returning on the Coast, that we may more perticularly advise you, in our next untill which, it is by no means advisable for you to attempt coming here—was it posible one of us would immediately come down to you, but such is the difficulty and trouble with which business is transacted in this Country that we should involve our Ship was we to attempt it—but hope in our next to be able to inform the time we shall sail and have the pleasure of seeing.

We have reccomended to you a Compadore³ who will supply you with necessarys for two or three weeks upon Credit—which is all that is at present in our power to do—the price of Skins is from fifty to seventy doll[a]rs provided you *smuggle* which in this port is impossible, without great danger.⁴

A Gentlemen has it in agitation to send a man down to look at a Muster of your Skins. Should he like them he pay you cash there for the whole—provided he comes he will receive a Letter from us for the purpose—enclose to you two letters from the owners—and beg leave to assure you nothing shall be wanting on our part to render you assistance. Comp[limen]ts to the Gentlemen of the Washington and b[e]lieve us to be truly

Your devot[ed]
Humble Servant
[ROBERT GRAY]

¹ Lark's Bay, three or four leagues southwest of Macao, and out of the reach of inquisitive Chinese authorities at the time. Delano, *Voyages and Travels*, 43.

² A Chinese custom house.

³ A Chinese broker through whom all purchases for foreign vessels were required to be made. Ingraham's MS. journal and the account of Marchand's voyage give intimate acquaintance with these unnecessary evils.

⁴ Smuggling to avoid the excessive duties, not the prohibition of importation of furs; for that does not seem to have been imposed until about November, 1791.

ROBERT GRAY TO JOHN KENDRICK

Canton Jany. 30th 1790

JOHN KENDRICK ESQR.

SIR

THE Bearers of this accompanied by the linguister are the persons alluded to in our last to examine the Skins of different Qualitys you have and make you an offer—Shou'd you agree with them, the money will be paid here previous to your delivering them and they receive an order for the same from us provided it meets your approbation, and in all probability you can rec[eive] it by our Ship in the course of 18 days—however Sir we provided you chuse to receive the money there it is at your option, but this we wish to communicate that the risk of transporting the money in boats will be attended with great risk by reason of Roberies which are frequently committed.

We would wish you to consider maturely upon the business and write us as perticularly as possible.

We remain Sir with respect
[ROBERT GRAY]

ROBERT GRAY TO JOHN KENDRICK

Canton 4th Feby. 1790

DEAR SIR

THE report at Canton is that you are coming up. believe me Dear Sir you will have immeasurable difficultys to struggle against at this late period of the Seson not only that but you will not receive one third of the Value for your Skins and once they have you here they will oblige you to give the Skins at their own price there is no such thing as reshipping if it is not too late by all means remain below you will find Merchants in abundance to take your Cargo of your hands and supply you with what ever articles you are in want of. This Dear Sir is the opinion of Captain Douglas and everyone that wishes you well.

We are etc.
[ROBERT GRAY]

JOHN KENDRICK TO ROBERT GRAY AND RICHARD S. HOWE

Macao February 6th 1790

GENTLEMEN—

YOUR favour of the first instant I received, but cannot at present determin whether I shall dispose of my Vessell, take a Cargo for America—or return again to the *Coast* not knowing whether your Teas are Shiped on the Owners Account, or Freight—or to what amount your Cargo has sold for—which I desire you will particularly mention in your next. a portugeese Gentleman has it in agitation to purchase the Sloop but if I think proper to Comply with his Offer it will not be, till I have disposed of my Furs: and received your account of Sales.

You'll transmit an account of skins to Mr. McIntyre¹ which amount to 320 Whole ones, 60 Garments, and 150 pieces both large and small as to the Quality we judge it equal to any that has been brought from the Coast—Several Chinese merchants have proposed to purchase the whole, but I shall not dispose of them till I am inform'd whether Mr. McIntyre proposes to come down within a few days and if not I shall then sell them to the Best advantage.

In your next, you'll send a full Account of the Cargo on Board—and the Quality of your Teas—together with their prices—and what Quantity will be sufficient to Compleat your lading—likewise whether Cordage, and sail Cloth, is to be procured at Canton²—together with such articles as are suitable for the North West Trade—and a price Current accompanying it. Being too much exposed in the Roads, on the third day after our Arrival we moved our Station to Dirty Butter Bay where we lay Securely moored—and very lonesome.

I am Gentlemen with respect
and Esteem Your Humble Servant

JOHN KENDRICK

¹ For some light on this man, John McIntyre, see Ingraham's MS. journal, December 3, 1791. He had long resided in Macao and was interested in the maritime fur-trade. McIntyre Bay, on the northern side of the Queen Charlotte Islands, was named for him by Captain William Douglas.

² Evidently in anticipation of re-rigging the *Washington* as a brig or brigantine, a plan that had been long in his mind, as appears from Haswell's first log, October 26, 1788. When the *Washington* next visited the coast she had been altered to a brigantine.

P. S. Send me an Account of the Duties skins pay and the proportion pieces bear to prime skins with your opinion what the Sloop would fetch at Canton—considering she is now entirely destitute of Sails and Rigging—the skins mentioned are those belonging to the Cargo only.

J. K.

ROBERT GRAY'S ACCOUNTS WITH THE OWNERS OF THE COLUMBIA

The Owners of Ship Columbia in Account Current with Robert Gray Dr.

1789

<i>To sundry Disbursements Vizt:</i>		£	s	d	£	s
<i>Nouv. 3rd</i>	To pilotage of Ship from Grand Lama to Macoa				9	
	To Cash paid for 1 Dozn. plates and fowles	3	9			
	Do. 1 do. Cups, sausers and glasses	1	2	6		
	Do. Vegetables and 1 Case Sugar	2	14			
	Do. 1 Case Rum	1	19			
	Do. 1 Do. Wine	2	2			
	Do. 1 Tea pot		6			
	Do. 1 punch Bowl		12			
	Do. 1 Doz. Knives and forks	2	2			
	Do. Boatmens expences	5	18	6	20	5
<i>7th</i>	Do. 1 Doz. Dishes		15			
	Do. provision and Vegetables	2	11			
<i>9th</i>	Do. Do. Do.	6	3			
	Do. peoples expences	4	10		13	19
<i>11th</i>	Do. Bread and Vegetables	1	4			
	Do. peoples expences	1	4			
	Do. Express with Letters from Canton		18			
<i>13th and 15th</i>	Do. Fish and Vegetables		14			
<i>16th</i>	Do. for Do.		12			
	Do. pilotage from Macoa to Wampo	13	4			
	Do. passage Boat to Canton	1	10		19	6

24th	Do. Boat hire to Do.		6		
	Do. for 1 Case Gin	1	16		
	Do. 1 blb. Tar	1	16		
	Do. 3 Bolts Duck @ 96s	14	8		
	Do. 2 blbs. Pitch 72s	7	4		
	Do. 518 Ct. Cordage 78s	19	19		
	Do. 15 blbs. Pork 66s	49	10		
	Do. 32 Gallons N. E. Rum 3s	4	16		
	Do. sand pan hire		12		
	Do. 32 Gallons W. I. Rum 4s	6	8	106	15
27th	Do. hire of sand pan		12		
28th	Do. do. to and from Wampo		18		
30th	Do. for Do.		6		
Decr. 7th	Do. for 2 pieces Dungaree	2	14		
	Do. 100 Wt. butter @ 9d	3	15		
8th	Do. hire of Sand pan		18		
	Do. pr. Candle stick and snuffers		12		
	Do. 1 Box Chocolate	1	10		
9th	Do. 5 Bucketts		12	11	17
26th	Do. for Six Chairs	2	8		
	Do. for Cabbin Table	2	2		
	Do. half leyar Arrack	5	14		
	Do. for sand pan		6		
	Advance to the painter	9			
30th	Do. Sand pan hire		6	19	16
1790					
Jany. 1st	Do. 1 barrell Brandy	6			
	Do. 162 feet plank and boards @ 24 Dollars	1	4		
4th	Do. Sand pan hire		6		
17th	Do. paid for Coopering Casks	2	8		
	Do. paid Saml. Howell for 10 Oars	4	10		
	Do. I. Ashmead for Vinegar	1	16		
	Do. paid Caulker's 24 days Work	7	4		
	Do. paid J. Ingraham's Bill	6	18		
	Do. 10 pieces silk for Coulors 39s	19	10		
	Do. paid Taylors Bill for Do.	7	10	57	6

1790]

Miscellaneous Papers

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	To R. S. Howe's bill for sundry supplies			26	8	
	To Cash advanced Seamen			91	13	
<i>Feby.</i>	Do. Synshongs Bill for China			6	12	8
<i>3rd</i>	Do. paid for 4 Lanthrons	1	4			
	Do. for Wine Glasses and Tumblers				18	
	Do. paid for 1 Cask powder	3	12			
<i>6th</i>	Do. advanced to pilot the Ship to Macoa					
			12			
	Do. present to pilot	1	4			
	Do. for 200 Bottles	2	8			
				21	6	
	Do. Cash advanced Captn. Kendrick agreeably to Captn. K's order on the Agent of Ship Columbia					
					111	0
	Do. sundry Cooleys' expences				6	
	1737 20/72 Dollars equal too			<u>£521</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>

Cr.

1790

<i>Feby.</i>	By Cash Recd. of Thos. Randall Esqr. at sundry times—1602 Dollars equal too	£	s	d
		480	12	
	By Cash in full		40	11 8
	Currency of Massachusetts	<u>£521</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>

MESSRS. SHAW & RANDALL TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Canton February 7th 1790

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR

AGREEABLE to the instructions of Capt. Gray and M. Howe, We now inclose you invoice and Bill of lading for the return Cargo of Ship Columbia for the transaction of which those gentlemen thought proper to value upon us for. Had this vessel been by

the Owners regularly consigned to us, we should have advised Capt. Gray to have smuggled his Skins below, and when he came up to Canton reported he had nothing but money—however as he had no instructions necessity obliged him to come up with his Skins and to value upon us, being destitute of money—we are Sorry to find that we have not been able to obtain more for the Cargo of the Columbia, which probably might have been done had we hazarded the risque of Smugling the Skins at Wampoa—but I was informed in case of Such an attempt it would have Stopped the Ship—or the Nation been obliged to pay a fine perhaps more than the amount of the Skins, We have endeavored to help the voyage by a freight of Bohea teas on the same terms that other american Vessels offered to take them, We have often repented our accepting this consignment on the part of Capt. Gray and M. Howe as the Ship being without funds in ready money—involved us in heavy advances in Cash at a time the State of trade here did not well admit of it. With Capt. Gray and M. Howe, who consigned us the Vessel, we have made a final Settlement of our Accounts, and no doubt they will give you every requisite information. We wish a Safe arrival to the Columbia and are

Dear Sir

With respect

Your Obedient Servants

SHAW & RANDALL

THE COLUMBIA'S ACCOUNTS WITH MESSRS. SHAW & RANDALL

*Capt. Robert Gray and Richard Howe for**Owners of Ship Columbia in**Account with Shaw and Randall*

DR.			CR. Dollars
1789		1789	
Jan. 30	To Commissions on 21400 dollars as per agreement	Jan. 30	By Sales of Ship Columbia's Cargo to Pinqua Security Merchant for said ship for the amount of Head dollars 21400
1790		1790	
Feb. 7	To Bill of disbursements and Factory expenses	Feb. 7	By Cash of Capt. Gray in full
		8558-20/72	
		<u>10163-20/72</u>	
	To Invoice of Bohea tea shipped on account and risque of the Owners and consigned to Joseph Barrell for balance		
		11241.51	
		<u>21404.71</u>	
	Head dollars		

*Canton February 7th 1790*Errors Excepted and settled the
above being in full settlement.

SHAW & RANDALL

TOBIAS LEAR TO JOSEPH BARRELL

United States February 26th 1790

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to transmit the enclosed Letter addressed to you, which was yesterday handed to the President of the United States by the Spanish Charge des Affaires. It was under a cover directed to the President of the Congress of the United States, and accompanied by a letter addressed in the same manner, which I herewith enclose that you may see the cause of your letter being conveyed through this channel. With very great esteem, I am, Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

TOBIAS LEAR

*Secretary to the President
of the United States*

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQUIRE

RICHARD S. HOWE AND ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

St. Helena June 16th 1790

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQ.

SIR

WE have the pleasure to inform you that we have this moment arrived at the above dated port, and in good order—the Vessel by which we write this is now getting under way, which prevents our being particular, as we could wish; our passage from Macoa has been four months and three days, we left Captn. Kendrick in a harbour below Macoa, but a gale of wind prevented our seeing him, by what we could collect he intends returning on the coast.¹

We are Sir with every
sentiment of Respect

Your devoted humble Servants

R. S. HOWE for himself and

Captn. ROBT. GRAY

¹ The owners never again saw Captain Kendrick or their sloop, the *Washington*, or any returns from her trading.

FROM THE *Columbian Centinel*, JULY 31, 1790¹

EXTRACT of a letter from on board the Supply, Capt. Colnet, one of the ships taken by the Spaniards, at Nootka Sound, July 11, 1789.

"We made the coast of America July 3, when some Indians came down to us in the afternoon, and informed us that there were five ships then in Nootka Sound, that two large ships had taken one in our employ; and that, if we went in, they would take us likewise. . . .

"The two boats, belonging to an American ship and sloop, came along side us, and told us that two snows belonging to the employ, under the Portuguese colours, were both taken by the Spaniards, who had two frigates in Nootka Sound. We were then saluted with three guns from the fort, and the commodore gave us his word of honour that he would not hurt any of us—and he continued drinking with us in a most friendly manner."

FROM THE *Columbian Centinel*, AUGUST 7, 1790²

THE sloop Washington, Capt. Kendrick, before the Columbia left Canton, had left Kamscatka, proceeded to China, with furs, and had returned to the Sound again. In the success of these intrepid navigators every heart delights.

¹ This news item is taken from a somewhat lengthy account of the capture of the British snow *Argonaut*, one of Meares's ships, by the Spaniards. It merely shows that the *Columbia* and the *Washington* were safe at Nootka Sound in the summer of 1789.

² This is somewhat of a puzzle. The *Washington* had not then been any nearer to Kamchatka than Canton. In July, 1789, when the *Columbia* left the Northwest Coast en route to China, the *Washington* remained there to engage in trade. Subsequent movements of the *Washington* appear to have been as follows: from Clayoquot Sound the vessel went northward, trading as opportunity offered, to the Queen Charlotte Islands, then a veritable fur-trader's paradise. Completing cargo, the vessel departed for China by way of the Hawaiian Islands.

Again, the statement that Kendrick had already returned to the sound—that is, Nootka Sound—is quite wrong. The *Washington* was at Lark's Bay, or Dirty Butter Bay, a small harbor some three or four leagues southwest of Macao, as everyone on the *Columbia* knew when that ship passed on February 12, 1790, homeward bound for Boston. There Kendrick remained until March, 1791.

FROM THE *Columbian Centinel*, AUGUST 11, 1790

THE COLUMBIA

IT is with real pleasure we announce, the safe arrival, in this port, on Monday last [August 9], of the Ship *Columbia*, Capt. Gray, from a voyage of adventure to the North-West Coast of America.

This Ship, in company with the Sloop *Washington*, sailed on the 30th September, 1787, and the year following reached their place of destination—from which the *Columbia* sailed with Furs, which she disposed of in China, on her return home.

To Messrs. Barrell, Brown, Bulfinch, Hatch, Derby, and Pintard, who planned the voyage, their country is indebted, for this experiment in a branch of Commerce before unessayed by Americans: And to their care in providing every necessary for the comfort and convenience of the crews, may, under Heaven, be attributed the extraordinary degree of health which they have enjoyed; having lost but one man, by sickness since they sailed.

Their country is also under obligation to the intrepid Navigators who have conducted this voyage—whose urbanity and civility have secured the friendship of the aboriginals of the country they visited; and whose honour and intrepidity have commanded the protection and respect of the European *Lords of the soil*, to the American flag; while that of another nation hath been forbidden to be unfurled on the coast.

The *Columbia* and *Washington* are the first American vessels who have circumnavigated the Globe—and the *Washington*, which is only of 90 tons burthen, is the first Sloop of any nation ever sent on so great a voyage.¹

On the *Columbia's* arriving opposite the Castle, she saluted the flag of the United States with 13 guns; which was immediately returned therefrom—and on coming to her moorings in the harbour fired a federal salute—which a great concourse of citizens assembled on the several wharfs, returned with three huzzas, and a hearty welcome.

¹ This is an error. The *Princess Royal*, a sloop of fifty tons burden, left England in September, 1786, for the Northwest Coast, and arrived there July, 1787. The vessel traded on the coast in 1787 and 1788, sailed thence to China, and returning in 1789, was captured by the Spaniards.

We are told, that one of the natives of the island of Owhyhee arrived in the Columbia.

An Officer on board of the Columbia has favoured us with the following nautical memorandum: viz.,

The Ship *Columbia*, sailed *Sept.* 30th 1787, from Boston, and arrived at St. Jago's, *Nov.* 16, 1787—the distance, 4124 miles. *Dec.* 21, 1787, sailed from St. Jago's, and arrived at Falkland Islands *Feb.* 16, 1788—dist. 4888 miles. *Feb.* 29, 1788,¹ sailed from Falkland Islands, and arrived at Juan Fernandes, *May* 24, 1788—dist. 5349 miles.² *June* 6, 1788, sailed from Juan Fernandes, and arrived at Nootka Sound *Sept.* 23, 1788—dist. 7457 miles.³ *July* 30, 1789, sailed from Nootka Sound, and arrived at Canton, *Nov.* 16, 1789—dist. 8446 miles. *Feb.* 12th, 1790, sailed from Canton and made Ascention-Island *June* 24, 1790—dist. 11,625 miles. *June* 24th, 1790,⁴ sailed from Ascention-Island, and arrived at Boston, *Aug.* 9th, 1790—dist. (computed by Editor, as it is omitted in the journal) 7000 miles. Total number of miles 48,889!

The Columbia stoped at the Sandwich-Islands for provisions 24 days, arrived *Aug.* 24, 1789—and two days at St. Helena's for water and refreshment.

JOURNAL EXTRACTS

THE *Iphigenia* and a Schooner sailed from Nootka *Oct.* 26, 1788.⁵ The sloop *Washington* on a cruize, *March* 16, 1789. The *Iphigenia* arrived from Sandwich-Islands, *April* 19, 1789.⁶ The Schooner *North-America* arrived from do. *April* 23, 1789.⁷ The *Washington*

¹ Haswell gives February 28.

² Haswell says about May 29. Kendrick wrote to Barrell on May 28, 1788, from Cumberland Bay, Juan Fernandez. Don Blas Gonzalez' certificate of June 3, 1788 (page 157, below), gives the date of arrival as May 24.

³ This date agrees with Haswell. Gray, in his letter of July 13, 1789, gives a wrong date, September 21, 1788.

⁴ The *Columbia* reached Saint Helena June 16, 1790.

⁵ This date corresponds with Haswell, but Meares has October 27. The difference arises from the fact that Meares came from China while the others came from Boston. The schooner was the *North West America*.

⁶ Meares's memorial says that the *Iphigenia* arrived on April 24 and the *North West America* a few days later; but the *Iphigenia's* log has April 20, which, allowing for the variance of one day, would correspond.

⁷ Haswell gives the same date.

arrived from her cruize *April* 22, 1789. The Schooner North-America sailed on a cruize *April* 30, 1789. The Washington do., *May* 2, 1789.¹ The Princessa Estephen, Capt. Martinez, arrived 6th *May*²—and the St. Carlos, Capt. Arraw, *May* 12th, 1789, both from St. Blass. The Iphigenia, an English vessel, arrived from a cruize *June* 1, 1789, and was captured by *Martinez*. The Sloop Princess Royal arrived from Macoa, *June* 16, 1789. The Washington arrived from a cruize *June* 17, 1789. The Schooner N. America, sailed on a cruize under Spanish colours *June* 21st, 1789. The Snow Argonaut, an English vessel arrived from Macoa, *July* 2, 1789—and was captured by Don *Martinez* the next day, the Sloop Princess Royal, an English vessel was also captured by *Martinez*, *July* 12, 1789—and the same day the Snow Argonaut was sent to St. Blass, with the officers and men, prisoners, in order to stand trial.³

THOMAS RANDALL TO JOSEPH BARRELL

New York August 14th 1790

JOSEPH BARRELL ESQR.

SIR,

I AM happy to hear of the safe arrival of the Columbia, and should have writ you immediately on my arrival here, had I not supposed you would have received all the information you might wish from the Messrs. Pintard's here—You will receive by the Columbia, more particular information respecting Captain Kendricks than it is in my power to give you—His arriving when I was upon the eve of sailing and the matter being left optional with him, on whom he might value would have prevented us from making any advances to him on so uncertain conditions—however he will receive every assistance that is in the power of our friends at Canton to render him and hope if he should return to the North West coast his voyage

¹ These dates agree with Haswell, as regards the movements of the *Washington*.

² The vessel's name was *Princesa*, "Estephen" or Estevan was part of Martinez' name. "Captain Arraw" was Gonzalez Lopez de Haro.

³ These dates correspond with those in Martinez' manuscript diary, with three trifling exceptions: instead of *May* 14, Martinez has *May* 13; for *June* 1, he has *June* 9; and the date of the sailing of the *Argonaut* for San Blas he gives as *July* 14.

may prove lucrative to the Concern. Whenever it is agreeable to you, I shall be happy to hear from you and am

Sir

With much respect

Your most Obedient Servant

THOS. RANDALL

ESTIMATE OF DAMAGE TO THE COLUMBIA'S CARGO

Boston August 19th 1790

ESTIMATE of damage on a quantity of Bohea Teas imported in the Ship Columbia Capt. Gray from Canton on the owners account (which Teas it is our opinion has received damage on the Voyage) agreeable to the Warrant Annexed.

[There follows an itemized list of sixty-six lots of tea with a total weight of 21,462 pounds, of which the damaged part was estimated as 12,213 pounds.]

Submitted per Edwd. Davis

CABOT BLANCHARD

SALE OF COLUMBIA'S DAMAGED CARGO

*Sales by Auction Fourteen Chests Damaged Bohea Tea
on Account of the Owners of Ship Columbia*

Boston August 31st 1790

						£	s	d
4	Chest Tea cont[ainin]g	578	134	444	neat	@ 5¼	9	14 3
1	ditto	385	55	330	"	5½	7	11 3
1	ditto	360	54	306	"	5¼	6	13 10
1	ditto	368	60	308	"	5d	6	8 4
1	ditto	388	60	329	"	7d	9	11 11
1	ditto	376	56	320	"	5d	6	13 4
1	ditto	360	54	306	"	5d	6	7 6
1	ditto	376	58	318	"	5¾	7	12 4
1	ditto	360	59	301	"	5¼	6	16 3

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1	ditto	371	54	317	"	5½	7	5	3
1	ditto	362	53	309	"	4¾	6	2	4
						<u>£80 16 7</u>			
Commissions						<u>4 0 10</u>			
						<u><u>£76 15 9</u></u>			

Boston Sept. 10th 1790

Errors Excepted

LEWIS HAYT

Sold by L. Hayt

10 Chests 3 half Chests 1 quarter Chest Tea w[eighin]g 3588 Lbs. neat

Sold to I. Davis

1 Chest			w[eighin]g	354
11 Chests	3 half Chests	1 quarter Chest	Lbs.	3942

SHIP COLUMBIA'S

<i>Place and time of Entry</i>	<i>Mens Names</i>	<i>Quality</i>	<i>Place and time of discharge</i>	<i>Wages per month</i>	
1787			1790	£	s
BOSTON			BOSTON		
			<i>Augts.</i>		
<i>July 29th</i>	Robert Gray		<i>Au 18th</i>	3	12
<i>Sept. 29th</i>	Joseph Ingraham	2d Mate	Do.	3	
<i>Augts. 21st</i>	Robert Haswell	3d Mate	Do.	3	
<i>Sept. 28th</i>	Richd. S. Howe	Captns. Clk.	Do.	2	5
<i>" 10th</i>	John Annis	Boatswain	Do.	2	5
<i>Augts. 17th</i>	Nathan Arnold	Do. Mate	Do.	2	5
<i>" 18</i>	Otis Liscum	Seaman	Do.	2	5
<i>Septemr. 1st</i>	Josa. Hemmingway	Carpenters Mate	Do.	1	16
<i>Augts. 2d</i>	Jona. Fuller	Seaman	Do.	1	10
<i>Septemr. 15</i>	Bartho. Ballard	Taylor	Do.	2	5
<i>Augts. 2d</i>	Abraham Waters	Seaman	Do.	2	5
<i>"</i>	Andw. Newhall	"	Do.	1	10
<i>Sept. 10</i>	John Cocks	"	Do.	2	5
<i>Augts. 18th</i>	Solomon Kendrick	"	Do.	1	10
<i>Sept. 29</i>	Miles Greenwood	"	Do.	1	10
ST. IAGO					
<i>Decr. 5th</i>	George Munk	"	Do.	2	5
BOSTON					
<i>Septemr. 30th</i>	Josa. Dinsdall	"	Do.	2	5
<i>Decemr. 4th</i>	Joseph Ingraham	Chief Mate	Do.	3	12
<i>Septemr. 15th</i>	John Nutting	School Master died Jany	15th		
ST. IAGO			1788	2	5
<i>Decemr. 28th</i>	Hanse Lawton	Seaman	died Sept. 28th	88	1 16
<i>" 7th</i>	John Hammond	"	died Sept. 19th	88	
CANTON			88	2	5
1790 <i>Feby. 1</i>	Joseph Barnes	"	Boston Augt. 18th	90	2 5
<i>"</i>	John Cox	2d	Do.	1	10
1789 <i>Novr. 16th</i>	Saml. Hitchcock	Cook	Do.	2	5
<i>"</i>	Thos. Ray	Seaman	Do.	2	5
<i>"</i>	Jack Attoo	"	Do.	1	10
CANTON 1789					
<i>Novr. 25th</i>	James Jones	Seaman	Do.	2	5

Received of Joseph Barrell the
of Eleven hundred seventy seven
due the three Dead men above
Boston 25th Sept. 1790

PORTAGE

Advance Wages and Merch: dl'd			Time on Board			Balance			Whole Wages		
£	s	d	Yrs.	M.	D.	£	s	d	£	s	d
31	6	6	3	0	21	100	15	2½	132	1	8½
11	3	9½	0	2	6	112	17	4½	6	12	deduct 11s 7d
14	5	10	2	11	28	93	10	2	107	16	
16	3	11	2	10	21	61	17	7	78	1	6
15	14	7½	2	11	8	63	12	4½	79	7	
27	10	8	3	0	1	53	10	10	81	1	6
20	16	7½	3	0	0	60	3	4½	81		
18	12	7	2	11	13	45	1	9¼	63	14	4¼
9	14	4	3	0	16	45	1	8	54	16	
14	17	10	2	11	3	64	1	8	78	19	6
12	19	11	3	0	16	69	4	1	82	4	
11	16	8½	3	0	16	42	19	3¾	54	16	
22	4	2	2	11	8	57	2	10	79	7	
24	9	3	3	0	0	29	10	9	54		
7	15	9	2	10	20	44	4	3	52		
9	10	10	2	8	13	63	8	8	72	19	6
22	3		2	10	19	55	5	8	77	18	6
			2	8	14				116	19	4¼
2	5		0	4	0	6	15		9		
12	1	8	0	9	0	4	2	4	16		
6	17	1	0	9	12	14	5	11	21	3	
2	8		0	6	17	12	7	6	14	15	6
	12		0	6	17	9	5		9	17	
1	16		0	9	2	18	12		20	8	
1	16		0	9	2	18	12		20	8	
			0	9	2	13	12		13	12	
£319	2	1				£1159	19	4	£1479	1	5
2	5		0	8	24	17	11		19	6	
£321	7	1				£1177	10	4	£1498	7	5

Amount of the Above Balance

pounds ten shillings fourpence excepting the Balance
mentioned

ROBERT GRAY

CALCULATION OF THE WASHINGTON'S CARGO AND HOW EXPENDED¹

<i>Hoes</i>	<i>Shingling Hatchetts</i>	<i>Large Axes</i>	<i>Small Axes</i>	<i>Adzes</i>	<i>Pole Axes</i>	<i>Bill Hooks</i>	<i>Hatchetts</i>
36	84 7	18 55	18 34	10 10 29	20 6	17 35	115
36	91	73	52	49	26	52	115
26	82	66	40	27	26	51	109
10	9	7	12	22		1	6

<i>Drawing Knives</i>	<i>Rat Traps</i>	<i>Snuff Bottles</i>	<i>Butchers Knives</i>	<i>Cod Hooks</i>	<i>Jews Harps Dozn.</i>	<i>Boxes Soldiers</i>	<i>Trinketts</i>
78 8	18	78	21 96	5 groce 6 do. 41 do. & wts.	22 ³ / ₄	6	5
78	18	78	117	52	22 ³ / ₄	6	5
78	18	77		52		3	
		1	117		22 ³ / ₄	3	5

<i>Beads</i>	<i>Necklaces doz.</i>	<i>Brass pans</i>	<i>Brass Tops</i>	<i>Razors dozn.</i>	<i>Tobacco Boxes</i>	<i>Tin qt. potts</i>	<i>pint do.</i>
92lb 24	15	31	26	18	72	72	72 119
116	15	31	26	18	72	72	191
97	6	33	24	12	60	91	61
19	9		2	6	12		

<i>half pint do.</i>	<i>Dippers</i>	<i>Tile potts</i>	<i>Egg Slices</i>	<i>Tin Kettles</i>	<i>pepper Boxes</i>	<i>pudding pans</i>	<i>polishd pints</i>
72 53	23	38	19	12	16	2	8
125	23	38	19	12	16	2	8
94	19	34	17	3	14	2	

¹ This is probably a list of part of the trading goods on the first voyage of the *Columbia*.

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<i>Sail Needles</i>	<i>Looking Glasses</i>	<i>pint Basons</i>	<i>Dozn. Combs</i>	<i>Awl Blades Groce</i>	<i>Awl Hafts Dozn.</i>	<i>Cuttoes</i>	<i>Shering Knives</i>
600	449 12	12	50	6	6	1476	55
600	461	12	50 Dozn.	6G	6 Doz.	1476	55
	10		25	3	3	372	50
	451	12	25	3	3	1104	5

<i>Reaping Hooks</i>	<i>pump Hamers</i>	<i>Hand Saws</i>	<i>pewter porringers</i>	<i>Basons</i>	<i>Elegant Earrings</i>	<i>Large Saws</i>	<i>Lott Wire</i>
3	8	72 26	72	72	14 Doz. pr.	7	1
3	8	72	72	72	14 Doz.	7	
3	2	26	21	72	9	7	1
	6	46	51				

<i>Cloathing</i>	<i>Brass Tobacco Boxes</i>	<i>Tinder Boxes</i>	<i>Skillitts</i>	<i>Spiders</i>	<i>potts and Kettles</i>	<i>Kane Knives</i>
12 Suits	9	34	90	45	84	37
12 Suits	9	34	90	45	84	37
	6	18	90	37	57	37
				8	27	

Recd. by Invoice

Chizells
recd. Capt. K

Recd. by invoice

dld. Capt. Kendrick

Expended

1600

4

409

1191 expended

JOHN KENDRICK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON¹

*On Board the Ship Lady Washington,
Harbor of Maw-win-na, St. Clair's Island,
North-west coast of America*

SIR:

I HAVE the honor to address you on a subject which I conceive the honor of the government of the United States to be interested in, and the following relation of which I request you to lay before the President, hoping that in his humanity the oppressed will find a protector, and by the representations he, in his wisdom, may direct to be made to the court of Madrid, the unfortunate may be relieved.

In the year 1787, an expedition under my command was fitted out from Boston, for prosecuting the fur trade on the north-west coast of America, and, after doubling Cape Horn in a very tempestuous season, my ship, the *Columbia*, was considerably disabled, and I was in great want of both water and wood. My tender, the *Washington* sloop, had parted company with me off the cape, and I had no other alternative than repairing to some of the Spanish settlements in the South Pacific ocean, for the purpose of refitting my vessel and procuring some necessary supplies. I therefore bore away for the Island of Juan Fernandez and arrived in Cumberland bay the 24th of May, 1788. We were immediately visited by a Spanish boat with two officers in it; and on their return, my first officer, Mr. Ingraham, was sent on shore to request permission to anchor and continue there a few days, which the governor, Don Blas Gonzalez, major in the cavalry of his Catholic Majesty, very humanely granted, making such stipulations with respect to the term of our continuance at the island, and the conduct to be observed during that period as evinced him to be a cautious, vigilant and prudent officer. Our communication was through the medium of the French language, imperfectly understood by both parties, until the 28th following, when a Spanish ship arrived off the bay to receive the governor's

¹ *Senate Document Number 335* (32nd Congress, 1st Session). This letter was probably written about June, 1793, for the *Resolution* (the tender of the ship *Jefferson* of Boston) reached Nootka Sound about May 19, 1793. On her was Solomon Kendrick. There he met his father, Captain Kendrick of the *Washington*.

despatches for Chili, on board of which was a Frenchman, who was sent on shore for the purpose of more fully examining our passports, etc. A copy of my sea-letter from the Congress of the United States, and the official letter of the Sieur l'Etombe, consul of France for the State of Massachusetts, etc., were given the governor, and on the day of my intended departure I received from him the letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, three days after the date of which, being detained the intermediate time by a gale of wind, I proceeded on my voyage to this coast.

In consequence of the abuse of power by his catholic Majesty's servants in his American governments, or by an untrue and malicious statement of the facts by some secret enemies, Don Blas Gonzalez has been deprived of his employments and treated with considerable rigor and injustice; and the only crime imputed to him is his humane conduct towards me and my crew in 1788—a conduct which did honor to him as a man, and was, I conceive, perfectly consistent with the amity and good understanding subsisting between the court of Madrid and the United States. But the affair will be best explained in his own words in a letter to my son, who touched at Valparaiso, in Chili, in the ship Jefferson, Captain Roberts, of Boston, in June, 1792, and who communicated the first intelligence of it to me.

(*Extract.*)

“No se sabra N. Md. como desde que se supo en esta que yo havid dado hospitaledad à dho su padre, se me desposá del gobierno por esta Capitanía General por und equivocada intelligencia que se formó sobre a quel suceso; y que aunque el rey, mi señor, aprobó la conducta que observe entonces, con toda hasta, ahora estoi padeciendo las resultas, por la suma distancia en que por mi desgracia, me tiene constituido la suenta de este remoto destino; no obstante de las diligenzasempeñosas ge he practicada pd. vindica, mé arreglada conducta; y de haver escrits à Monsieur L'Etombe, consul de Francia en Boston, y à dho su padre, paraque me favoreciessen en lo que buenamente pudiessen: cuyas resultas ignoro, por no saben si recibieron mis cartas.

"Si N. Md. Gusta de Escibirles asociado de su capstan, sobre este particular, y recomendarme pd. que me protejan, se lo estimaria mucho: encuyo caso puede N. Md. Entregarlas Cartas al Cavallero Don Manuel Porrasia, necino de esse puerto, y portade de este, que es amigo de todo mi confianza." (Santiago de Chili, 20 de Junio, de 1792).¹

In consequence of the request made by Don Blas Gonzalez, Captain Roberts and my son wrote the owners of the Columbia and Jefferson, requesting them to make such a representation to the United States *as they pointed out*. As they appear to have mistaken the contents of the letter from Don Blas, I have done myself the honor of offering you the foregoing statement of facts; and as he doubtless rendered me those services for which, in the sea letter, the United States declare they shall "stand willing indebted," I hope the affair will have proper attention paid to it. I have now only to request, very earnestly, that any mode of proceeding which may be adopted for the relief of Don Blas Gonzalez, may be executed with all convenient expedition. I need not use any persuasive arguments to interest the officers of the government of the United States in behalf of the unfortunate gentleman who has been the subject of this letter; as the principles of our excellent constitution as well as their native humanity, must render them enemies of oppression.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost deference and esteem, honorable sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN KENDRICK

¹ The English translation follows:

Your Honor, since it was known here [Santiago de Chile?] that I had shown hospitality to your father, it will not be understood why I was removed from government office by this military authority, due to a mistaken idea that was formed about that incident; and although the king, my master, approved my conduct at that time, nevertheless, up to now, owing to the ill luck that this remote spot has unfortunately placed me in, I am suffering the consequences; notwithstanding the strenuous efforts that I have exerted to vindicate my regular conduct, and of having written to Monsieur Létombe, French Consul in Boston, and to your father, in order that they might render me whatever aid they could: with what results I cannot tell, for I do not know whether they have received my letters.

If your Honor, associated with your Captain, would kindly write to them about this matter and ask them to assist me, I should esteem it greatly: in which case your Honor can deliver the letters to the gentleman Don Manuel Porrasia, inhabitant of this port [Santiago de Chile?] and bearer of this, who is a trustworthy friend.

Don Blas Gonzalez, sargento mayo de cavalleria de los exercitos de su magestad, y governado politico y militar de esta plaza è islas de Juan Fernandez:

Certifico, que haviendo arribado à este puerto el Capitan Juan Kendrick, de la nacion Bostoneza, en la fragata de su mando nombrada la Columbia, con tres oficiales subalternos, y trienta seiz hombres de tripulacion de la propria nacion, comicionado por su republica à viajar por todo el mundo, el viente y quatro de mayo proximo pasado, à pedirme la hospitalidad, exponiendome para ello los por el Aermino¹ de seis dias, de cuya determinacion di parte àl Excelentissimo Señor Vir, rey de Peru, y à la capitania general del reyno de Chili; haviendose detenido quatro dias mas de los concedidos, por la razon de los muchos Aquaceros, que mediaron; sin dar la menor nota, assi los enunciados oficiales, como la demas fripulacion, ni flaltar à lo mas minimo de quanto estipularon con migo, antes de permitules la entrada en este puerto; y para que conste doi la presente à pedimento de dicho Capitan J. Kendrick, en esta isla de Juan Fernandez, à tres dias del mes de Junio, de mil, setecientos, ochenta y ocho años.²

BLAS GONZALEZ

¹ The word "Aermino" must, I think, be intended for "termino," meaning "period."

² The English translation follows:

Don Blas Gonzalez, Cavalry Major of His Majesty's Armies, and Political and Military Governor of this place and Juan Fernandez Islands:

I certify that Captain John Kendrick of Boston, having arrived at this port on May 24th last, in the frigate named *Columbia*, under his command, with three subaltern officers and a crew of thirty-six men of his country, commissioned by his republic to voyage all round the world, and asking hospitality of me, explaining to me that he would require the period of six days, of which decision I informed the Viceroy of Peru and the military authority of the kingdom of Chile; having been detained four days longer than granted, due to heavy rains that intervened; without giving notice to the officers as well as the rest of the crew not to fail in any way in what they stipulated with me before permitting them the entrance to this port; and in order to be plain, I grant the petition of the said Captain J. Kendrick, on this Island of Juan Fernandez, the third day of June, 1788.

BLAS GONZALEZ

*John Hoskins' Narrative
of the Second Voyage of the "Columbia"*

THE NARRATIVE *of a Voyage etc.*

THE following pages, being wrote to fill my leisure hours; not with any idea of instructing, but in hopes to amuse, some of my particular friends; who well know, I am unaccustomed to literary pursuits, and whose candour, while perusing the following sheets; I must crave, and beg them for awhile, to withhold their criticism.

I have not paid any attention to that order in the arrangement of the various scenes; but simply wrote down the facts, as they transpired: though sensible they are divested of that politeness of language, and elegance of composition, a work of this nature demands.

But under a due impression of its various imperfections; I will hope for every allowance [2] being made, proceed. It may not be improper in this place to mention the origin of the voyage.

Soon after the termination of the late contest; when the Americans began to cultivate the arts; to extend their trade and commerce under the influence of peace, to foreign climes, and regions to them before unknown.

'Twas then, that Joseph Barrell Esquire, with a few other gentlemen; plann'd a voyage of trade and discoveries to the northwest coast of America; procur'd many of the necessary articles of traffick; and got it in some forwardness: when those other gentlemen, deeming it too speculative a voyage, it dropt.

But Mr. Barrell, still pursuing his favourite scheme; he together with five other gentlemen, in the summer of 1787, plann'd, and put in execution the voyage; for this purpose, they procur'd a Ship of about two hundred and fifty tons; which they call'd the Columbia Rediviva, and a Sloop, of about one hundred tons, the Washington.

These vessels were fitted with everything that was thought to be requisite; either for trade, or discoveries, and the command of them given to John Kendrick Esquire; an old, experienced, navigator.

A voyage of such enterprize might truly be deemed a novel undertaking; from a Country but so lately emerg'd from the ravages

of a long, inhuman, and bloody war; and who gain'd to herself a rank among the Nations of the earth; and was most justly patroniz'd both by Congress, and the State Government; from whom Sea letters were procur'd; as also from the foreign Ambassadors and Consuls in America.

1787. That nothing might be wanting to commemorate the voyage, and to place a lasting memento in those countries which might be [3] visited or discovered, during its continuance: the Owners caused several hundred medals¹ to be struck, and sent in those vessels. on the one side, was the Ship and Sloop, encircled with theirs and the commanders name. on the other, the names of the Owners, to wit; Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown, Crowel Hatch, John Derby, Charles Bulfinch and John Marsden Pintard Esquires; encircled with, Fitted at Boston, North America, for the Pacific Ocean 1787. They caused also about a dozen silver ones to be struck; one of which was sent to General Washington; who politely returned his thanks, and paid the Owners a very flattering compliment on the occasion; at the same time express'd his best wishes for their success.

October 1787. Every thing being ready for sea, both vessels sail'd in company, on the 1st of October, for St. Jago's, one of the Cape de Verde islands, where Captain Kendrick, for some reasons, tarried forty odd days, when he sailed for Falkland Islands; where he fill'd up his water, and on the last of February sailed to double Cape Horn. it being a late season of the year; he had a very boisterous time, and in a gale of wind, on the 1st of April, the two vessels lost sight of each other; nor did they meet again, till they arriv'd at Nootka Sound.

The Columbia, early in June, made the island of Juan Fernandes; where she stopt to procure refreshments, and to repair the damages sustained by the late tempestuous weather she encountered: and where I shall leave her for the present.

The Washington after parting company made the island of Masafueiro; but finding no harbour, she was obliged to proceed on:

¹ John Henry Cox found some of these medals at Hawaii in September, 1789, and gave a description of them; see George Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks Made during a Voyage in the Brig Mercury* (Dublin, 1791), 88. Martinez reports in his MS. diary, under date May 8, 1789, that two of them were found that day on his vessel. A reproduction of the medal will be found in this volume.



THE COLUMBIA MEDAL

and made the Coast of New Albion, on the second of August, in the Latitude of $41^{\circ}10'$ north. she coasted then along shore; finding no harbour 'till [4] she arriv'd in the Latitude of $45^{\circ}33'$ north, where having sent the boat ashore, to procure wood and water, of which they stood in great need, the natives attackt them, kill'd a black boy, Captain Gray's servant; and wounded several others.

Leaving this harbour, they again coasted it along shore; keeping in with the land, when the weather would permit; untill they arriv'd at Nootka Sound which was on the 16th of September: when Captain Gray immediately put his vessel in readiness for sea.

On their arrival at Nootka Sound they found Captains Meares and Douglas, in two vessels from China, and another small vessel building; which was launch'd in a few days. this Mr. Meares behav'd himself scandalously, and by no means like a gentleman. a character he dares to assume.

But to return to the Columbia: who on her arrival at Juan Fernandes was treated with the greatest politeness by the Spanish Governor and all the inhabitants; and every assistance was afforded them in their power.¹ after procuring what refreshments they wanted, and putting their vessel in repair; they again put to sea: and arrived at Nootka Sound, the 23d of september.

It being late in the season, Captain Kendrick thought best to defer cruizing the Coast until the spring. he therefore ordered both vessels to be stript and laid up.

1789. In the month of march following; Captain Kendrick sent the Washington on a cruize to the southward; and remov'd with the Ship about nine miles up the Sound to a small Cove, called by the natives, Mawinna.²

The Washington return'd again in May; having procur'd a few skins: found several har-[5]bours, and the entrance into the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

The Washington was soon after dispatch'd on a cruize to the northward. In the meantime, Don Esteven Jose Martinez, in two Spanish Ships of war, arrived in the Sound. where finding several

¹ For the subsequent story, see Kendrick's letter to Jefferson, printed above, pages 154-156.

² Marvinas Bay in Nootka Sound, a favorite resort of the maritime traders. Meares, *Voyages*, Appendix XII; Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, VI. 88. The distance is about five miles.

English vessels under Portuguese colours; he demanded the reason of their being in His most Catholic Majesties port. they answered, for wood and water; to this he gave the assistance, both of his men, and boats. when these were compleated, he ordered them to depart. but afterwards, on account of some indignities offer'd the Spanish flag; he took and sent them to Saint Blas.¹

The Washington return'd from her northern cruize in July: having had much better success in collecting skins than on her southern. during this cruize, they discovered a large Island: which they circumnavigated, and named Washington's Island: in honour of that illustrious patriot, and friend of mankind, His Excellency General Washington. they also discovered many fine harbors; in a small one, in about the latitude of 55° north; they struck on some sunken rocks: carried away the bowsprit, and did considerable damaged [*sic*] to the hull. Captain Kendrick ordered the vessel to be immediately repair'd; when done, he sail'd with both vessels for Clioquot. where, on his arrival, he thought best to change: to send Captain Gray on to Canton, with the Columbia with what Skins had been collected: consigned to Messieurs Shaw and Randall. that they might come to an early market. and to go himself in the Washington on a cruize to the northward to finish the season.

1790. The Columbia sail'd from Clioquot on the 31st of July, carrying several of the officers and crew of those vessels taken by the Spaniards. Captain Kendrick very politely giving them their [6] passage. the Columbia, in her rout, touch'd at the Sandwich islands where they procur'd hogs, vegetables, and other refreshments: and arrived at China, early in november.

The Washaington, after cruising round Washington's Island; where many skins were procured: proceeded in nearly the same track to China: and arrived at Macao, about the middle of January. when Captain Kendrick, thinking it would cause a needless expence to carry his little vessel up to Wompoa; and that his Skins would sell no better there: determined to go with her to Larksbay; where almost immediately on his arrival he was seized with a violent fever; which caused his life for some time to be despaired of: and which

¹ Out of this seizure came the Nootka Convention of 1790.

prevented his going to Canton in person, as he had previously intended. he therefore sent orders to Captain Gray to stop at the bay, previous to his going to America; and receive his final orders. but for some reasons, Captain Gray thought not to stop.

After the *Columbia* had sail'd for America: and Captain Kendrick had sold his skins;¹ he prepared his vessel for another voyage to the coast.

I will now leave Captain Kendrick in China; as I shall have occasion to speak of him again in the course of this narrative. and follow the *Columbia*, who after touching at St. Helena, arriv'd in Boston, on the 9th of August.

When Captain Kendrick's conduct was much blamed by the officers of the *Columbia*. who say he had it in contemplation to cheat the Owners² out of what property he has in his hands; and would have done out of all had they not rescued it, and brought it off with the Ship.—that he never had cruiz'd the coast; and appear'd not to have the owners interest at heart. [7] but only to gratify his own pleasures.

Thus much must be acknowledged; that Captain Kendrick had two good vessels on the coast. (and if his enemies may be believed,) had it in his power to make both for himself and the Owners a very handsome fortune; but he let those golden opportunities pass; and on his arrival in China was depriv'd of his largest vessel; which was his principle support: but no Knavery has at present open'd. to be sure, the man was by no means calculated for the charge of such an expedition: but a better man might have done worse.³

The officers who sail'd in the *Columbia* on a former voyage gave such flattering accounts of the coasts; together with such noble prospects as were to be deriv'd from the quantity of skins, which with a little exertion are to be procur'd: at the same time promising from their abilities to produce a golden harvest; that the Owners notwithstanding the failure of the former voyage were again induced to fit

¹ He sold that first cargo for \$18,000. See Kendrick's letter to Barrell, March 28, 1792, page 471, below.

² Kendrick's halting explanation will be found in the letter mentioned in preceding note.

³ Hoskins, though only a young man, appears to have been on intimate terms with Kendrick; he was certainly his strong supporter.

the Ship. the command of which was given to Captain Gray. whom I must do the credit to say although he cruiz'd the coast more; and appear'd to be more persevering to obtain skins, yet his principles were no better, his abilities less, and his knowledge of the coast, from his former voyage, circumscribed within very narrow limits.

The Ship, having undergone a thorough repair; was loaded with all dispatch. and that nothing might be wanting to facilitate our procuring skins; and that we might be enabled to cruize both the northern and southern coasts at one and the same time, we took on board the frame of a vessel, of about fifty tons, to build on the coast.

September 1790. The 22d of september, the officers and people were paid their wages up to this day: and two months more in advance. which is contrary to the usual customs of the port. but the Owners, considering the great length of the voyage; and [8] that there were many little necessities those people would want to procure; were induc'd to do this.

Every thing being in readiness for sea: sunday the 26th was the day appointed for our sailing. but on this day, discovering a small leak, under the ship's counter, Mr. Clark the builder, when he came to view it; thought it necessary her stern should be haul'd on shore, which was immediately done, at Hancock's wharf; the leak was soon found; it prov'd to be a spike hole, which when the old rudder irons were taken of, was not stopt: and bringing the ship down by the stern, caus'd it to leak. this being properly secured; the ship was haul'd into the stream again the next tide.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 27th Captain Gray and myself repair'd on board. the pilot being already there; we weighed with a light breeze from the SW and stood down the harbour. at noon, being abreast of the lighthouse, the pilot was discharg'd.

At three in the afternoon the lighthouse bore north $81^{\circ}34'$ west four leagues distant. at four, the wind became variable, blowing fresh, attended with heavy showers of rain, and frequent squalls.

The wind at five in the morning of the 28th had veered round to the northeast: from which quarter it blew a strong gale; fetching with it a mountainous sea: which soon reduc'd us to our close reef'd topsails; at the same time, deeming it necessary to send down topgallantyards, and to launch the topgallantmasts. at ten, tack't ship

to the northward. at half past twelve, saw Cape Cod; bearing south-west. Captain Gray finding he [9] could not weather the Cape; or if he did, 'twas impossible to the shoals of Nantucket with the wind from this quarter. thus situated, with a heavy gale of wind, which was momentarily increasing; and night fast approaching; it was thought best to make a harbour, as soon as possible. accordingly, at two in the afternoon, we bore away for the Cape. at half past four, passed Race point, at six, abreast of Herring cove; and at seven, cast anchor in Barnstable bay in fifteen fathom water, over a bottom of clay: five miles distant from the nearest land; the extremes of the Cape bearing north.

In this situation we are so land lock't, that should the wind come fair; it is impossible for us to put to sea: and though the gale has not abated any in its violence; yet at eight in the morning of the 29th we weigh'd, came to sail; and stood for Nantasket roads. the topgallantmasts and topgallantyards were swayed up; and we carried a press of sail all day. At three in the afternoon saw a Ship to the eastward, a standing in. at five, abreast of Hasset meeting house. at half past six, saw the light house bearing northwest, distance about seven leagues. at half past ten, cast anchor in the light house channel in five fathom water. at eleven, spoke a Schooner, bound into the roads; and at half past eleven, a Ship past us; suppos'd to be the one we saw standing in.

At six in the morning of the 30th weighed, stood into Nantasket roads, and came to anchor in seven fathom water over a muddy bottom: George's island bearing east north east four miles, and Nantasket south east, two miles distant. Captain Gray went on shore at George's Island; where he purchased a few sheep, some hay, etca. [10] for our stock. The gale continued, with little intermission, untill about midnight, when it ceas'd.

1790. *October.* Early the next morning, which being the 1st of October,¹ a light breeze sprang up from the westward; with this breeze we weighed, and came to sail; but before we had proceeded many miles; the wind again veered round to the eastward, and blew fresh; which oblig'd us to heave about, stand into the roads, and

¹ The *Columbia* is leaving Boston on the anniversary of her first departure three years before, thus affording an opportunity of comparing the two masters.

again come to anchor. In the afternoon I accompanied Captain Gray, in the yawl, up to Boston. after paying our respects to Mr. Barrell; and procuring a few necessities; we returned aboard again about midnight.

In the morning of the 2d the wind again favoured us with a light breeze from the westward. with joy we embrac'd it, weigh'd anchor for the last time, and stood out to sea. but this joy was not a little damped on the returning idea of taking a long farewell of our native country and connections. At six past the light house. at ten saw two ships, a standing in; one of which shew us English, the other American colours. at noon, spoke a Schooner, bound in from whaling. at sunset, the light house bore North $78^{\circ}45'$ west, distant about six leagues.

At six in the morning of the 3d saw Cape Cod bearing south southwest, distance about seven leagues. We now had a fresh breeze from the southwest, with pleasant weather; with which we proceeded on our voyage without any remarkable occurrence; save seeing several sail of vessels at different times; none of which approach'd us within hale: until the 31st when we saw the island of St. Antonio, bearing south $78^{\circ}45'$ west; distance about five leagues: this belonging to [11] that group known by the name of the Cape de Verde Islands: and is in the latitude of $17^{\circ}9'$ north; longitude $24^{\circ}48'$ west; and are subject to the Portuguese.

1790. *November*. At ten in the morning of the 1st of November; saw a large ship, standing to the southward: and at 8 in the evening, being in the latitude of Saint Jago's; another of those islands, we shortened sail, and went under it all night.¹

It had been Captain Gray's intention of stopping at this last mentioned island. but not being in any real want of any thing; and loath to loose the advantage of so fine a breeze; he could not be induced to waste the time.

These islands appear to be happily situated; to offer to vessels bound on long voyages without any material variation in their course, a station for ample supplies and refreshments.

From the 9th when in latitude $7^{\circ}21'$ north, longitude $25^{\circ}2'$ west;

¹ Under Kendrick the *Columbia* did not reach Santiago, Cape Verde Islands, until November 16; but under Gray she covers the same distance in a month.

to the 22d when in latitude $2^{\circ} 30'$ north; and longitude $28^{\circ} 26'$ west; we had the winds light and variable; some few calms, and them of short duration; with heavy showers of rain, and dark sultry weather. the worst of consequences are to be dreaded from this rainy, sultry weather: which most vessels experience about the line; especially those bound on long voyages; and though there was no precautions taken to preserve the health of our people; and we had none sick or complaining: yet it is most certainly incumbent on every master of a vessel to pay the strictest attention to the health and lives of his people; while passing the torrid regions.

At sunset on the 11th saw four sail to the north east; which continued in sight till two in the afternoon of the 13th when we spoke a Ship from Lisbon, bound to the Brazils; [12] the boat was sent on board with a letter; which the Portuguese Captain was polite enough to say he would forward by the earliest conveyance; making an offer of any thing we stood in need of; at the same time endeavouring to impress on the mind of the officer who went in the boat, (in broken english;) that he was no merchantman, but a King's Ship. At five, Parker Butler master of the Aurora of Bristol came on board; he is bound round Cape Horn into the Pacific ocean, a whaling: he having lost his jib boom, we supplied him with a spare topgallantmast to make a new one.

On the 14th I was accompanied by Mr. Haswell on board the Aurora, w[h]ere we spent the day, the next day Captain Butler honored us with a visit.

In a squall on the afternoon of the 17th carried away the jib boom; the wreck was soon cleared, a new boom rigged, and the sail again set.

On the 21st saw two strange sail; the one in the northeast, the other the southeast quarter.

At eight o'clock on the evening of the 25th we crossed the Equator in the longitude of $31^{\circ} 10'$ West: we here had the variation $7^{\circ} 41'$ West.

In the afternoon of the 27th spoke the La Citoyen from L'Orient. bound to Pondicherry.

Though we daily had many fish about the ship; and in general caught a sufficient to supply the cabin; yet on the 29th we caught

the largest Albacore any of us ever saw, it weighing when clean'd, one hundred and thirty pounds. At sunset, saw a large ship to the southwest, under Portuguese colors; at nine spoke her, she was from Lisbon, bound [13] to Rio Janeiro.

On the 30th saw a gannet, many gulls, and a man of war bird: which are usually thought to be signs of the proximity of land: but we know of none nigher than Cape Saint Augustine; which is about thirty leagues distant.

1790. *December*. We lost the southeast trade winds on the 2d of December in latitude $11^{\circ}25'$ south, longitd. $36^{\circ}33'$ west, when we took a wind from the northeast, which continued to blow a pleasant gale, until the 11th (my latitude $26^{\circ}2'$ south, and longitude $42^{\circ}45'$ west) when it suddenly changed, in a heavy squall or tornado, into the westward; which struck the Ship, carried away the fore and maintopgallantmasts, the foretopsail yard, cross and trussel trees; sprung the mizentopmast; damaged the maintopgallant sail, maintopsail yard, cross trees, etca. etca. the weather almost immediately became calm, leaving a heavy sea, which caus'd the Ship to labour much; with excessive heavy rains, in so much that we caught in our awning five casks of water. The wreck was cleared as soon as possible; the Carpenters, sailmakers, and others were set to work to repair the damages; which was compleated by noon of the 14th and all sail again set.

From this to the morning of the 22d the wind was variable from south to northwest; when it settled in a heavy gale of wind with a mountainous sea from the southward; which obliged us to heave to for sixteen hours; under a close reef'd foresail and mizen staysail; the topgallant masts and yards being struck. In the evening, the gale having considerably abated, we began again to make sail; but the wind continued to the southward and westward, with little variation, for twenty four days following.

On the 26th having the water discoloured [14] at noon, and in the evening sounded, but got no bottom, with a line of one hundred and twenty fathoms; my latitude at this time being $37^{\circ}42'$ south, longitude $51^{\circ}48'$ west. At noon on the 28th again sounded, but got no bottom, with a line of one hundred and eighty fathoms; when my latitude was $41^{\circ}0'$ south, longitude $55^{\circ}56'$ west. And on the 29th

having the water coloured of a greenish hue, sounded but got no bottom with a line of One hundred and sixty fathoms; latitude $41^{\circ}2'$ south, longitude $57^{\circ}42'$ west; we now daily saw numbers of birds of various kinds.

On the 31st we had many Albatrosses flying about the ship; sixteen of which we caught with hooks and lines; the largest measuring six feet five inches and a half from the end of his bill to the end of his tail, and twelve feet ten inches from tip to tip of his wings: the method we made use of to catch them was by fastening one or more small hooks to a line, with a peice of the rind of salt pork for a bait, then veer it ten or fifteen fathoms astern; the wind blowing fresh, and the Ship having quick way through the water; they would make a sudden dart for the bait, take the hook into their mouths, which caught in their bills; they were then haul'd through the water into the ship. (sometimes two at once) with the greatest ease. This sea bird being so well known, it would be superfluous in me to attempt a description. Though this bird is considered as coarse unsavoury food; by those whose living has been more delicate; yet by us, to whom fresh meat is a luxury, it was deem'd a noble acquisition, and eat both by ourselves and the people with great avidity after undergoing the following operations; first skin them, then take out all their bones and fat, then parboil the meat, after which have it dressed, as fancy or inclinations directs; [15] and it eats exceedingly well, no ways fishy or unpallatable.

1791. *January*. On the 2d of January 1791, we caught twelve more albatrosses in the same way. Although we daily saw abundance of kelp, whales, seals, pinquins, petrils, port egmont hens, etca. which plainly indicated the vicinity of land; yet we did not strike soundings till the morning of the 13th when we had fifty four fathoms black sand, with a few white specks. At eight in the morning of the 14th had fifty two fathom black sand; and at four in the afternoon, had fifty fathom clay mud.

On the 15th the wind veered to the east and southeast, and blew a pleasant gale; this is the first time we have had the wind fair since the 22d of December. at six in the afternoon sounded, in forty five fathom, over a bottom of soft mud.

At eight in the morning of the 16th had forty five fathom, and at

noon thirty five fathom, mud. At halfpast twelve, saw the land, extending from south southeast to southwest. the topsails were double reefed, and the ship hauled on a wind; the weather now grew very thick and hazy, the wind increas'd into a strong gale, and the sea became mountainous. with this crowd of sail, more than the ship was well able to bare, but necessity demanded it, we stood along shore in hopes to weather what we supposed to be the pitch of the Cape; but as we advanced, the land continued to appear on our weather bow, as far as the eye could reach, trending to the southward and eastward. we stood on this tack as long as possible, then wore ship; this we continued to do, as occasion required, or the wind offer'd any advantage. the cables were now bent as the last resort, when we could no longer sail; and Captain Gray very prudently ordered their to be no sounding; as it would only [16] increase our fears, without a possibility of lessening our danger. thus was our situation truly alarming; there being to all appearance but a short space between us, and eternity; but fortunately for us, at eleven in the evening, the gale began to abate, and at two in the morning of the 17th it was calm, we then sounded in twelve fathom grey sand; at daylight, the westernmost land bore north $78^{\circ}45'$ west, and the easternmost south $78^{\circ}45'$ east, the highest land south southwest three or four miles. a light breeze now coming from the westward, with which we stood along shore to the eastward. we were mistaken in what yesterday we took to be Cape Blanco; for we found ourselves in a deep bay, several leagues to the northward of it. at noon I observed in latitude $47^{\circ}9'$ south, longitude $64^{\circ}14'$ west; Cape Blanco at this time bearing south $16^{\circ}52'$ west, about three leagues distance; which makes the Cape to lie in latitd. $47^{\circ}18'$ south, and longitude $64^{\circ}26'$ west.

At one in the afternoon, breakers were descried about a quarter of a mile ahead; hauled our wind and sounded in five fathom, the next cast of the lead was ten, and so continued to deepen to twenty fathoms. I now felt myself exceeding happy to think we did not weather the land yesterday; for if we had, in all human probability we should have been lost on those breakers. At five sounded in twenty two fathoms, the easternmost land or extreme of the Cape bearing south 65° west, distance about six leagues; and at eight again sounded,

in twenty five fathom pebble stones, the southermost land bearing south $78^{\circ}45'$ west, about nine leagues distant, and the nearest land about five leagues distant. observed the variation by an azimuth to be $21^{\circ}36'$ east. The land about the Cape is of a moderate heighth, and pretty level; not having either tree or shrub; but appears a lifeless green. [17]

I believe it may be thought, or rather it is my opinion; had we have struck soundings soon after we were to the southward of Cape Frio; and kept along down the coast on the bank, we should have had the northeast winds, which are generally found to blow along the coast at this season of the year; and of course had a much shorter passage: be that as it may, I would certainly advise no vessel to follow our track.

On the 18th we had a pleasant gale from the westward; with which we steered south south east for Falkland's Islands; having a great number of whales, seals, sealions, birds of various kinds, and large sheets of kelp about the ship; and no land in sight, sounded and got bottom with a line of fifty six fathom over a bottom of white and black sand.

At eleven in the evening of the 21st saw Jasons Islands, bearing north $67^{\circ}30'$ east, about four leagues distance: double reef'd the topsails and hove to, head to the southwest for the night. At three the next morning, it being the 22d again made sail; the northermost of the Jasons islands bearing north $56^{\circ}15'$ east, about three leagues distance. the weather had now become exceedingly squally, with rain and sunshine alternately.

It being Captain Gray's intention of stopping at that part of this group of islands known by the name of new islands; we stood away south south east for Cape Percival; at six saw the Cape bearing south and by east, distance about ten leagues. at noon abreast of the westernmost of the new islands; bore away, and stood alongshore to the eastward. at two in the afternoon, entered new island Harbor;¹ Loophead forming the easternmost entrance, nearly opposite to which is a [18] remarkable, round green island, and about a mile ahead, in a south $67^{\circ}30'$ east direction, there are breakers, or sunken rocks,

¹ Evidently near Cape Percival, the most westerly point of the islands. There Gray stays ten days; Kendrick stayed twelve or thirteen.

which may easily be discovered by the kelp growing about them; at low water they are bare, and have the appearance of a low flat black island: in a south direction from these, about two miles, is a snug Cove; into which we beat, against wind and tide, safe and without any difficulty. at four came to anchor, when I accompanied Captain Gray on shore in the yawl, to seek a convenient place for watering; we here found a great plenty of game; we shot several geese and ducks; and from appearance at present, I think their will be no difficulty in keeping the ship supplied with fresh provisions while in port: in the meantime, they were employed on board in mooring ship, which when compleated lay in nine fathoms water, over a bottom of mud and sand; the watering place bearing south east, distant about one mile; the easternmost point of land bearing north north west, and the westernmost north $56^{\circ}15'$ west. it being late in the afternoon, little else was done after mooring ship, besides getting out the boats and clearing the decks. The next day we had an exceeding heavy gale of wind; attended with squalls of rain, which obliged us to strike topgallantmasts and topgallantyards; this retarded us but little, as all the empty water casks were got out of the hold and in readiness to be sent ashore; and the hole put in order again for their reception.

On the 24th the weather became fair and pleasant; sent all the empty casks ashore with the Coopers to trim them; a tent also was pitched for the accomodation of the watering party; the Caulkers were at the same time set to work a caulking the ship's sides, which were found to be very open; the Ship was careened and hogged, sides and bends fresh paid. all the water was on board by [19] the afternoon of the 29th and on the morning of the 30th a party was sent to collect fresh stock for sea: while others were employed in lashing the spare spars, and getting in readiness for sea, which was compleated by noon, but we were wind bound. the party which went to procure stock return'd, having the good fortune to collect about sixty geese, one hundred ducks, and a number of seapies, and other birds. in the afternoon, another party was again sent, whose success was nearly equal to those in the forenoon. Captain Gray and myself being also a walking ashore, attended by one of the people; who had strayed into the huge tufts of grass, from whence he came running

and informed us he saw a hog; we also entered the tufts of grass, and had not walked far, before we discovered a fine large one, running out from among those tufts. we now much regretted this discovery had not been made at an earlier period: (tho we had reason to think, there were some sort of animals here previous to this; but had not seen them.) and return'd to the ship with the glad tidings of what we had seen. Captain Gray now determined, should the wind be unfavourable tomorrow, to endeavour to catch some.

The wind still continued contrary on the 31st when Captain Gray, Mr. Caswell and myself, with ten men, went on shore to hunt the hog; in about two hours we shot four, when we return'd with our game.¹ At two in the afternoon, there came on a most violent storm, the wind rushing down upon us in heavy torrents from the mountains, accompanied with rain; which caused the ship to drag her anchors; the lower yards were struck, and two more anchors let go, when the ship rode a heavy strain with five anchors ahead; her stern scarce a stones throw from the rocks. [20]

1791. *February*. On the morning of the 1st of February, the gale having much abated, and the weather become tolerably pleasant; a party was sent on shore to hunt, (the wind being still unfavourable,) they had the good fortune to shoot three hogs, and to catch one pig alive. at noon they return'd aboard, when the storm again arose, if possible, with redoubled fury, and continued until about midnight; when the wind shifted to the south, and the weather became fair.

At four in the morning of the 2d swayed up the lower yards, unmoored ship, hoisted in the boats, and at nine weighed, and came to sail. at ten passed Loophead. at eleven saw a ship to the southward, bearing down for us; hove to, maintopsail to the mast, to wait for her; a very heavy sea a going. at noon the northwest extreme of the new islands bore south $78^{\circ}45'$ west, distance about two leagues. I observed in latitude $51^{\circ}46'$ south, my longitude $60^{\circ}52'0''$ west. at two in the afternoon, the ship came within hale; when she proved to be the Bedford of Dunkirk, Laban Coffin master, bound to the Pacific Ocean a whaling.² after purchaising a cask of sperma-

¹ See page 17, note 1, above.

² Probably an American-built vessel under French colors, for Ingraham about ten days before in the same vicinity had met a similar French whaler. He says in his MS. journal, under date

cati oil, we parted; outsailing the Bedford so much as to have her out of sight astern at eight in the evening; when Cape Percival, the westernmost extreme of the Falklands islands bore south $56^{\circ} 15'$ east, six leagues distant.

The Geography of these islands I am altogether unacquainted with; suffice it therefore to say, they were discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins 1594, and by him called Hawkins's maiden land: afterwards they were called by Captain Strong, Falklands Islands; they are situated between the latitude [] and between the longitude []¹ how many islands there are I know not; but am informed, most [21] of them afford good harbours. On the eastern side of these islands, the Spaniards have a settlement; which I believe to be the only one on them; save now and then temporary ones, erected by those who come here for the benefit of collecting seals skins, or trying out oil.²

The Columbia's anchoring place, in New Island Harbour, by observation is in latitude $51^{\circ} 34'$ south, longitude $60^{\circ} 47' 0''$ west; this is a most excellent harbour, and spacious enough to contain an hundred sail; there are several fine coves, where vessels may always lay secure. on the eastern side of the harbour, is a small fresh water river; indeed there is in all parts water plenty, and convenient. The small chart which accompanies this³ will shew the situation of the harbour much better than I can describe it.

During our continuance in this Harbour; we had frequent gales, attended with squalls, heavy gusts from the mountains, hail, sleet, and rain; once we had a slight frost. the weather was quite cool and winterly; and the winds in general from north west to west south west. this sort of weather in this latitude is not a little surprizing in the heighth of summer; when in our country it is generally warm and pleasant, and all nature teems with its choicest fruits.

In one of my excursions, on the west side of the harbour, near to the reef of rocks before mentioned, laying not far from the entrance,

January 22, 1792: "The great encouragement given by the French government to Americans to settle in France, and fit out ships in the whaling service, has induced many of our countrymen to emigrate."

¹ Between latitude 51° and 53° South, and between longitude 57° and 62° West.

² See Burney, *Chronological History*, v. 143ff., 155.

³ This chart appears not to have survived.

I saw a large cave, which appeared to have been hewn out of the solid rock; about eight or ten feet wide, it run in open about thirty feet, then under ground about as much more; where it was fifteen or twenty feet high; from this cavern issued a fine spring of fresh water.

The land about the harbour is [22] mountainous, interspersed with pleasant dales; in which there are many deep chasms; some so over grown with grass, as to make the walking dangerous; while others are quite recent: from this circumstance, I am induced to think these islands are visited by earthquakes.

In the vallies, the soil is of a rich, loose black mole; but on the sides of the mountains, it is of a light reddish gravel; the shores are of a black slate rock, intervened with fine white sand beaches.

There is neither tree, nor shrub, grows on the island. there are several sorts of grass, such as clover, herds, and scurvy grass; also along the shore, a large coarse grass,¹ which has grown and rotted again and again, till it has form'd large hillocks; in which hogs, seals, sealions, penguins etca. have formed to themselves temporary habitations; those hillocks if cut up, and dried, would afford good fuel, in case of necessity. there is also some wood and garden sorrel; besides some few plants I am unacquainted with.

Besides the Hogs before mentioned, I believe there is no quadruped inhabits these islands. it may not be unnecessary here to mention our method of hunting them. the party being ashore, six would enter at one end of those tufts of grass armed, walking through them with a hue and cry; while two would walk on each side; and two stationed at each end; ready to shoot the hog, as soon as he should run out. by this means we were enabled to kill seven hogs, and catch one pig alive. this also contributed to the health of our people; as exercise on land is deemed very salutary and a great preventative, of the scurvy. [23]

This place abounds with fowl of various species; such as Geese, of which there are two sorts, both differing from those we have in our country; and which we distinguished by the name of upland and lowland: the lowland geese resembles much the Muscovy Ducks; they living in the water, and feeding on marine substances,

¹ Tussock grass, a native of the Falkland Islands.

have a fishy rancid taste, and were never eat by any of us. while the upland Geese, living on the land, have a fine delicate taste; among these latter we made sad havock.¹ there are also Ducks, (a bird with a red bill, about the size of a Pidgeon, not web footed, which keeps about the shore, feeds on worms, and is called by the sailors, a) Seapie, Shags, Shilldrakes, Albatrosses, Port Egmont hens (which are a very fierce, ravenous birds), Gulls, (which are here in great plenty, they having just brought forth their young, many of which were scarcely fledged.) brown Hawks, Owls, Sparrows, Robins, (which are very tame, I have frequently as I sat on the grass, had several jumping about different parts of me,) etca. etca.

As we always had a great plenty of fowl, we never tried for fish: I therefore don't know whether the harbour is blessed with that noble part of the creation. the rocks are covered with large beds of muscles, limputs, etca. etca.

In all probability, some vessel has been lost, not long since among these islands; as I saw a cabbin board, and several peices of timber, which was brought on shore, at the backside of the island, by the sea.

We had gentle breezes, and pleasant weather, from our leaving Cape Percival, on the evening of the 2d until one in the afternoon, of the 5th when the Island of Statenland, made its appearance, in a south direction, distance about [24] fourteen leagues: at eight the easternmost part of the island, bore southeast and by south, the westernmost south south west; we stood to the south east, with the wind at north. at four the next morning, the southernmost land bore south $33^{\circ}45'$ west, and the westernmost south $84^{\circ}22'$ west; made all sail and stood to the southward, with a light breeze from the westward. at noon Cape Saint Bartholemew² bore, south $56^{\circ}15'$ west, the northermost extreme north and by west, the body of the land, five or six leagues distance; it now became calm, with a large swell from the westward. at eight in the evening the land bore, south $56^{\circ}15'$ west, fourteen leagues distance.

At noon on the 7th the body of the Island bore, west north west, twenty leagues distance; my observation gave me $55^{\circ}29'$ south latitude, and longitude $63^{\circ}0'0''$ west; which makes the latitude of

¹ For Boit's comment, see below, page 367.

² A cape on Staten Island.

Staten land $54^{\circ}44'$ south, and longitude $64^{\circ}10'0''$ west, the variation here is $25^{\circ}16'$ east.

The western side of this Island, bears a most dreary aspect; the land being high and broken, forming into lofty peaks, many of which are cover'd, with an eternal snow; since our making this land, we have had the winds light and variable, with frequent calms, and a strong current, setting east south east, four miles an hour.

With a pleasant gale from the west south west, we stood to the southward; having at sunset, no land in sight.

Although the season being far advanced, yet we pushed forward with the greatest alacrity, to encounter the tempestuous weather, which reigns, at this season of the year, in this inhospitable clime; and I believe, never did a deeper laden vessel, ever, attempt to double, this formidable Cape.

But we had the winds and weather, much better, than could have been expec-[25]ted, and almost equal, to what we could have wished: having on the 16th at noon got a good offing from the Cape, being in latitude $60^{\circ}31'0''$ south, longitude $77^{\circ}2'0''$ west; we set all steering sails, topgallantsails, and royals, and stood to the west north west, with a light breeze from the east south east, and pleasant weather: saw several whales, and black fish; many Albatrosses, Petril, and other birds, flying about the ship; shot two of the former, lowered the jolly boat, and pickt them up.

1791. *March*. At noon, on the 1st of March by observation, I was in the latitude of $52^{\circ}20'$ south, longitude $85^{\circ}39'0''$ west; having, in twenty one days from leaving Staten Island, compleatly doubled Cape Horn; being to the northward, of its northwest boundary; which I conceive to be, the western enterance of the Straits of Magelhaen.

We now began, to proceed to the northward and westward fast; the weather daily grew more settled, much warmer, and pleasant.

On the 26th we passed in the latitude, of Juan Fernandes and Massafueiro; in which latitude, the weather was most delightful, not too warm in the middle of the day, nor too cool in the evening; but a clear serene air. on the 28th the armourer's forge was erected, to do some ironwork for the ship.

1791. *April*. On the 2d of April, in latitude $27^{\circ}16'$ south, we

took the south east trade winds; saw several tropic birds, and had many fish about the ship. on the 12th being in latitude $18^{\circ}0'$ south, longitude $102^{\circ}45'$ west; some of our people thought, they saw land, though we had no signs of any; except a few tropic birds: nor indeed do I know of any land, laid down nigher to us, than Easter island; which is several degrees to the southwd. the 21st 22d and 23d we had many man of war, tropic, boobies, terns and other birds, about the ship: which [26] came in large flocks; saw many turtle, and had an abundance of fish about the ship; which are indications of the vicinity of land; but we saw none. my latitude being at this time from $8^{\circ}20'$ to $4^{\circ}33'$ south, and from longitude $111^{\circ}25'$ to $115^{\circ}32'$ west, the nearest land to me, must be of course the Marquesas.

On the 23d having some rice up to air, our best she goat, got at it, eat so much that it swel'd in her belly, and caused her death; this was the more grievous, as it depriv'd us of the greatest delicasy, we had in the ship, her milk, which made our tea so much the more palatable.¹

At three in the afternoon of the 29th we crossed the Equator, in longitude $120^{\circ}5'$ west.

1791. *May*. On the 30th and for the eight succeeding days; we had large flocks of man of war birds, tropics, boobies, a brown bird, the size of a booby, terns and a variety of others; also turtle; albacores, bonettas, and other fish; almost constantly about the ship; my latitude during the time, being, from $0^{\circ}40'$ to $14^{\circ}7'$ north; my longitude from $120^{\circ}46'$ to $130^{\circ}29'$ west. though these are plain indications, of the proximity of land; we were in hopes of discovering, some new Islands, but as we did not, I am at a loss to account, from whence all these birds came; without it can be admitted, they come from Roca Partida, Los Majos, and other islands; laid down by the Spaniards, and which have not hitherto, been seen by any other nation; and even to admit that; by Captain Cook's chart, they are laid down four degrees and upwards, to the northward of my northernmost latitude.² As we stood to the northward, we still kept a

¹ Cf. Boit's humorous account, below, page 368.

² Cook's chart places Roca Partida in about 18° N. and 128° W., and Los Majos in about 20° N. and 135° W. He was not within a thousand miles of these locations, and doubtless took them from Spanish charts. See *Twenty-First Annual Report*, Hawaiian Historical Society

good look out, for those spanish islands; sailing through the latitude and longitude they are laid down in, in Captain Cook's chart; and I may venture to say, there is no such Islands, in that latitude and longitude.

On the 12th of May, we mounted six four [27] pounders on the quarter deck, four six pounders on the forecastle, and ten swisels in the stocks, on the stern and quarters; the armourers and gunners were, at this time, getting the small arms etca. in order, and preparing the ammunion.

On the 20th the scurvy began to make its appearance,¹ on one of the people. The 24th we lost the north east trade winds, in latitude 34° 8' north, longitude 136° 43' west. at noon on the 27th saw some kelp. The 28th saw several birds, ressembling plovers; six of our people confin'd with the scurvy. The 30th saw several petril.

1791. *June*. For some days past, we have had the wind from south south west to south south east, blowing a gentle gale. on the 1st of June, it settled in the south east, and blew fresh, with rain, and thick fog; though from appearance, nothing indicated the vicinity of land; and by our accounts, we were at the distance of eighty or ninety leagues from it; yet at eight in the evening, hove to, with her head to the westward. at four the next morning made sail again; saw several whales, porpoises, a sea otter, and much kelp; the weather still continuing thick and foggy. at eight in the evening, again hove to, head to the westward.

At two in the morning of the 3d made sail being in the latitude of 48° 43' north nearly in the latitude of our intended port: we stood in ENE for the land; saw wood, kelp, whales etca. at noon I observed in latitude 49° 14' north; at four in the afternoon, the object of our wishes, the northwest coast of America, made its appearance, to the eastward. at eight in the evening, shortened sail. at two the next morning, again made sail, and stood in for the land; which at sunrise, we saw in the north east quarter; the wind was light and variable, from west to south south east. at noon the land ex-

(1913), 23; E. H. Dahlgren, *Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by Spaniards?* (Stockholm, 1916); John F. G. Stokes, "Hawaii Discovered by the Spaniards: Theories Treated and Refuted," *Papers*, Hawaiian Historical Society, Number 20 (Honolulu, 1939).

¹ Cf. Boit's statement, below, page 368.

tended from north by west to east by north; what was [28] suppos'd to be Breakers Point, bore north east by east eight or nine leagues distance: saw much wood, kelp, rockweed, whales and very large sharks. at seven in the evening, Nootka Sound bore north by west, ten leagues distance. at eight Breakers Point bore north north west five leagues, stood in for the land, with a light breeze, east inclining a little to the south.

At four in the morning of the 5th saw the enterance of Clioquot, or Hancock's Harbour as Captain Gray named it, when he discovered it¹ on his former voyage; bearing north east by north, about eight leagues distance; bore away for the enterance. at eight saw several canoes, two of which came alongside; in one of which was a chief, named Cleeshinah; who calls him Captain Hanna, after an english master of a vessel, that has been on this Coast; in the other another cheif, named Tootooch; this Hanna informed us, there was one Spanish ship at Nootka,² one sailed from Clioquot ten days ago, for Claaheset,³ one or two at some places we could not understand; he said, Don Martinez had gone home, that no English or American vessel had arrived here this season; we asked him particularly about Captain Kendrick, whom he said had not been here since he left the coast. At two in the afternoon, passed through Wikkananish Roads;⁴ and at three, came to anchor with the best bower in seven fathom water, moored ship with the small bower to the south east, when moored, the nighest land about half a mile distant thus are we happily situated, in a fine harbour; when our sick can be recruited, and ship refitted after so long a passage.⁵

As soon as we entered the Harbour, we were surrounded with canoes, and the ship throng'd with natives; who were permitted to come on [29] board, without distinction, and all appeared equally

¹ Clayoquot Sound was not discovered by Captain Gray, but by Captain C. W. Barkley in 1787; Meares was there in June, 1788; Gray did not see it until August 30, 1788.

² Probably the frigate *Concepcion*, which Lt. Francisco Elisa left at Nootka on May 4. See Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, 1933), 142.

³ Elisa had left Clayoquot in the *San Carlos* on May 22. *Ibid.*, 146.

⁴ Meares's Port Cox, near the entrance of Clayoquot Sound, and on the east side of Stubbs Island. See the sketch in Meares, *Voyages*, 202.

⁵ The *Columbia* had been eight months and five days from Boston; but under Kendrick the same voyage had occupied one year, less nine days. Compare the dates in Hoskins' narrative with those in Haswell's first log.

happy to see us; among others was Wickananish the Chief, his father, several of his brothers, and two sons; and a number of under chiefs, all of whom were cloathed with two or four sea otter skins each; this was a most pleasing sight and the best introduction they could have had; those chiefs were taken to the cabbin and shown our various articles of traffic; but they appear'd quite indifferent about trading; rather wishing to receive our articles of traffic as presents; a little before sunset they left us, with a promise of returning in the morning.

I accompanied Captain Gray on shore at the village Opitsitah,¹ (in the jolly boat) which is at present uninhabited, and only the framings of the houses standing; it was our intention to have taken a walk through this village; but it was so overgrown with nettles, hogweed, and other greens, that it was impossible to with any comfort; the boats crew were ordered to gather a quantity of those greens for the sick, and in a few minutes they fill'd the boat; these greens are excellent antiscorbutic, were daily gathered, and eaten with avidity by all hands. In the meantime, the pinnacle was sent ashore, abreast of the ship, to pitch a tent, and to prepare accommodations for the reception of the sick. The well people were divided into quarter watches by day and by night.

First part of the 6th was rainy disagreeable weather; but towards noon, it became more pleasant; the sick were then landed, and a party to guard them; seven of which are in a very advanced state of the scurvy; indeed, there is scarce a person on board the ship but what has felt, more or less, the banefull effects of this [30] dreadfull distemper; this must in a great measure be attributed to our scanty supply of antiscorbutics; to an improper use of what few we had; and to the small attention paid by the commander to the preservation of the health of his people; which on a voyage of this nature is of the greatest consequence. and it is certainly very imprudent, in a commander of such a voyage, to attempt to cross such an immense ocean without stopping at those islands so happily scattered, which successively offer themselves with little deviation from his true course; both in the southern and northern tropics; where may be procured all the conveniences, if not the luxuries, necessary to pre-

¹ See page 68, note 2, above.

serve health, and to sustain life; at little or no expence: had we been obliged to continue at sea a few days longer; we should have inevitably lost several of our people; which would materially have affected the voyage.¹

But to return; the Chiefs came, according to their promise yesterday; but none of them could be induced to part with their skins; the lower class of people fetch us fish and leeks, which were purchased.

On the 7th the wind veered to the south east and east south east; and the weather became stormy and disagreeable; notwithstanding which the Chiefs came on board as usual; and this afternoon our traffick comenced; first with Wickananish's father, then with the other Chiefs in succession; but our purchases were not great, being only twenty two fine skins.

Having saved about a peck of potatoes, which we brought from Boston; they were, together with some onions, and seeds of various sorts; given to Tootoocheetticus, the second brother of Wickananish; whom Captain Gray sent ashore to the village of Opitsitah with an [31] officer and a party of our people in the boat to plant them, and shew him the method of cultivation; after being gone about an hour, they return'd; when he appeared to be delighted with this new acquisition and more so with the honor done him.² But how great was our surprize the next morning to see those very articles brought to the ship for sale by the lower class of natives; on Tootoocheetticus's comi[n]g aboard and being questioned, he answered; those people did not know he planted them; this seems sufficiently to shew the idle disposition of these people and there present ignorance of cultivation.

This rainy disagreeable weather continued until the 10th when the wind came out of the westward, which soon brought fair, settled weather. the carpenters were now sent to cut a jib boom and make it; while the people were employed in putting the rigging in order. On the 11th began to fill up our water; the natives this day brought two Deer which I purchased; these were made into soup for all

¹ These criticisms of Captain Gray become more frequent as the narrative proceeds.

² The potato, early introduced by the maritime traders into the Queen Charlotte Islands, became a staple food there and was exported to the neighboring tribes.

hands, especially the sick; who are surprizingly recovered; and to whom it is a most excellent refreshment. though among those who visited us we frequently saw new faces, yet to day we were surprized by a canoe from Nootka, the natives of which confirm'd the account of their being only one Spanish ship there.¹

On the 12th the natives brought another Deer, with some fish and leeks, which were purchaised. the whale boat was armed and sent under command of an officer to examine the eastern side of the harbour.

The 13th the ship was careened, hogged, and her bends payed. a party was sent on shore to cut wood for fuel.

In the morning of the 14th it came on to blow fresh from the west north west with sharp [32] squalls; otherways, the weather was clear and pleasant: the best bower anchor getting fowl, the ship dragged; run out the sheet and stream anchors; weighed the bowers anchors, and again moored ship, with the small bower to the northward, and sheet anchor to the westward. the natives again brought us a Deer which was purchased. Ottoo, our Sandwich island boy,² found means to leave the ship and go among the natives. Captain Gray therefore determined to take the first Chief that came along; in the afternoon he ordered the tents to be struck and brought aboard with the sick, who are nearly recovered; so surprizing were the good effects of the land air, fresh provisions, and a vegetables.³

In the morning of the 15th the wooding and watering parties were armed and sent on shore, abreast of the ship, to their seperate duties. the natives did not come to the ship as usual, and the fair sex ceased to entertain me, according to their usual custom at day light every morning previous to this, with melodious songs under my window; these songs were peculiarly pleasing, being sung with that good natured simplicity, which must ever delight. however, at nine o'clock, two canoes with women came to the ship: and in about half an hour after, Tootiscoosettle, the eldest brother of the Chief,

¹ The trouble arising out of the seizure of Meares's ships at Nootka had not been settled when the *Columbia* left Boston; hence the interest in the Spanish force there.

² One of the Hawaiian boys taken to Boston by the *Columbia* in 1790. The other, Opie, returned with Ingraham in the *Hope*. See Frederic W. Howay, "Early Relations of Hawaii with the Pacific Northwest," *Publications, Archives of Hawaii*, Number 5 (Hawaii, 1930), 11-38.

³ Boit mentions the use of spruce tea at this time as an antiscorbutic.

passed up the harbour; on being called to, he came alongside, when he was invited on board, but he excused himself, saying he was going to Inistuck, (another of their villages) to kill a Deer for us; but at length, after a considerable intreaty, he was induced to come up the ship's sides; when his heart misgave him, and he returned to his canoe again; finding we appeared to be [33] offended with his conduct; he called and said, if his servant was permitted to come aboard with him, he would come; this, though contrary to custom, was granted, and they came; when they were immediately conducted to the cabbin with two others. Tootiscoosettle was now told, Ottoo was gone to his village; this my gentleman made strange of, appear'd to wonder where he had gone, and denied his having any knowledge of him: until Captain Gray told him, he was his prisoner, and unless Ottoo was immediately delivered up, he would carry him to sea; at this, the Chief was much frightened, asked if we meant to kill him,¹ acknowledged he knew where Ottoo was, and immediately dispatched his servant in a canoe to the village: which was soon seen returning, with several others; hollowing as they came, with Ottoo: it was now necessary, as an example to deter others, who should be guilty of the like in future, that Ottoo should be punished; this as he was a Sandwich islander Captain Gray willingly would have dispensed with. the Chief was ordered to be present at this punishment;² and gave to understand that the man who carried Ottoo away, if he was found, would be punished the same; and if in future, any of the people ran away to his village, and he did not immediately send them back; the first Chief that was caught should also be punished; the Chief was now liberated, when he, and all the others in their canoes, left us; nor did we see any canoes stirring, or any come nigh the ship, (though previous to this, we had been constantly surrounded with them,) until eleven o'clock the next day; when Wick-ananish's father came, and brought two sea otter skins; he was afraid at first to come on board, but after a little intreaty, and many

¹ The natives' attempt to capture the *Columbia* in the following February may have had its root in the deception practised upon their chief in order to make him prisoner. Already appears the mutual distrust that marked the maritime fur-trade.

² Though Ottoo was by some called a young chief or a crown prince (*New England Magazine*, New Series, VI. 478), he received a flogging for his attempted desertion.

professions of friendship, he came, [34] soon traded, and went off in great haste.

Finding the natives grew shy of us, and judging we had pretty well drained them of their skins; having also procured a sufficient stock of both wood and water; a longer tarry in this port became needless: therefore at one in the afternoon, unmoored ship; at two, weighed and came to sail with a fresh breeze from the south west and ebb tide; with which we beat out of the harbor: while beating out, I procured six more skins from the natives; these being added to what we got before, made the whole number of our purchase at this place only one hundred and twelve sea otter skins, twenty five sea otter skin peices, and thirty seven sea otter skin tails: a number far short of what I was taught to expect. Our principal articles of traffick were copper and cloathing; iron they would scarcely take as a gift: for a sheet of copper we got four skins; cloathing in proportion. for small articles, such as knives, buttons, fish hooks, gimblets etca. we procured a few sea otter tails, fish and vegetables.

As it is more than probable we shall winter in this harbour; or if not, that we shall visit it several times previous to our leaving the coast; I will therefore forbear, at present, giving any description of the country and its inhabitants: as my knowledge of them is very confined.

On our first arrival in this harbor, I was informed by Tootescoosettle that the Spaniards had given up all but one of those English vessels they had taken;¹ that Captain Colinet was here the last season, and wintered here; and Captain Tom, who we suppose to be a Captain Barnard,² this Captain Colinet, having sent Captain Hudson,³ Mr. Temple, and four hands, in a sail boat to Nootka;

¹ Evidently the *Princess Royal*, which, after surveying in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1790, returned to Mexico and was still there in February, 1791. See Ralph S. Kuykendall, "James Colnett and the 'Princess Royal,'" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxv (March, 1924), 36-52; "Some Additional Notes upon James Colnett and the 'Princess Royal,'" *ibid.*, xxvi (March, 1925), 12-22.

² Compare this report with that given by the Spaniards on May 7, 1791, as printed in Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in Strait of Fuca*, 164-165. Probably the name Douglas given to the Spaniards is an error and should be Barnett (Barnard, as here). Barnett was in command of the *Gustavus III*, which was at Clayoquot late in March; but Douglas was on the *Grace*, which did not leave China until early in April.

³ Thomas Hudson was master of the *Princess Royal* when she was seized by Spain in 1789 at

in their passage thither, [35] they ran on to a ledge of rocks near to Esquot: the boat went to peices, and they were drowned; a few days after, their bodies were found by the natives, taken up, striped, gashed, and thrown out for the crows to devour. this account has also been confirmed by Cleeshinah or Captain Hanna and several other Chiefs; with this addition, that it blew very hard, with a heavy sea, one of which upset the boat; the natives of Esquot¹ seeing it, went off in their canoes to their assistance; but before they got to them, the boats crew were all dead; they picked them up, brought them ashore, and treated them as above related. he also added that after Captain Hudson, with his boats crew, had been gone some time; Captain Colinet hearing nothing of them, sent Mr. Gibson to Nootka to enquire of the Spaniards there about them (I suppose suspecting the Spaniards had detained them;) in a short time Mr. Gibson returned and brought word they were killed by the natives: on hearing of which, Captain Colinet took Tootiscoosettle and Tootooch; at the same time threatning, without the dead bodies were brought in a week for him to see, whether they were killed or not; he would kill those two Chiefs and every native he could find. Cleeshinah says he immediately went to Esquot himself; where the dead bodies were, but being putrified and much eaten by the crows, he did not bring them; but brought all their cloaths: these not being bloody, Captain Colinet was satisfied, released the Chiefs, and made them a present of several sheets of copper, cloathing, etca. etca. but before he returned, he says his people had taken one of Captain Colinet's out of a boat not far from the ship. Since this, I have been informed by Captain Kendrick that it is the opinion of the Spaniards [36] at Nootka; that these people were murdered by the natives; and those of Clioquot were the instigators of it.

It was our intention, on sailing from Boston; as soon as we arrived on this Coast, to have built the small vessel we have in frame: but the season being now so far advanced; having a much longer passage than we expected; knowing also that Captain Ingraham sailed from Boston before us; that there were vessells fitting from different parts

Nootka. James Colnett was in command of the *Argonaut* when she was also seized by Spain at the same time and place.

¹ Hesquiati Harbor, between Clayoquot and Nootka sounds.

of the United States; besides what might be on from China, India, and other places; it was therefore my opinion that it would be most prudent, and most for the interest of the owners, to make the best use of what remained of the present season in cruising; pick up what skins we could, and in the winter, when nothing else could be done, then build the vessel, and it was with this determination that we put to sea on the 16th.

Scarce had we cleared the harbor, when the wind came out at south south east; it being necessary to gain an offing before night, we therefore stood to the south west. at eight, Companies bay bore east south east, five leagues, and the enterance of Clioquot, north-west half west, two and a half leagues distance. at ten, the wind veered to east south east. at three in the morning of the 17th tackt and stood to the northeast; it was our intention of cruising the coast between Clioquot and the Straits of de Fuca before we went to the northward; though it was a matter of indifference which we did first; therefore at six, bore away to the westward, and made [37] all sail. at eight Clioquot bore north, distance five leagues. at noon this wind had increased into a strong gale, attended with heavy squalls and thick rainy weather; which soon brought us to our reefs; and at three in the afternoon, when we saw Breakers Point bearing north $67^{\circ}30'$ east, about six leagues distance; we were reduced to our close reef'd main topsail and foresail: under which sail we scudd until midnight; when the gale began to abate.

At six in the morning of the 18th the weather having grown more moderate and clear; we found ourselves close in with Cahooquot;¹ made sail and stood along shore to the westward. At eight, abreast of a large Sound called by the natives Chickleset; and by whom Captain Gray was informed on his last voyage there was a good harbour and a plenty of skins; but the weather still wearing an unfavourable aspect; it was not thought prudent to search for it. Woody Point at this time bore west two leagues distance. at noon a large rock off Woody Point, called Split rock,² bore east south east, three leagues. at four o'clock, it bore east by south half south eight leagues;

¹ Kyuquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, next above Nootka.

² Solander Island, about a mile west of Cape Cook. It is bare, has two sharp peaks, and is 580 feet high.

and the Islands off Pintard's sound¹ north west by north, seven leagues distance; the wind was now variable, and the weather squally with rain.

At midnight, the wind veered round to the westnorthwest. at four in the morning of the 19th the westernmost of the Islands of Pintard's sound² bore northeast by north: the wind now being a head, and a westerly wind in general, brings fair weather; it was therefore thought to be a good opportunity to search out the harbour at [38] Chickleset sound; accordingly at half past six, tacked ship; made all sail and stood to the eastward;³ we had no land in sight till eight in the evening; when Split rock was seen bearing east, three or four leagues distance; hove to, head to the southwest, for the night.

The morning of the 20th was clear, with a pleasant gale. at two made sail for Chickleset sound. at seven, abreast of its entrance; saw many canoes with natives going out a fishing; hoisted out the pinnace, Mr. Haswell was sent in her, manned and armed, to search for a harbour. at ten, he hoisted the signal for one; stood in for it; but the wind failing, sent the boats ahead to tow. at noon came to anchor with the small bower; moored ship with a hawser out a stern to the trees, and another to the rocks on the larboard bow; the ship in three fathom at low water: thus situated, we are intirely land lock't in an excellent harbour on the west side of the Sound: this harbor was named Columbia's Cove;⁴ but we were afterwards informed by the natives that they call it Naspahtee. Captain Gray and myself landed in the Cove; and Mr. Caswell was sent in the pinnace to examine the west side of the Sound; he returned and reported he found several good Coves, but none equal to the one we are in.

On the 21st the wind again shifted to the eastward, and brought on stormy, rainy weather: we were visited by the natives, who brought us fish and a few skins.

The 22d being a fine day, the pinnace was armed and sent under

¹ The Scott Islands, lying northwesterly from Cape Scott, the northwestern point of Vancouver Island.

² Queen Charlotte Sound.

³ The wind being ahead, the *Columbia* turns southeasterly along the coast of Vancouver Island, making it a fair wind to reach Naspart Inlet.

⁴ Probably that known by the Indians as Quin-eex, at the entrance of Nasparti Inlet and just inside Cape Cook. See the map in *Report on Indian Affairs* (Victoria, 1916), IV. 850.

command of Mr. Haswell to seek for the head village and to examine if there was a good harbour. Mr. [39] Haswell reported; after having crossed the Sound, he met with a canoe, the natives of which inform'd him their head village was in the next Sound; he proceeded as far as the entrance, and saw the village at a distance; finding it not safe for the ship to approach, on account of the many sunken rocks, he proceeded no further: returning by the east side of this Sound, he found a small village called by the natives, Opswis;¹ where if a ship coming into Naspahtee could not fetch, is good shelter.

The 23d the carpenters were sent to cut a topgallantmast; a party a wooding and another ahunting; Mr. Caswell had the good fortune to shoot a Deer.

Early in the morning of the 24th several natives on board with fish and skins. at ten o'clock I went with the pinnace armed; accompanied by Mr. Smith,² to the head village; having crossed the Sound and stopt at the small village Opswis, I proceeded to the next sound; the entrance to which is dangerous the way I went, (it being the same Mr. Haswell did.) on account of the sunken rocks, and the passage being narrow; after passing these rocks and getting into the Sound, I saw another passage to the southward, which appeared to be large and good. I also saw several good harbors, which I intended looking into; but three or four canoes coming from the village; the natives ashore inviting; and its coming on to rain, induced me to go to the village first, in hopes of better weather. but it came on a perfect storm, blowing in heavy squalls with rain, which prevented. I was received [40] at my landing by the old Chief, who conducted me, with Mr. Smith, to his house; seated us by a good fire; offered us to eat and drink of the best the house afforded; which was dried fish of various sorts, roasted clams and muscles; water was our drink, handed in a wooden box, with a large sea clam shell to drink out off; the Chief's son attended me, opened my clams, roasted my fish, and did various other kind offices; in which he was pleased to be employed in. after this entertainment, we were greeted

¹ Opsowis, about twelve miles easterly from Columbia's Cove (Quin-eex), and on the eastern side of Ou-ou-kinsh Inlet.

² Owen Smith, third mate.

with two songs; in which was frequently repeated the words "Wakush Tiyeew awinna," or "welcome travelling Chief." these were sung by a great concourse of natives, who came from all parts of the village to see us, for it is very probable we are the first white people that ever was at their village, and the first many of them ever saw.

Finding the natives appeared quite inoffensive; I permitted one half of the people to come to the house at a time to dry themselves; the last half being up, one of them straggling to the back of the house, saw the natives armed and sharpening their spears and daggers. this he immediately informed me of; I then desired Mr. Smith to see the people in the boat and have her got a float; and to let the people stand ready to cover our retreat in case of necessity; but not to show the least signs of fear. in the meantime, I placed myself in a situation so as to observe the motion of the natives. when the boat was ready, I abruptly took leave of the old Chief and his sons; they appeared to be much chagrined at my sudden departure, and endeavoured to prevail on me to tarry.

On my landing, I gave positive orders to the boats crew, not to offer the least [41] umbrage to the natives: and I verily believe they did not, though no doubt it is too often the case that sailors, when no officer is with them; from their ignorance of the language, either miscomprehend the natives, or the natives them; thus each deeming the other insulted, a quarrel ensues, and the officers who are on shore fall a sacrifice to it. as well in civilized, so in savage governments; from small causes, great evils spring.

If the natives had really meditated an attempt on our lives; it certainly could be for no offence offered by my small party; but may have been to revenge some former injuries received from others, or to possess themselves of our cloaths and arms. be that as it may, even if it was a false alarm; it certainly was not prudent to tarry longer; though by avoiding one danger, the other we were plunging into appeared not less imminent. in the sound it blew a gale; without it, a perfect hurricane, with a mountainous sea, and thick rainy weather. without the sound, we dare not show a rag of sail; but forced to let her drive before the wind and sea: all hands constantly bailing out the water. as though our situation was not yet sufficiently deplorable; a rock just awash, not three yards ahead, made its ap-

pearance; expecting there were more, we hauled our wind a little; apparently only to prolong our existence a few moments; expecting every sea would swallow us up: but fortune favoured us, and in a few moments we were clear, and again drove before it; in half an hour, got sight of the Cove, and in a short time arrived on board the ship. thus were we, by a kind providence, most happily delivered from the dangers which but so lately threatened us; and restored again to [42] our friends; whose anxiety was relieved, and whose fears for our safety is easier to be conceived than described.

Not having had any natives on board, or seen any canoes, since I was at the village; it was supposed they intended me some harm; or feared we thought so; therefore, at five in the morning of the 26th cast of our fasts, weighed the anchor and warped out of the Cove. at half past twelve, a breeze springing up to the westward, came to sail and stood out to sea.

Chicklest or Bulfinch's Sound; as it was named by us in honor of Doctor Thomas Bulfinch, physician of Boston; is situated in the westernmost part of Hope Bay, in Latitude [$50^{\circ}7'$] longitude [$127^{\circ}55'$] in it are many fine coves; which will afford shelter to vessels of considerable burthen; where also is wood and water plenty and convenient.

The land about the sound is high and mountainous; well covered with trees to its summits; on some of the hills many of the trees are dead; and on others are a few barren spots; which gives them an uncomfortable appearance. there are three sorts of pine; spruce, hemlock, crab apple, alder and a hard red wood; our wooding party also found on the shores several logs of ash and maple. which is a proof there is hard wood growing here, and possibly there may be oak, back in the country. the woods are full of berry bushes of different sorts; on the shores grow samphire and scurvy grass.

The animals which inhabit this sound, I know not; having only seen a few deer, two or three wolves of a dark grey colour, one or two seals and a raccoon. the skins brought [43] for sale being principally sea otter. the birds seen by us were shags, gulls, pigeons, king fishers and robins. their fish which was brought for sale, as we never caught none ourselves, were a sort of cod, red snappers, herrins, sardines, hallibut and a small silver bream.

The only inhabited part of the sound is the small village on the eastern side, called Opswis; which I suppose contains about twenty or thirty inhabitants: no doubt, various other parts of the sound are occasionally inhabited; as they appear to have no abiding place; but move about as fancy or inclination suggests. The head village is in the next sound, where the Chief resides, and is the one I visited; it is situated on an island, (on the north east side of which is a deep sound) at the bottom of a small bay or cove; the village consists of about thirty houses; which contain between two and three hundred inhabitants. besides this, there are two or three other villages scattered about the sound; whether they are subject to the same Chief or not, I don't know. it is impossible for me to form any kind of judgement of the number of this tribe; having had only a few visitors, them but seldom, and rarely a new face; from the same cause I am unacquainted with their domestick life, or even utensils, having only seen a square wooden box.¹

About their houses they are as filthy² as they are about their persons; and what adds not a little to it, is the multiplicity of dogs, which are of the fox breed.

These people are rather short of stature, with round full visages, their noses flattening at the base; large mouth and thick lips: their bodies are in general covered with grease and red ochre; their faces [44] variously painted; sometimes of two or three different colours; others again only of one; as red, white, or black; according to their different fancies.

Their most common dress is a mantle made of a flaxen substance: some indeed wear the skin of some animals thrown over it. Their head dress is a small cap or a withe; their hair in general hangs loose, though one or two had it divided into small parcels about the size of your little finger; clotted together with grease and red paint, and hanging, like so many tails, to the ground; their heads and garments constantly swarm with vermin: the septum of the nose and lobe

¹ Captain Cook (*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 316) tells us that these boxes not only contained their wealth, but also constituted the greater part of their furniture.

² Captain Cook (*ibid.*) says: "Their houses are as filthy as hog-sties; every thing in and about them stinking of filth, train-oil, and smoke."

of the ear is perforated; in which are hung leathern thongs, peices of Iron, copper etca.

In their dealings they are exceeding fair; though it was necessary to keep a good look out to prevent their pilfering. our articles of traffick were principally copper and cloathing; iron was more valuable than at Clioquot; trifling articles were also in demand.¹

At noon, as I before observed, we stood out to sea. at three in the afternoon, having a good offing, we stood to the south east. at eight, saw breakers point bearing south $84^{\circ}22'$ east; the south extreme of the land in sight south $73^{\circ}7'$ east; and Nootka Sound north north east, seven leagues distance; our course was east south east, with a moderate breeze.

In the morning of the 27th the course was altered to east by south. at five, saw Clioquot bearing north north east, two or three leagues distance. at noon, it bore north west ten miles; my latitude by observation $49^{\circ}3'$, saw many canoes, belonging to Wickananish's village, returning from fishing; there being a heavy swell, none came to the ship. at three [45] in the afternoon, passed a large village situated on a high rock. no canoes coming of, we did not stop. at four, abreast of Companies Bay. at eight, shortened sail, and lay of and on under the topsails for the night; a very heavy cross sea agoing; Nittenat, a village so named, bore east, four or five leagues distance.²

The wind was light and flattering on the morning of the 28th with a heavy swell. at five, a canoe with ten men came alongside; she was from Nittenat, bound a whaling;³ the natives requested us to go to their village; saying, as an inducement, there was a plenty of skins; no sooner were they informed that was our intention, than they returned to the village with the news of our arrival. it was two in the afternoon before we were enabled to get in with the land: when the village was between two and three miles distance; several canoes came of, in one of which was Cassacan the Chief and his

¹ Hoskins' description may be compared with that of Captain Cook (*ibid.* 288-340).

² Leaving the cove, the *Columbia* steers southeasterly along the Vancouver Island shore, passing Nootka, Clayoquot, and Barkley sounds and reaching Cloöse and the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

³ The Indians of the southern end of Vancouver Island were expert whalers; see John R. Jewitt, *Adventures*, 122f., 178f.

Lady. the natives tarrying with us until evening; the ship laying to; during which time several very valuable skins were purchased for copper and cloathing; also a few fine hallibut for trifles: we then made sail, crossing the (what Captain Cook calls pretended) straits of Juan de Fuca¹ for Tootooch's island.

The village Nittenat lies in the latitude of $48^{\circ}40'$ north, longitude $124^{\circ}6'$ west; it has no harbour or any other shelter before it; and is only rendered remarkable by a large cataract or water fall a few miles to the northward of it.

Cassacan we found troubled with the venereal to a great degree. this is the more remarkable as hitherto we have found the women exceeding modest; nothing could even tempt them to come on board the ship; and here they appear the same; [46] this at first induced me to believe it was a disorder prevalent among them; but on questioning Cassacan, he says sometime since a vessel came to this place; to the Captain of which he sold a female prisoner or slave girl for several sheets of copper: on the vessels going away, the girl was sent ashore; he afterwards cohabited with the girl, who shortly after died; caught the fatal disease and communicated it to his wife; who, he says, has it equally as bad as himself: thus this most banefull disorder will e'er long prove fatal to this pair, and possibly spread throughout the village; making the most dreadful destruction: we dressed Cassacan, but he would not permit us to, his wife; and gave him several medicines; which he received most thankfully. Cassacan has also had the small pox; of which his face bears evident marks.² Infamous Europeans, a scandal to the Christian name; is it you, who bring and leave in a country with people you deem savages the most loathsome diseases? Oh, miserable inhabitants! you, by being in a state of nature, are considered as savages; but from your intercourse with men who dare call themselves civilized have you not become more wretched than the beasts of the forest? where is your native happiness? you so long uninterruptedly enjoyed. is it not gone? never, never more to return.

¹ The Strait of Juan de Fuca is not in the latitude given by the old Greek pilot and does not correspond in any way with his description. It is now agreed that his supposed voyage is purely fictitious.

² According to Boit (below, page 371), the marks of smallpox were quite general.

On the morning of the 29th Tootooch's island¹ bore east south east, seven leagues distance; many canoes from the village bound a fishing; one of which was dispatched to [47] inform the Chief of our arrival. at four in the afternoon, several canoes came of with skins; a brisk trade ensued, which lasted until late. The next morning, saw a vast number of canoes, bound out a fishing; in one of which was Tootooch the Chief; who came on board and requested us to tarry until the evening; as he said fish was very plenty now, and he, as an example to others, must go to catch them himself, therefore till then he could not spare time; when he would fetch of many skins: but in this he deceived us, for few were purchased, and none of him.

At noon, Tootiscoosettle came on board: he had just come from Clioquot in a large canoe with four masts;² bound to Tootooch's island, a trading. I believe this man was of no service to us; for had he not have came here; I have reason to think Tootooch would have kept his word. The canoes which went a fishing this morning caught an incredible number of fish, principally hallibut; of which we partook a part; these people go a great distance, as much as ten or twelve leagues to sea a fishing: and it is only in such pleasant weather as this they can do that: which as it [is] their principal dependance for a stock of provissions, is at times precarious; no doubt this in some measure accounts for their not being willing to part but with a small share of the fish they catch.

July. At six in the morning of the 1st of July, many canoes came from the [48] villages; among others was Tootooch; several good skins were purchased, none of him; but still more were carried away by those who brought them: for Tootooch would not let them sell at even their own price; this being the case, it was not necessary to stay here any longer; but to make the best of our way to the northward. at halfpast three in the afternoon, with the wind at west, we made sail to beat out of the straits; stretching over towards Patchenat.

¹ Near Cape Flattery, at the southern entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

² Captain Cook (*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 328) records that when he arrived in March, 1778, the Indians of Nootka Sound had not invented the sail: "Sails are no part of their art of navigation."

Tootooch's Island is a small, low green island on the eastern side of the entrance of the straits of Juan de Fuca; on it is a large village; which affords a number of fine skins: the natives here, many of them, wore a garment which appeared to be made of wool and hair; mostly white,¹ it appear'd to be, well fabricated, and I suppose, by themselves. copper and cloathing were our articles of commerce.

Being abreast of Nittenat, on the morning of the 2d four canoes came of; a few skins were purchased, but Cassacan, discovering a churlish disposition, after tarrying on board three hours, would not sell his skins: but carried them of, though he was offered a considerable more than he demanded for them. such behaviour in those two Chiefs, Tootooch and Cassacan, was sufficient to tire the patience of any man: but when these peoples ignorance was considered, it appeared better to put up with such small things than by showing the least resentment, cause a quarrel.

After the canoes left us, we stood out to sea. at noon, Nittenat bore north by west half west, three leagues distance; when [49] we stood along shore to the westward; our course being west by north. at six, Nittenat bore north east by north four leagues; and Cape Flattery south east by east, ten leagues distance; we now had a fresh gale from the eastward, with drizzling rain, which continued until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when it became calm.

At two in the morning of the 4th a breeze sprang up at west north west; got the tacks aboard, and stood to the south west: the weather had now become pleasant. at daylight, saw the land ranging from north east to west by north; we had many whales playing about the ship. at six Nootka sound bore north north east, twelve leagues distance, my latitude by observation at noon was $49^{\circ}3'$ north,² longitude $127^{\circ}11'$.

We continued the same course until four in the afternoon; when we tack'd and stood in north north east for the land; the wind having veered to the north west. at eight, saw the land bearing north, distance about twelve leagues. at eleven, again tack't ship to the west-

¹ See page 72, note 4, above.

² Probably the position of the ship as told him by the navigating officers: Hoskins was a clerk; it is unlikely that he could "shoot the sun."

ward. at four the next morning, saw the land ranging from east north east to north west. at noon, tack't ship, and stood to the northward; latitude by observation $48^{\circ}56'$ longitude $128^{\circ}18'$ west.¹

At midnight it was calm. at three in the morning of the 6th a light breeze sprang up at east south east; made all sail and stood to the westward. at ten, it veered to the southwest, and blew a strong gale; which soon reduced us to our close reefs. latitude at noon, $49^{\circ}34'$ north, longitude $127^{\circ}50'0''$ west; in the afternoon, the wind hauled [50] more to the southward; when the gale abated. but at midnight the wind again veered to the east south east, and the weather grew exceeding tempestuous; attended alternately with heavy squalls and dark rainy weather. at six in the morning, it became more moderate; so that at noon we had all sail set; latitude $51^{\circ}3'$ north, longitude $130^{\circ}10'$ west. at six in the afternoon, saw the south end of Washington's Island bearing north north west, distance eight or ten leagues. at eight shortened sail for the night.

At three in the morning of the 8th it was calm; when we saw the entrance of Barrell's Sound² bearing north north east, three leagues distance. at four, a light breeze sprang up from the eastward, with which we made sail and stood into the Sound. at eight, came to anchor with the small bower in twenty fathoms water over a rocky bottom.³

Our situation being by no means an eligible one. at nine Mr. Haswell was sent in the pinnace up the Sound in search of a more commodious and better sheltered anchoring place: at one in the afternoon, he returned; having found a better, about three miles farther up. at two, weighed and stood up the Sound; and at three, cast anchor in fifteen fathoms over a muddy bottom; moored ship with the two bowers, head and stern; when moored, the western shore was about a furlong distance: the eastern, two miles, and the village, south east six miles.⁴

¹ The *Columbia* now turns northward along the Vancouver Island shore, heading for the great trading ground of those days, the Queen Charlotte Islands, referred to by Hoskins (as by Haswell) as Washington's Island.

² So named in Haswell's first log. The *Columbia* had been there on June 11, 1789. See above, page 97 and note 4.

³ The *Columbia* has entered from the ocean side.

⁴ Perhaps near the entrance of Rose Harbor.

When we first cast anchor in the Sound; we were visited by about twenty natives, men, women, and children in two canoes, most of whom recollected Captain Gray; both men and women came on board [51] the ship without the least reserve: this is the first time since we have been on the coast that women have been aboard; some of them having their under lip perforated, and a peice of oval wood thrust into the incision:¹ they were always ready and willing to gratify the amorous inclinations of any who wish it; but Captain Gray very prudently forbid any of the ship's company having any connections with those women.

On Coyah the chief's being asked for, we were informed by several of the natives, particularly a woman, who was very intelligible: that Captain Kendrick was here sometime ago in a vessel with one mast, and lately in one with two; that he took Coyah, tied a rope round his neck, whipt him, painted his face, cut off his hair, took away from him a great many skins, and then turned him ashore: Coyah was now no longer a Chief, but an "Ahliko," or one of the lower class; they have now no head Chief, but many inferior Chiefs. how much credit is to be given to this story, when it is considered our knowledge of their language is so very superficial as scarcely to be understood but by signs: and from Captain Kendrick's well known disposition, who has hitherto treated these people more like children than an ignorant race of savages; it must therefore be supposed Captain Kendrick has been provoked by these peoples conduct to punish their Chief.²

A little after sunset, when most of the canoes were gone, Coyah himself came aboard; he appeared glad to see us, he said Captain Kendrick was good, had been here lately, shewing a blue coat and some blue nankin cloth that he gave him: he [52] said, also, that a Captain Barnard³ was here four days ago; to whom all their skins were sold; but if we would wait a few days, they would ketch us

¹ The labret. For other references see the Index.

² Hoskins returns to this subject on two subsequent occasions. See below, pages 204 and 240. For other accounts, see John Bartlett's narrative in *The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor*, 320f.; Frederic W. Howay, "The Ballad of the Bold Northwestman," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XX (April, 1929), 114-123; Frederic W. Howay, "A Ballad of the Northwest Fur Trade," *New England Quarterly*, I (January, 1928), 71-79.

³ Thomas Barnett, in command of the snow *Gustavus III*, alias the brig *Mercury*, originally

some; his tarry was short, he appeared to be much frightened, being in a constant tremor the whole time: he departed with a promise of returning again in the morning; but we never saw him afterwards.

The next day the pinnace was sent to survey the Sound. several canoes visited us, of whom was purchased five sea otter skins; one of which was just killed, and they skun on board; it was quite a small one: there were also purchased a few fine halibut.

In the forenoon of the 10th I accompanied Captain Gray in the pinnace to the head of the Sound;¹ which is about three or four miles from the ship, where we found a fine meadow; containing several acres, of part salt and part fresh; here is good red and white clover seed and other grass, some tobacco plants,² wild cellery, etca. this is the largest spot of cleared land any of us have seen on the Coast.

Not having been visited by the natives since the 9th at nine in the morning of the 12th unmoored ship, weighed, came to sail with the ebb tide, and endeavoured to beat out of the sound; but after making several boards, the wind being so directly a head and light, and the tide running, but with little force; we were obliged at noon to again cast anchor but little a head of the place from whence we weighed: the ship was moored head and stern with the small bower and stream anchor.

The next day the weather was rainy and disagreeable, with a fresh breeze; this however did not prevent the natives [53] from visiting us in a few canoes: among others was the Chief of a tribe on the eastern side of the Island, named Ugah; of whom one skin was purchased; this Chief, and the people in his canoe, are the only strangers we have seen since our arrival in the Sound.³

The weather being so very stormy that most of the natives who visited us yesterday took up their abode ashore, abreast of the ship: curiosity induced me to visit their habitations; which was the most

under British colors, but now under Swedish. From certain entries in Bartlett's MS. journal (e.g., July 4, 5, 1791), it appears that this snow traded under sail.

¹ The head of Rose Harbor.

² Dr. G. M. Dawson, in 1878, heard of this Indian tobacco but was not able to see it and hence could not say whether it was really tobacco. *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 115.

³ The chief of Skincuttle, an inlet about fifteen miles north of Houston Stewart Channel. He is frequently referred to in Ingraham's MS. journal. Hoskins mentions him again on July 24.

wretched that is possible to be conceived of; it was formed by three poles lash'd fast to the trees, going on a slant, covered with large sheets of hemlock bark; but open on all sides, not room to stand, and scarce sufficient to set upright: in the front was a fire, which served both to keep them warm and for cooking their provisions. thus were these miserable people almost smothered in smoke, barely sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, and crowded together in a small hovel (if so it may be called) men, women and children, without distinction, to the number of twelve.¹

Since the 13th the weather had been very stormy. at noon on the 16th the wind shifted to the westward, which soon brought clear, pleasant weather. at two weighed, came to sail and stood down the Sound; having got down about a mile and a half, the tide swept us towards some rocks; which oblig'd us to cast anchor, when the ship's stern swung over a reef, we being not a stones throw from the shore; run out the kedge and hawser, weighed the anchor, and warped off shore, weighed the kedge, and shot off under the stay sails near to the middle of the stream, where we [54] again came to with the small bower in twenty four fathom water, over a bottom of shells and mud: luckily, there was little or no send; therefore our ship did not strike, consequently did no other damage than alarm us for the time.

This Sound, which is called by the natives Congethoitoy; and by Captain Gray, on his former voyage, Barrell's Sound; in honor of Joseph Barrell Esquire of Boston; the principal owner and promoter of this voyage: is situated in Washington's Islands, about six leagues from the southermost extreme, in a north west direction; in latitude $52^{\circ}[8']$ north, longitude $131^{\circ}[5']$ west. there is two passages into this Sound, the one on the eastern, the other on the western side of the island; which makes the south part a separate island.² the eastern passage is dangerous, having many sunken rocks in its channel; the tide also here runs with considerable force; though there are several small coves w[h]ere a vessel may find shelter. the western passage is

¹ These were merely temporary habitations. They are much the same miserable shelters as are described by Dr. Dawson in his *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 118. The covering was cedar, not hemlock, bark.

² Kunghit or Prevost Island.

much the best, being clear; nor should I advise any vessel to go so far up the Sound as we did; but to run in behind an island, just at the entrance, on his starboard hand: there cast anchor before the village;¹ where he will find from ten to fifteen fathoms water over a sandy bottom. Captain Gray's objection to this place was; if it should come on to blow, and the ship drag, he would not have time to purchase his anchor and make sail: for as soon as you open out clear of the island, you first get a rocky bottom, and then none with one hundred fathom. but he afterwards altered his opinion, and thought [55] it much more eligible than w[h]ere we lay. there is a good passage either side of the island, so that a vessel may at any time put to sea. there are several small islands scattered about the Sound; particularly one in the western passage, or rather a huge barren rock, which is almost constantly covered with shags and gulls.

The land about the sound is in general of a moderate heighth; though there is some tolerably level, and back in the country some high hills made their appearance at times: the shores are of a craggy black rock: the trees are of various sorts of pine, with spruce, hemlock and alder, intermixt with small brush, several sorts of shrubs, currant, whortle, and other berry bushes; a few wild red and white rose bushes; and two or three sorts of fern; among the rocks are some strawberry vines. it was here I saw some trees of an incredible size; the largest of which measured ten fathoms in circumference; on one side was a hole cut, sufficiently large to enter by stooping a considerable; within was a spacious room, which appeared to be part dug, and part burnt out; I suppose this to be occasionally inhabited by travelling natives; as I found a mat, box and some other domestic utensils with fire works and dried wood within the room. this must have been a work of time, though now compleated, is very handy and convenient.

This tribe, when Captain Gray first visited it in the Washington, in the summer of 1789,² was large and powerful; had many skins. but they are now dwindled to a few, as we did not see more than fifty [56] different faces while here. this I think must be owing to

¹ Anthony Island, on which is the Indian village of Nin-stints. *Ibid.*, 15.

² Captain Gray was at Barrell's Sound (Houston Stewart Channel) in the sloop *Washington* on June 11, 1789.

the disturbance between them and Captain Kendrick: as their Chief has lost his power; it is possible his people have moved off to other tribes; or it may be the whole tribe have taken up their abode in some more favorable quarter. the seperating of them may also be attributed to some other cause; such as internal broils among themselves, or a more powerful tribes conquering them.

Those of the natives seen by us were in general of the middle stature; though there were some who exceeded it, and some below; particularly Coyah the chief, who was a little diminutive savage looking fellow as ever trod. though the countenances of many of them were the same; yet for the most part they were very open; particularly the women, who were really affable. as far as it respected us, they appeared to be an inoffensive, good people; but if I may hazard a conjecture, they were not, as far as it respected Captain Kendrick; who no doubt, by punishing them, brought them into this humble state. it is impossible almost to ascertain the colour of their bodies, for though they don't paint them, yet they are covered with dirt and grease; most of them indeed had their faces painted black, and hair cut short; this, I have since been informed, is practised in mourning for the loss of any of their Chiefs or relations, or any other calamity; having prevailed one day on a woman to have her face washed; when she discovered a pure glow of red and a perfect white;¹ one of the most delightful countenances my eyes ever beheld; indeed she was [57] a perfect beauty. from this specimen, we may believe these people to be white. this woman went into her canoe, and soon return'd again, with her face as black as ever; having been laughed at by her companions for having it washed. what a pity it is, these people delight so much in filth and nastiness; which to them no doubt is an ornament.

Their dress is a sort of mantle, made of various skins; such as the sea otter, sable, racoon, and some others,² so mutilated as not to be

¹ Captain Cook, speaking of the Indians of Nootka, says: "Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt; though in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations." *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 303. Ingraham says in his MS. journal under date September, 1791: "Their colour is as near white as any other."

² The cutsark of the maritime fur-traders; Ingraham, in his MS. journal (September, 1791), writes to the same effect.

known; also, european cloth and clothing, on which they have sewed in various directions as fancy or fashion suggests buttons, thimbles, china cash, peices of shells, etca. in this dress they have truly a grotesque appearance; there is another garment, which seems peculiar to the women; this is a thin leather frock, reaching a little below the knees, with sleeves, and tied under the chin; sometimes they are edged with a strip of sea otter skin: they also have a flaxen garment,¹ similar to those seen at Chickleset, which they put on at times over the leathern one. on their heads they wear a sort of a shallow, wicker work cap; this is tied under the chin. they have no covering for their legs and feet.

The ornaments most common are beads of various sorts, particularly the blue glass bead, of which they appear to be fond; buttons, shells, etca. etca. which they wear in large bunches round their necks; though these are peculiar to the females; yet there is another, if an ornament it can be called, the lip peice I before mentioned; 'tis not common for all to wear this, nor is it, as far as I could learn, any badge of distinction; for both the [58] chief and lower class of women wore them. this incissions seems to be made when the children are young; in the orifice is inserted a peice of copper wire, which keeps it sore and as they grow older, it is extended more and more; till it frequently becomes four inches in length, of a perfect oval, hollowed on each side, with a rim round its edge, to fit more firmly in the aperture: it is frequently inlaid with pearl shell, copper, etca. though these large lip peices are most common to those advanced in years; yet I have seen some old women with peices not bigger than the top of your finger. how frequently have I thought of the hardship of the curse denounced on woman by God Almighty in the Garden of Eden. but when I saw this lip peice, I could not help exclaiming against this second curse practised by man.

The men always wear an iron dagger in a leather case round their neck; some of which are double, so as to strike with either end. woulded round the handle with leather, and a leather thong to fasten it round the wrist when they are going to fight; these are always kept very sharp and bright: no other weapon did I see among them;

¹ Clothing made from the inner bark of the cedar, which, after being beaten until it was fine and soft, was spun into a coarse yarn and woven into a sort of robe or mantle.

though no doubt they have; save a few bows and arrows, which did not appear by any means calculated for war or defence.

Their principal dependance for food is on the sea; where they procure fish of different sorts; such as whale, large peices of which I have seen them eating in their canoes; which would emit a stench sufficient to make any of us sick; yet they devoured it with a most surprizing avidity. they also [59] get sharks, which are here very large;¹ porpoises, halibut, a kind of cod, etca. clams, limputs, muscles and other shell fish. they eat the flesh of seals, sealions, sea otters, and the various animals and birds the woods afford. they also eat the inner rind of a bark, boiled or stewed; which we took to be hemlock; the different sorts of fern roots, etca. in fact, nothing appeared to come amiss, all was devoured with equal indifference, cooked or uncooked. the men chew tobacco in its green state, with which they mix a white substance resembling lime; they put quids of this plant into their mouths as big as an hens egg.² their drink is oil and fresh water; sometimes I have seen them take large draughts of salt water from alongside; whether this was to quench thirst, or taken as a medicine, I know not.

As none of us ever visited them at their village; their domestic life is almost totally unknown to us. the utensils which have been seen in their canoes are wooden boxes and bowls of various shapes, neatly made, with human an[d] animal figures carved on them; and some very clever wicker work't baskets. in those wooden boxes they cook their provissions; which is done by heating stones, one person with a split stick putting in hot stones, and another taking them out as fast as they cool. in this way, they boil their water and make their fish and animal food into soups, etca. when done, it is taken up and put in bowls and distributed round to the family. their clams, muscles, and other shell fish are roasted, and eaten with oil as sauce. they have scoops, the one large, which holds about half a [60] pint,

¹ "Large sharks abound on the northern and western coasts of Queen Charlotte Islands and are much feared by the Haidas who allege that they frequently break their canoes and eat the unfortunate occupants." Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 111.

² This Indian tobacco was not smoked, but, after being mixed with lime (obtained by burning clamshells), was chewed or held in the cheek. Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 115. Ingraham's MS. journal (September, 1791) mentions this tobacco, of which he obtained seeds to plant in Massachusetts.

is white, and used to dip the soup out of the wooden boxes in to the bowls; the other is black, about the size of a common table spoon; this is used to eat with: they are neatly wrought, with human figures carved on the handle, and inlaid with copper. these were supposed by some of our gentlemen to be made of whale bone; and as I know of no horn sufficiently large to have been discovered on any part of this coast, I think it is very probable it may be.¹

Cooking is here the province of the women, in which they are very clean. the women also make their various garments, which are sewed together; the female having a number of sharp bones of various sizes, according to the fineness of the work; with one of these she makes a hole, then with the intestines of some animal, neatly twisted into a thread, she puts through it, and so continues to do till the work is done: thus, in this simple manner, is this work performed, and with a neatness, I may say elegance, that would not disgrace ladies in a more civilized country. the skins are all cleaned by the women; which are first scraped with a knife, or clam shell, and then rubbed with the ruf side of the star fish; keeping it well wet with fresh water; this operation is continued to be performed until the skin is sufficiently stretched, when it is left to dry.

Their principal amusements are singing and dancing; both of which they are extravagantly fond of; they have among them a game similar to our card playing; which is performed with a number of small sticks, about four inches long, and the size of your little finger; neatly made, variously [61] painted to distinguish them, and frequently inlaid with copper, shells, etca. at this game they sometimes play very high, and with great good humour.²

Their canoes are dug out of one log, with a narrow peice of board sewed round the upper edge, the head and stern nearly alike, they are frequently painted with a variety of fancy figures. the largest I saw carried fifteen men, women, and children with their travelling baggage and provissions very comfortably. their paddles are about

¹ The spoons, both large and small, were made from the horns of the mountain sheep (bighorn) or mountain goat. Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 142. Neither of these animals exists on the Queen Charlotte Islands; but their horns were obtained from the mainland tribes. Probably heat was used to shape the implements.

² The same game is described by Dawson in his *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands* (129) and by Ingraham in his MS. journal (September, 1791).

five feet long, and shaped some little similar to our oars; with these there canoes paddled very heavy.

In trade they dealt very honestly; nor did they discover any signs of a thievish disposition. our principal articles of traffick were chizels, or rather peices of Iron, ruffly formed into a similar shape. the women in trade, as well as in every thing else, which came within our knowledge, appeared to govern the men;¹ as no one dare to conclude a bargain without first asking his wife's consent; if he did, the moment he went into his canoe, he was sure to get a beating. this I have seen to be the case more than once, and there is no mercy to be expected without the intercession of some kind female.

Besides the fish and animals before mentioned; they have a variety of birds, such as wild turkies,² geese, and ducks; these are in no great abundance, the white headed eagle, herons, a black sea pie, with a red bill, ressembling those seen at Falkland Islands; shags, gulls, king fishers, etca. etca.

At three in the morning of the 17th we weighed and came to sail with the [62] ebb tide. at six, we were clear of the sound; it being our intention to go farther to the northward, and the wind being a head, we stretched of on our tacks to the southwest. at noon, the south extreme of the islands³ bore east, eight or ten leagues distance; tack'd ship and stood to the northward. from this to the 21st the wind continued to blow from northwest to west, with a clear, good weather; when it veered to the west southwest and became rainy, with a thick fog. at half past five in the afternoon, standing in for the land, the fog cleared a little, when it was seen bearing northwest by north, a quarter of a mile distance, and a large rock between us and the shore. (at seven Barrell's Sound bore north 67° 30' east, distance about six leagues.) wore ship, made all sail, and stood of to gain an offing. but before we could [gain] one sufficient, the wind (at ten in the evening) veered to the south west; having room only to make a short stretch up shore to the northward; we were obliged to stand

¹ All witnesses agree on this. See, for example, Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, IV. 254; Portlock, *Voyage round the World*, 290. Ingraham tells in his MS. journal (August 12, 1791) of an old Indian who, beaten by his wife because he had sold without consulting her, wished a refuge on the *Hope* until her rage cooled.

² See above, page 90, note 2.

³ Cape St. James.

to the southward, by which we lost more ground than we had gained since we came out. at ten the next morning, it again shifted to the westnorthwest; during the continuance of the wind at south west, it blew a strong gale, with heavy squalls and rain.

At noon by observation we were in latitude $51^{\circ}40'$ north, longitude $131^{\circ}24'$ West. at three in the afternoon bore away, and stood round the south end of the islands in hopes of meeting with better success on the eastern side.¹ at seven the south extreme of the islands bore west three leagues distance; of this part of the island are several smaller islands or rocks, and some under water; it is therefore necessary to give it a good birth.² we observed the variation by an azimuth to be $20^{\circ}22'$ east.³ [63]

During the night we had light and pleasant weather heard the cutting of wood at a distance which sounded as if on a vessels deck when the lanthorns were ordered to be hoisted at four the next morning (the 23d) the south extreme of the land bore south by east six leagues distance at half past five saw a sail to the northward which by her signals we soon discovered to be the Hope of Boston Joseph Ingraham commander⁴ when at a short distance he welcomed us with three cheers which was immediately returned the Hope hove to under our lee when the jolly boat was sent for Captain Ingraham who came on board and inform'd us that after stopping at St. Jago's one of the Cape de Verde islands he proceeded to Falklands islands being forced to leeward by the constant westerly winds he put into the Spanish settlement on the eastern side of the islands where after undergoing a proper examination he was treated by the Spaniards with the greatest hospitality who brought on board

¹ The traders soon discovered that there were no villages, except Cloak Bay and Houston Stewart Channel, on the western side of the Queen Charlotte Islands and in consequence no trade.

² Kerouart Isles, named by La Pérouse in 1786.

³ Up to this point Hoskins' unusually quixotic punctuation presented such serious obstacles to the reader that the editor found it necessary to omit many commas and semicolons. From this point on, the original MS. is almost completely devoid of punctuation.

⁴ Ingraham's journal entry for this date is as follows: "23d at 6 in the morning we descried a sail to the South'd of us and ahead as we were standing. I soon discovered it to be the *Columbia* and determin'd to speak her. Accordingly we made sail towards them. As soon as I tho't they could see us plain I had a French flagg hoisted at our Fore top gallant mast head and fir'd 2 guns which was the signall I inform'd Mr. Haswell I should make if I saw him on the coast in the small vessel the *Columbia* had on board in frame and which he was to command."

all his water in their own boats presented him with a bullock and the various other refreshments he wanted then told him to depart thus by this kind assistance of the Spaniards was he soon dispatched having tarried only four days.

From this he had a good passage round Cape Horn which he compleated in six days he touched at the Marquisseas islands where he procured a supply of hogs and vegetables the natives of these islands to use Captain Ingraham's own words "are as much handsomer particularly the women than the natives of Sandwich Islands as the women of Boston are [64] handsomer than a Guinea negro." after leaving this he discovered a group of Islands which he named [] Islands¹ he afterwards stopt at the Sandwich islands running along the north side of Owhyhee into Toeyahyah Bay w[h]ere he got a good supply of hogs and vegetables.

A man by the name of Ridley who was Captain Kendrick's carpenter and left at this Island by him when he went to China in December 1789 found means to get on board Captain Ingraham this man laid open as horrid and savage a scene as was ever heard of Captain Metcalf having been for some time on the Northwest coast of America in a Brig belonging to Newyork in company with a small Schooner commanded by his son was returning to China in his passage thither he stopt at these Islands where the Natives attempted to take him but luckily they did not succeed but this good fortune did not attend his son who arrived at Owhyhee in the small schooner shortly after when he was visited by the Chiefs Tommahommahoy and Tianna the latter of whom presented young Captain Metcalf with a feathered cap and cloak stood behind him putting it on to appearance with the greatest friendship and extolling the beauty of it in the midst of this seeming friendship he took him up in his arm and cast him into the sea where the natives in the canoes along side with their paddles soon put an end to his existance one of his people immediately snapped a pistol at Tianna this man was also killed the rest were fastened with their faces towards the deck and beat them most unmercifully they agreed however to spare [65] their lives provided they would navigate the schooner

¹ Washington, Adams, Federal, Lincoln, Franklin, Hancock, and Knox islands, of the group now known as the Marquesas.

against another of the Islands the tribe of which they are at war with these unfortunate men to save their lives in hopes of some future opportunity of getting away agreed and the schooner together with many hundred canoes is now employed in butchering their brethren of the other Islands old Captain Metcalf expecting his son had tarried at this island and at the time this horrid deed was perpetrating he was only a few miles to leaward.¹

Captain Ingraham's stay at these islands was short as he suspected the natives meant to attack him but being acquainted with their dispositions (which unfortunately for young Captain Metcalf that he was not) he took every necessary precaution to prevent a surprize his passage from thence to this Coast which he made in the latitude of $52^{\circ}20'$ north was good being only twenty four days he arrived the first of July it being a much longer passage from Boston than we had after tarrying on board some time congratulating each other on our safe arrival on the Coast and expressing a happiness much easier to be conceived than described on the meeting of friends in perfect health in a savage country returned on board his own vessel and we parted with three cheers each steering a different course.²

Three canoes with natives came alongside in one of which was Ugah a chief who visited us in Barrell's Sound of whom one skin was purchased at noon our latitude by observation was $52^{\circ}24'$ north longitude $131^{\circ}4'$ west supposing ourselves near a shoal that runs from this island we sounded but got [66] no bottom with fifty fathom of line we now stood over north for the Continent the extremes of Washingtons islands from north north west to south $6^{\circ}0'$ west.

At noon on the 24th saw Hatche's Island³ bearing north my latitude by observation $53^{\circ}4'$ north longitude $130^{\circ}0'$ west at five close in with the land the wind having veered so far to the north-

¹ The well-known Kamehameha and the almost equally well-known Kaiana. This account is inaccurate. The principals in the capture of the *Fair American* were Kameeiamoku and Kaiana. Kamehameha was not implicated. No attempt was made to take Captain Metcalfe's brig, the *Eleanora*; but her boat was stolen and a sailor killed. For a concise and correct statement, see R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu, 1938), 24f.

² All these matters are set forth in detail in Ingraham's MS. journal of the *Hope*.

³ Named after Crowell Hatch, one of the owners of the *Columbia*. It is now Bonilla Island, in Hecate Strait, a conspicuous landmark.

ward that we fetch'd to leaward of what we expected tack'd ship and stood to the southward at eight the northermost rocks bore northwest by north the southermost south at ten shortened sail and tackt to the northward with an intention of plying to windward through the straits.

At one the next morning sounded and got bottom with a line of one hundred and ten fathoms at two again sounded and found bottom with one hundred and twenty fathoms at three made sail at noon not having gain'd any to windward bore away and stood to the southward steering east south east at one hoisted out the pinnace Mr. Haswell was sent in her armed within the ship along shore in search of a village at half past three a stragling canoe with two natives came along side of which three sea otters just killed were purchased for a jacket and a knife these men informed us their village was through a passage between some islands ahead then turn to the northward the ship hove to and the pinnace was dispatch'd to find the village at eight she returned when Mr. Haswell reported he went through the passage between the islands when he opened a large Bay several leagues over there was a large sound stretching to the northward which he went up some way and saw many leagues farther but no village or sine of any [67] it growing late he prosecuted his discoveries no further he also said, where he had been there was no place he thought prudent for the Ship to attempt to enter the Bay the pinnace was hoisted in made sail off shore making short boards all night at two the next morning stood in for the land at seven being within two miles hove to in hopes some of the natives might come of to us but we were disappointed as none made their appearance at eleven made sail and again attempted to beat to windward at noon observed the latitude to be $53^{\circ}6'$ north longitude $129^{\circ}40'$ west the enterance between the Islands into the Bay bore north east by north four leagues distance its latitude is therefore $53^{\circ}12'$ north longitude $129^{\circ}24'$ west the south point of land east south east six leagues distance its latitude $52^{\circ}54'$ north longitd. $129^{\circ}20'$ west.¹

Having made little or no progress to the northward since the

¹ Failing to make northing in Hecate Strait by tacking, the *Columbia* turned southward and is now in the vicinity of the southern end of Banks Island.

26th and it being a very pleasant day it was determined to have further search made in the Bay Mr. Haswell entered three days ago the pinnace was therefore sent on the morning of the 28th with eight men well armed under the command of Mr. Caswell with orders to find the village if possible there were several articles of our traffick sent in the boat that in case he should fall in with the village or natives he might be enabled to procure skins.

At noon my latitude was $53^{\circ}14'$ north at four in the afternoon I accompanied Captain Gray ashore abreast of the ship we saw several places that would afford shelter for small vessels the shore is almost one continued mass of rocks we landed on the banks of a small fresh water rivulet which we traced about half a mile we saw some fowl such [68] as brants, shags, divers etca. but so amazing shy we could not get a shot at them after rambling about for some time we returned on board.

At eight the pinnace returned was hoisted in and we made sail Mr. Caswell informed he entered the Bay between two islands which he ran across it being six leagues over to the southwest he saw out to sea a head was a large sound which he supposes he saw six leagues up but did not see the head another at the same time presented itself to the northward this being the one the natives said the village was he ran up it with a fair wind ten or twelve leagues and saw as much farther it bending almost imperceptibly to the westward he seeing no village or native nor vestige of any return'd not thinking it prudent with so little prospect of advantage to go a greater distance from the ship¹ It is I think very probable this may be a large straits which empties itself some distance to the northward making all this front land a large cluster of Islands nor is this far from the situation in which the Straits of Admiral de Fonte² are laid down we found the variation here to be $21^{\circ}35'$ by an azimuth.

The weather now became rainy and squally without any alteration in the wind until the 30th during which time we continued to ply we now stretched over for the islands which at four in the

¹ It is believed that Caswell had gone through Otter Passage, which separates Banks Island from the Estevan Islands, crossed Nepean Sound, looked up Principe Channel, and, continuing eastward, had had a glimpse up Squally Channel.

² Many people then believed in the alleged voyage of de Fonte; but the geography of the region now conclusively proves it a hoax.

morning we saw extending from south by west to west by north seven or eight leagues distance the wind became very light and variable with intervening calms at eleven a light breeze came from the south east with which we [69] stood along shore to the northward at one in the afternoon two canoes with twelve men came of one of which was a Chief named Comsuah he brought no skins with him but said he had plenty at his village and requested us to go in and anchor we stood in towards the village till six when the pinnacle was hoisted out and Mr. Haswell was sent in her to seek a harbour he found one well sheltered from the northerly but open to a southerly wind¹ at sunset the natives left us with a promise of returning again in the morning with skins if we would wait at ten in the evening it became calm when we came to with stream anchor and hawser in twenty four fathom water over a muddy bottom three miles distance from the land the night was calm and rainy.

At day light heard a singing of the natives and shortly after saw two canoes at a great distance coming in from sea at eight they came along side when the natives in them informed [us] they saw us on the main and had followed us over they sold us a few skins and then went to Comsuah's village 'tis very probable these natives belonged to the same tribe with those that sold us the three sea otters a few days since this however seems to be a convincing proof that there is a trade carried on between the natives of the island and main no doubt the latter trade with more remote tribes.²

At nine many canoes came of from the village with skins with Comsuah their Chief at ten a brisk trade commenced which lasted until noon when the wind began to blow a little fresh they [70] got scared and requested us to go nigher in to their village on this being refused they left us this being a fair wind Captain Gray thought best to embrace this first opportunity to go to the northward which we had been long wishing for the season now being so far advanced that if we did not go now we might not be enabled to go at all accordingly at one in the afternoon we weighed came to sail and stood off shore north north east.

¹ The *Columbia* now crosses Hecate Strait and reaches Cumshewa Inlet, one of the best places for sea-otter skins in the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² Hoskins is right in both conclusions.

This village I was informed by the natives is called Tooschcondolth¹ its latitude is $53^{\circ}2'$ north longitude $131^{\circ}30'$ west it is situated on a point on each side of which from our situation there appeared to be a deep Sound within which no doubt there may be found a good harbour and at no great distance from the village but time and inclination gave us no opportunity of searching.

How happy should we have been had this village been known to us on our first coming to the eastern side of these Islands and how much better would our time have been employed and to much more advantage than it has been in beating about to no proffit² for this village if I may be allowed to judge from the specimen we had during our short tarry will afford a great abundance of skins we having procured no less than forty nine sea otter skins, twenty four peices of sea otter skin and thirteen sea otter tails mostly purchased with chizzels from two to four for a skin thus in all probability should we have reaped a most noble harvest and it is with the greatest regret I leave this certainty for an uncertainty. [71]

We continued our course north north east until five when we steered north at ten shortened sail and stood to the northwest sounded and got ground with a line of twenty fathoms at eleven had eighteen and at midnight seventeen fathoms water the course was now north. 1791. *August*. At one in the morning of the first of August got ground with sixteen and a half fathom and at two with twenty fathom at three made all sail and at eight our course was west.

At noon our latitude by observation was $54^{\circ}33'$ north the west³ end of Washingtons islands north by west four miles distance stood along shore past several inlets wherein no doubt there are many good harbors at three saw a great number of sealions on a large rock within us the pinnace and jolly boat were sent in pursuit of them in hopes of procuring some for the sake of their oil but the boats returned without killing any our course was now west

¹ On the north side of Cumshewa Inlet, a most indifferent roadstead, so named from its hereditary chief. It is now called Cumshewa.

² Again Hoskins is right in his criticism of Captain Gray.

³ The ship's position clearly shows that Hoskins has inadvertently written "west end" for "east end." The *Columbia's* course from Cumshewa Inlet, from which she had sailed twenty-three hours before, covered roughly ninety miles; and her average speed was about four miles an hour.

north west at eight in the evening having proceeded as far to the northward as Captain Gray intended going this season the topsails were double reefed hauled our wind to the southward standing off shore intending to keep on our tacks for the night the westernmost land at this time bore west six leagues and the southernmost point south south west fifteen leagues distance being abreast of a deep sound¹ at ten the wind increased into a fresh gale from the east south east with such an exceeding thick fog that we seldom could see many yards ahead at half past eleven we were much alarmed by a very dangerous reef of rocks being descried but [72] at a short distance under our lee bow which we but narrowly escaped as the ship in tacking by good fortune went about.

At eight in the evening of the next day the weather clearing a little the land was seen extending from south to south east by east on the north we are entirely land locked² and without a change of wind it is impossible for us to beat out.

At daylight on the morning of the 3d finding the rapid current occasioned by the strong easterly gale had set us close in on a lee shore there being no appearance of the gales abating we stood in on the western shore to a place that had the appearance of a harbour the wind baffling we were disappointed at six bore away and stood to the northward through what was supposed to be a straits between the continent and some islands³ in hopes it would carry us clear of the land where we might have plenty of sea room at nine land appearing in almost every quarter but the western judging that was the passage hauled in that direction but we had not run two hours before the land was seen close aboard of us the fog clearing a little there appeared to be one continued ridge of high mountains in this quarter⁴ another passage now opened to the northwest⁵ which was directly to leeward it was thought the height of imprudence to attempt this passage for should it prove as

¹ The *Columbia*, after leaving Cumsheewa Inlet, has sailed northward along the eastern coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, seen Rose Point, and, continuing northward, has now reached the entrance of Clarence Strait.

² Somewhere east of Prince of Wales Island and in the mouth of Clarence Strait.

³ That part of Clarence Strait between Prince of Wales Island and the Gravina group.

⁴ Kasaan Bay, which in the fog had at first seemed a strait.

⁵ Clarence Strait, beyond the entrance to Kasaan Bay.

abortive as the one to the westward we should have a lee shore to contend against with a heavy foul ship strong gale of wind and thick foggy weather which would give us but little chance to save our ship if we did our lives which would [73] be drawn out in a miserable existence in a savage country and to beat about in this narrow unknown place was not prudent thus were we most disagreeably situated.

It was therefore determined to be best to make if possible a harbor on the weather shore where the ship might ride out the gale the ship was immediately tackt standing over east north east stretching in near the eastern shore¹ when the pinnace was hoisted out and Mr. Haswell sent in her to search for an anchoring place the ship in the meantime making short boards in order to keep her station at two in the afternoon Mr. Haswell returned having found a place where the ship might come to with safety there being also two small islands² which afforded some little shelter it now became necessary to carry a press of sail to beat up to our anchoring ground which we did and at half past three came to with the best bower in fifteen fathom water finding the ship dragged let go the small bower veered out the whole of the best and about half the small bower cable the sheet, stream and spare anchors were got in readiness to let go should they be wanted the land to the northward was about four miles and that to the southwd. one mile distant at half past four the pinnace was sent with Mr. Haswell to the northward to examine the shore and search for a better harbour in case of accident we should be drove from our anchors. the people in the meantime were set to work to repair the rigging much of which had parted during the gale at nine the pinnace returned without finding so [74] good a place as this we are in.

The gale continued with heavy squalls rain and fogs till the forenoon of the 5th when it abated in the afternoon Captain Gray and myself went ashore abreast of the ship we found several peices of

¹ The *Columbia* now stands over from the western to the eastern side of Clarence Strait and reaches the western end of Revillagigedo Channel.

² Guard Island, which at high water shows as "two low, rocky, high-water islets, one west from and considerably larger than the other, and both bearing shrubs and a few trees." *Pacific Coast Pilot, Alaska* (Washington, 1883), 82.

wood that had been recently burnt which is a sufficient proof this place is visited occasionally by the natives and we are in hopes as soon as the weather again becomes settled to see some there is a great plenty of raspberries whortleberries and a small red berry also wild pease a sufficient quantity of which were gathered for the cabin.

In the morning of the next day Captain Gray and Mr. Caswell went in the jolly boat on a shooting party in the afternoon they return'd with but little game in their excursion they found an excellent river of salmon about six miles to the southward of the ship.

At nine in the morning of the 7th Captain Gray, Mr. Haswell, Mr. Caswell and myself went in the pinnace with eight men armed to Salmon River¹ where we had not been long before Mr. Caswell had the good fortune to shoot a Deer and in about two hours we caught an hundred fine salmon which are much smaller than those we have on our side the continent the method we used to catch these fish was to send several of the people up above the falls with long poles to thrash in the water and drive the fish down while others stood below with harpoons, granes, boathooks etca. etca. the fish were very plenty more than ever we now regretted there was no seine on board the [75] ship had there been in a short time we should have filled the boat which either smoaked or salted are excellent this River runs about half a mile from the sea in a serpentine form when it branches out into several small brooks which are lost in the woods the banks are level with fine fields of grass on which we saw six Deer sporting.

At nine in the evening a large canoe made its appearance there were ten natives in it who after greeting us with a song came aboard they said they had no skins but that there was a great plenty at Sushin² the village they came from they requested leave to sleep on board which was granted them At sunrise the next morning [August 8] they left us with a promise of returning again in a few days with skins and went up the sound At nine a small canoe with four natives came along side in which was an elderly man who

¹ A creek which falls into the head of Ward Cove, which is six miles southward along Revillagigedo Channel.

² An Indian village at the entrance of Cholmondeley Sound, long since deserted.

appeared to be a Chief named Clinokah this man came on board he appeared to view everything with amazement and while in the cabbin was much agitated he soon left us and went up the sound.

Having thus happily found there was a village at no great distance and the weather had now become settled unmoored ship and at noon weighed and beat out of the port which was called Port Tempest with a fresh turning breeze from the westward plyed all night to windward for the village Sushin but in the morning [August 9] the wind being light and variable with frequent calms at the same time a very strong tide set us down the Sound into a deep inlet at nine a large canoe full [76] of natives came along side in which was a Chief belonging to Sushin named Sinhait of whom many good skins were purchased.

At two in the afternoon the Pinnace and jolly boat were sent to survey this Inlet and search for anchorage the boats soon returned having found a good anchoring place but the wind favouring us with a light breeze with the boats a head towed out at midnight the tide turning against us came to in fifty fathom water over a muddy bottom with the stream anchor and hawser. In the evening the natives who visited us at Port Tempest¹ returned having their canoes full of dried salmon packt in bails whether these people had been to purchase these fish or have a party belonging to their village a catching and drying them I could not learn they again requested permission to sleep on board which was granted.

At four the next morning [August 10] again weighed came to sail and with the boats a head stood to the northwest for the village² at ten it became calm when the stream anchor was let go in twenty eight fathom water the enterance of the Sound bearing east south east and Port Tempest north east by north the ship about a mile distant from the nearest land³ being at anchor on a fishing bank we caught several large halibut we were visited by many natives with skins.

¹ Hoskins' Port Tempest was, I believe, Tongass Narrows, near the western end of Revillagigedo Channel. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII. 349-351.

² Sushin, on Cholmondeley Sound.

³ The ship has reached the western side of Clarence Strait near the entrance of Kasaan Bay.

In the forenoon of the next day the pinnacle was sent to a small cove at a short distance a fishing at noon she returned with fourteen large halibut.

In the afternoon there was a large canoe full of natives entered the Sound [77] Clinokah on seeing it appeared to be quite frantic running about the decks like a madman calling to his canoes that were ashore to come of and requesting us to fire at the strange canoe and support him for he said they were coming to kill him as soon as his canoes came of the natives came on board drew their daggers ran fore and aft brandishing them bawling most vociferously and offering by the most threatenng motions and gestures every possible insult to these strangers¹ having but a superficial knowledge of their language of course we could not so well know what might be their intentions they were therefore all but the Chief sent into their canoes our arms and ammunition being at the same time got in readiness as we meant to stand on the defensive as the strange canoe came up in shore those others went on the opposite side of the ship when at about half a mile distant they landed all but six the canoe then advanced towards us singing the one who I suppose was chief standing up in the middle apparently unarm'd when within about fifteen or twenty yards of the ship they stopt and a conference was opened between the two chiefs which continued for sometime with the greatest vehemence when it appeared to be settled and the canoe went ashore she soon after returned with the rest of the natives being thirty five in number when they came alongside Clinokah and his people had a private conference after which the strangers gave an entertainment first of dried fish then of berries in oil which they eat with spoons as in our country we do berries and milk when this feast was over both parties [78] joined in an agreeable song sung to the most lively air. Matters to appearance being thus happily adjusted Clinokah introduced to our acquaintance this new Chief with whom we could not speak a word as he talked a language very different to what any of us have yet heard² he brought several

¹ The natives from Sushin and that side of Clarence Strait were Kaigahnee Haida, an intrusion into Tlingit territory. The newcomers were Tlingit.

² The languages previously met were Nootkan, Kwakiutl, Tsimshian, and Haida. This was the first contact with Tlingit.

fine skins which were soon purchased as Clinokah was good enough to be our interpreter and to trade for him.

The morning of the 12th was calm and pleasant at sunrise one canoe came alongside in which was six men (extraordinary well armed with spears daggers bows and arrows covered with mats in the bottom of their canoe this I did not know till long after they had gone) they sold two small skins and invited me to go on shore to take breakfast with them on roast fish and berries this I declined though not suspecting any ill design they had after baiting Mr. Caswell's fish hook according to their mode they went ashore abreast of the ship as they said to get skins but we saw no more of them.

Mr. Caswell being very urgent to go to a cove¹ not far distant from the ship to fish frequently requested Captain Grays permission which as he intended to get under way as soon as there came any wind granted with reluctance at nine Mr. Caswell went in the jolly boat with two hands² taking with him only one musket he had not been gone long before a gun was heard to fire and shortly after a confused noise as those of geese, brants etca. which are in plenty here at half past eleven a fresh breeze sprang up from the east south east fired a gun as a signal for the boat to return at noon not [79] seeing the boat fired another gun and hoisted the flag weighed and came to sail stretching to the eastward a little way then hove about and stood in for the cove where the boat was gone to fish when we came near the land fired another gun but seeing nothing of the boat the pinnace was sent well manned and armed under command of Mr. Smith in search of her tacked the ship and stood off a little way then again tacked and stood in for the shore saw the pinnace returning with the jolly boat in tow without any person in her and soon discovered they had a flag hoisted halfmast with this melancholy token they approached the ship and when they came alongside I saw my worthy friend Mr. Caswell laying dead in the bottom of the boat stripped perfectly naked and stabbed in upwards

¹ This cove is later referred to as Massacre Cove. Its location is believed to have been between Cholmondeley Sound and Skowl Bay, on the western side of Clarence Strait. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII. 349-351.

² Joseph Barnes and John Folger.

of twenty places this was a sight too shoken ever to be effaced from my memory there was not a dry eye on board the ship indeed it would have melted the hardest heart to have been present and heard the lamentations of the surviving friends of so worthy a man but I forbear.

Mr. Smith reported when he entered the cove he saw the jolly boat laying at anchor a small distance from the shore but no person in her supposing they had gone into the woods a gunning but he soon found himself mistaken for ere he had gone far he saw the body of Joseph Barnes laying dead on the beach stripped of every thing but his trouses but saw nothing of John Folger fearing least the natives might be laying in ambush he dare not land to take of the corps but took the jolly boat in tow with Mr. Caswell as he found him [80] and came on board.

I think this must have been a premeditated scheme of the natives and that our boat was beset by a great superiority in numbers prompted by a desire to possess themselves of their cloaths and arms as soon as the boats returned the jolly boat was hoisted up and sail made for Port Tempest at six in the evening anchored with the best bower in seventeen fathom water and moored with the stream anchor in nearly our former situation.

On the 13th the weather was clear and pleasant at ten after divine service having been performed the remains of my departed friend were interred with all the solemnity our situation would admit.¹

Mr. Joshua Caswell was about twenty six years of age born of reputable parents in the Town of Malden a small town about four miles from Boston early in life he went to sea in the beginning of the late war he was so unfortunate as to be taken by the english who retained him a prisoner during the greatest part of the remainder of it on the happy return of peace he again followed the sea and by his merit soon rose to be a Captain in the merchant service this he gave up and took the office of second mate of this ship having a great prediliction for the voyage in every respect he was a reputable good seaman of a most happy serene placid disposition in most cases too passive he was loved and beloved by all who knew him

¹ Boit gives some details not to be found in Hoskins' version. See below, pages 375-377.

he was an honest man which Pope says "is the noblest work of God."
[81]

The wind continued to the eastward until the morning of the 15th when it became variable at nine weighed came to sail and endeavoured to beat out but the tide being contrary again cast anchor in thirty fathom water to wait till its turn at two in the afternoon the tide being favorable and the wind settled in the west north west again weighed and beat out of the Port at five being clear made all sail and kept away to the eastward steering east south east standing down the sound.

To the place we are now leaving was given the name of Brown's Sound in honor of Samuel Brown Esquire of Boston its latitude is $55^{\circ}18'$ north and longitude $132^{\circ}20'$ west.¹

It will no doubt be recollected under what circumstances we entered the Sound the untoward ones which followed together with our small intercourse with the natives and imperfect knowledge of their language gave us no opportunity of gaining any knowledge of ourselves or determining with any precision on that derived from the natives of the extent of this Sound.

Suffice it therefore to say it branches out into many arms the principal of which are first Port Tempest if a port it can be called which is on the east side of the sound our boat was sent up this arm and found it trending to the east inclining to south as far as the eye could reach tis very probable this may come out at the Bay to the southward and join the arm Mr. Caswell went up which trended to the westward there is another arm which runs to the north² and another to the northwest³ up which the natives informed me was a village called Cahta there [82] is also another exactly opposite to the entrance of the sound bearing west north west and east south east of each other when we had sailed with the ship some distance up this last mentioned the horizon was plainly seen without any obstruction as far as the eye could reach⁴ it is very possible this may be a straits which empties itself at some distance to the

¹ A portion of Clarence Strait, between Prince of Wales Island and the Gravina group.

² The arm trending to the east is Revillagiedo Channel; that running to the north, Behm Canal.

³ Kasaan Bay.

⁴ Clarence Strait.

northward there is another arm which trends to the west southerly¹ up which I was informed by the natives was their village of Sushin besides these are several small inlets, one river which has heretofore been mentioned and one small cove which on account of our officer being murdered in it was called massacre Cove we nowhere found any convenient harbour though we did anchorage in various parts and every where wood and water was plenty.

The land on the east side of the sound is tolerably level but on the west there are high mountains whose summits out top the clouds and whose wintry garbs gives them a most dreary aspect in all parts the land is well covered with trees particularly the various sorts of pines and shrubs that have been found on other parts of the coast.

The only animals seen by us were Deers and wolfs sea otters and seals nor was any other besides those two last mentioned seen with the natives though no doubt there may be we found an abundance of halibut and salmon and a few of a species of cod etca. also geese, ducks, brants, shags, divers, [83] and gulls a few of which were procured among the woods were seen a few crows and white headed eagles the insect tribe are pretty numerous here particularly gnats, moscheto, and sandflies whose stings are exceeding venomous some of our people who were on shore on duty were stung to such a degree that their limbs swelled so as to become totally useless there is also the common fly, butterfly and a few humble bees.

Little knowledge can be expected for reasons before given as to their numbers manners or customs for my own part I believe them to be a few fishermen belonging to some neighbouring tribe scattered about the sound in temporary huts to follow the fish and to procure that most necessary article of subsistence this again in some measure seems to be confuted when it is considered that but seldom a few poor fishermen the number seen by us not exceeding forty except the strange canoe before mentioned are possess'd of so great a number of skins as we purchased being no less than ninety five sea otter skins, eighty nine peices of sea otter skin and twenty four sea otter tails mostly for chizzels this was a great acquisition and exceeded our most sanguine expectations on natives being first discovered and but for the fate of our unfortunate officer we should

¹ Cholmondeley Sound.

leave this place with the greatest regret but it is probable [84] we shall again visit this sound before we leave the Coast.

Their language and dress is very similar to what we have heard and seen at Washington's Islands except one which was peculiar to the natives of Cahta this was a wooling mantle fine neatly wrought and evidently of their own manufacture some white others only the ground work white beautifully diversified with various fancy figures and of the most lively colors of yellow, green, red, dark brown, black etca. these appeared to be wove in with the mantle and rais'd like the pile on velvet on others there were tassels which form'd the figures these as they walkt would naturally move which had a pleasing effect the top edge was trimmed with sea otter furr and on the bottom was a deep fringe upon the whole I think this one of the prettiest peices of workmanship I have yet seen on the coast these people could not be induced to part with any of those garments though they were offered a very valuable consideration.¹

At five² as I before observed we stood down the sound at eight Port Tempest bore north by west five leagues and Massacree Cove west three leagues distance at midnight [August 15] a sail was seen in the south east quarter which at two in the morning we spoke she was the Hancock of Boston Samuel Crowel master.³

At nine Captain Gray and myself went on board the Hancock when we heard of the welfare of our friends but were disappointed in having no letters we were informed they sailed from Boston the beginning of november last in the latitude of [85] 0°57' north longitude 27°40' west atlantic ocean they saw several large rocks which on their first appearance they supposed to be a fleet of shipping having shipped a sea which swept their boats etca. of deck they put

¹ The so-called Chilcat blanket, a ceremonial blanket worn by Indians of rank and wealth. The warp was of cedar bark fiber; the woof, of the wool of the mountain goat. See a description and illustration in Albert P. Niblack, "Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Annual Report* (1888), United States National Museum, plates 9 and 10; Dawson, *Report on Queen Charlotte Islands*, 107.

² Haswell's second log begins at this point.

³ An American brigantine of Boston, 157 tons, which was trading on the Northwest Coast in 1791 and 1792. This reference, with those in Haswell's second log (August 16, 1791, and numerous others, including April 27, 1792) and those in Ingraham's MS. journal of the *Hope* (April 26, July 3, 4, 5, 6, 1792) constitutes our present knowledge of her voyage. Cf. Frederic W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794," *Transactions, Royal Society of Canada*, 3d Series, XXIV. 121-122, 125.

into St. Salvador a Portuguese settlement on the Brazil coast where they at first found some difficulty in procuring their necessary supplies on account as they say of having no Sea letters but after undergoing a strict examination they were supplied with every thing they wished after leaving this they again stopt at Staten land killed many seal, procured wood and water in coming out of the harbor they struck on a ledge of rocks but got of without doing any damage from this they proceeded to double Cape Horn it being a late season they had a most boisterous time they stopt at Massafueiro and filled up their water and again at Owhyhee where they procured a supply of hogs, potatoes and other vegetables and purchased forty sea otter skins from the natives who inform'd the sailors belonging to Captain Metcalf's vessel had stole and sold them for various articles.¹ It is worthy of remark and would be no dishonor to any person in the most civilized country Captain Crowel, Mr. Crayton and Mr. Adamson landing at Owhyhee were received by Tianna who after conducting them to the various parts of the island they wished to visit told Mr. Adamson (he having before visited these islands and understood the language) that he had them now in his power that it was his people's wish he should kill them and seize their vessel but that he would not take any advantage of people who [86] trusted themselves within his territories and had satisfied his people by telling them to wait till the morrow noon when they had his liberty to attack them and as they were not ignorant of their vessels force no doubt would carry them he would therefore advise them to leave the island before that time in the meantime they were at liberty to recreate themselves on shore without any molestation thus was this Chiefs humanity shown in a most conspicuous light and saved the vessel and lives of the crew belonging to her.² Captain Crowel and the gentlemen immediately returned on board and in the evening sailed for this Coast where they arrived on the 14th of July last since their arrival they set up the frame of a long boat they brought out at the time they were launching her

¹ Probably these skins were part of the loot from the *Fair American*, captured in January, 1790. Colnett had, in April, 1791, at the same island, obtained skins from the same source.

² Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery* (v. 113f.) has a short account of a plan by the natives of Kauai to capture the *Hancock* by scuttling her. This would appear, however, to be a different occasion, probably early in 1791.

the natives appeared in a body to prevent them this caused a battle to ensue in which four of the natives were killed and several others wounded without their receiving any damage¹ since which they have had several skirmishes this boat has been fitted out sloop rigged and is now a cruizing under the conduct of Mr. Adamson² at the north end of Washington's islands at noon we again return'd on board.³

Nothing could have come more seasonably to the relief of our depressed spirits which were already desponding under our late misfortune than these new friends to whom we could make known our loss which is a great alleviation of our pain.

At noon the wind became variable with which we steered south east at six the nearest land in sight bore west five leagues. [87]

At two in the morning of the 17th the wind settled to the southward when we wore ship and stood to the west south west at four saw Washington's Islands extending from south to west south west about ten leagues distance stood along to the westward with light variable winds the Hancock still in company⁴ at eight finding the water appeared to be thick and muddy hove a cast of the lead when we were much alarmed at having less than three fathom water however we hauled of and presently deepened it to twelve fathom at ten having a bay open we began to ply to windward for it having from twelve to three fathom water the Hancock several mile to windward we soon wrought a head of her when their long boat made its appearance and soon after Mr. Adamson came on board at

¹ Boit severely blames Captain Crowell for these deaths, and claims that the murder of the three men of the *Columbia* was a direct result. See below, page 377.

² John William Adamson. He had been with Meares's expedition of 1788; in 1791 and 1792 he was second mate on the *Hancock*; and in 1793-1795 he was in command of the British ship *Jenny* of Bristol.

³ Subject to further investigation, it would appear that the chronology of early vessels built on the Northwest Coast is: in 1788, the *North West America*, at Nootka, by Meares; in 1789, the *Santa Saturnina*, at Nootka, by Martinez; in 1791, another *Santa Saturnina*, by the Spaniards at Nootka; in July, 1791, the *Hancock's* tender, at the Queen Charlotte Islands; in the winter of 1791-1792, the *Adventure*, by Captain Gray at Clayoquot Sound; and, in 1792, the tender to the *Margaret* of Boston, and the tender to the *Three Brothers* of London, both built at Nootka.

⁴ The *Columbia* has returned down Clarence Strait, crossed over to the Queen Charlotte Islands, and now, in company with the *Hancock* (and later her tender also), is following the northern shore towards Masset Harbor.

noon we cast anchor in six fathom water over a muddy bottom but the ship did not bring up their being a strong tide a running until we had veered out seventy fathom of cable at three the Hancock came in and anchored in company a few miles a head.

The next morning Mr. Haswell was sent in the pinnace armed on a survey of the River¹ a few natives visited us with skins among others was a Chief named Kow² belonging to Clegauhny a tribe so called who inhabit a bay to the westward of Brown's sound this man was very serviceable to us in trade and very intelligible he informed me this river ran some distance into the country terminating in a lake³ which was supplied by a number of small rivulets which abound with salmon round this lake are situated their villages as I had an idea this might afford [88] a passage through to the eastern side of the island I questioned him on that head his answers were so very clear that I have no longer a doubt of its being anything more than a river as he described.

At four in the afternoon the Hancock weighed and stood down the river but unfortunately took the ground our boats were immediately sent to her assistance and she was got of without receiving any material damage Captain Crowel and Mr. Crayton honored us with a visit in the evening.

At ten the next morning the Hancock sailed the natives brought us a few skins which were purchased as also some fish.

The morning of the 20th was foggy with drizzling rain the natives brought of four skins which were purchased finding this place pretty well drained of its skins and that it was Captain Crowels intention to make the southern coast in his rout to China it was therefore determined to stay here no longer but if possible get to the southward before him we accordingly at half past nine weighed with a light westerly wind and ebb tide and beat out of the river at

¹ The so-called river is Masset Sound. Captain Crowell had named it Hancock's River, but the Indian name, Masheet, shown in Haswell's second log, has persisted in anglicized form.

² Ingraham, in his MS. journal of the *Hope*, frequently mentions this chief, who with Cunneyah seems in 1791 to have had his principal home on Parry Passage and in the vicinity of Cloak Bay; but in July, 1792, Ingraham records that Kow had moved across Dixon Entrance to Kaigahnee (Clegauhny), Dall Island.

³ The lakelike body of salt water, now called Masset Inlet, which connects with Masset Harbor by the riverlike Masset Sound.

one in the afternoon the tide began to set strong against us which obliged us to cast anchor in six fathom water over a muddy bottom four miles distance from the river it bearing south by east a remarkable round hill¹ on a low point of land being the north east extreme of the islands of which is a shoal for which reason it was denominated Cape Lookout I have since learnt the natives call it "Nacoon"² or "whale point" from the number of whales which run ashore yearly there bore north east by east five leagues distance the north west extreme of the island in sight [89] west half south two and a half leagues the southeast part of Murderers Cape³ a point of land at the western entrance of Brown's sound so named north north west.

This river was lately discovered by Captain Crowel who named it Hancocks River in honor of His excellency John Hancock Governor of the State of Massachusetts but is called by the natives Masheet it is situated at the north end of Washington's Islands in the latitude of 54°16' north longitude 132°24' West on entering the river tis well to keep the western ashore a board as there is a shole extends from the eastern to Cape Lookout⁴ after you are in the best water is on the eastern shore.

The tides are very regular rising and falling [14] feet perpendicular running at the amazing rate of four miles an hour and no doubt much stronger at the time of freshets the banks of the river present the most delightful green fields behind which are finely placed most stately trees which appeared to be free from underwood the huts of the natives, the framings of the deserted ones etca. scattered about the banks all serve to heighten the scene and render it one of the most pleasing romantic places I have yet seen the land is level and appears very suitable for cultivation.

The woods seemed to abound with wild fowl particularly turkies, geese, herons, white headed eagles etca. but we dare not go after

¹ Nagdon Hill, on Invisible or Rose Point.

² A Haida word meaning "long nose," applied to the low Rose Point. For a picture, see *Pacific Coast Pilot*, 64.

³ Cape Chacon, at the southern end of Prince of Wales Island. Brown's Sound here means Clarence Strait.

⁴ Rose or Invisible Point, the northeasterly point of the Queen Charlotte Islands, from which the sandy Rose Spit projects.

them for our late misfortune gave us sufficient warning not to put ourselves in the power of the natives how specious soever their shew of friendship may appear the natives daily brought us plenty [90] of fine fish and berries.

The tribe which inhabits this river I am informed is large though we saw but few natives their Chief is named Cuddah this tribe at some seasons of the year afford many skins I suppose indeed if I understood the natives right they are moved up the river for the benefit of fishing as they have parted with all their skins but what they want for winters clothing.

At five in the evening the tide being nearly done weighed and came to sail with a fresh breeze from the westward and stood to the northward towards Murderers cape to clear the shoals off Cape Lookout at seven we had soundings in nineteen fathom the lead was kept agoing.

At midnight shortened sail and stood to the northeast at three in the morning made sail steering east south east at six we had a fresh breeze with clear pleasant weather our course south east with the depth of water from seven to twelve fathom at noon Cape Lookout bore north west about eight leagues distant our latitude by an observation was $53^{\circ}43'$ north we now stood along shore south east by south about four leagues distance from the land with from ten to fifteen fathoms water.

Finding it impossible to reach Tooschcondolth before night the village we intended next stopping at we therefore at half past five shortened sail and hauled our wind to the northward under double reef'd topsails at eight the north extreme of the Islands bore west north west seventeen leagues and the south, south south east ten leagues the islands off Tooschcondolth [91] south five leagues at eleven wore ship to the southward.

On the morning of the 22d at daylight made sail and stood in south west for the village having from eight to thirty seven fathoms of water the shoalest about four leagues to the westward of the village the wind falling light it was half past nine before we got in with the land where we cast anchor in thirty five fathoms water over a bottom of mud Tooschcondolth bearing north by west two miles distance several canoes came of in one of which was Comsuah who

informed us there was but few skins at his village¹ at present yet if we would wait ten days they would procure a plenty pointing towards the Continent and giving us to understand 'twas from that quarter he would get them.

It being only a useless waste of time to tarry here at two in the afternoon weighed and came to sail. Having in the course of the day heard several canon which some of us supposed to be distant thunder at half past two saw a boat rowing towards us at the same time a cannon was heard to fire in a sound to the westward from whence the boat came various were our conjectures what could be the meaning of all this and before the boat got aboard which was about an hour it was determined there must be some vessel ashore which wanted assistance this we would have most chearfully afforded but we were happy to find this was not the case it proved to be the *Hope's* boat which Captain Ingraham sent [92] to with Mr. Cruff his chief mate to inform us he intended sailing for China in about a month and would be the bearer of any letters it was with the greatest pleasure I embraced this opportunity to write Mr. Barrell our principal owner.²

Mr. Cruff informed us that w[h]ere the *Hope* lay was a very good harbour Captain Ingraham seeing us in the morning knew the ship and supposing we did not know of that harbour fired several cannon expecting we should hear them and come in but seeing us get under weigh he sent his boat for which we are most certainly much obliged.

At four Mr. Cruff left us when we made sail and stood along shore to the eastward having lain to all the intermediate time the wind had now become light and variable inclining to a calm at eight the next morning the northwardmost land in sight bore north $56^{\circ}15'$ west and the southwardmost south $33^{\circ}45'$ east Tooschcondolth west six leagues at noon our latitude by an observation was $52^{\circ}38'$ north when the south east part of the islands bore south $50^{\circ}37'$ east distance twelve leagues course south east by east at

¹ Ingraham had been at Cumshewa Inlet for a fortnight in the *Hope* and had obtained all the sea-otter skins the natives had. The *Hope* was still there when the *Columbia* arrived. See Ingraham's MS. journal, August 22, 1791.

² This letter, dated August 22, 1791, will be found below, pages 469-470.

seven in the evening the south extreme of the land in sight bore south east ten leagues distance steering south by west.

At midnight the course was altered to south $78^{\circ}45'$ east¹ at four in the morning the southermost extreme of the Islands which I have since learnt is called Cape St. James bore south by west seven leagues distance at noon my latitude by observation gave $52^{\circ}0'$ north longitude $130^{\circ}19'$ west [93] Cape St. James at this time bearing south $61^{\circ}52'$ west its latitude therefore must be $51^{\circ}56'$ north and longitude $131^{\circ}7'$ west the winds light and variable and the weather pleasant.

As we are now taking leave of these Islands for this season a few general remarks may not be improper but first it may be here necessary to observe that we left Boston without being able to procure the voyages of any of those preceeding navigators who have visited this coast for trade or discoveries since the late Captain Cook whose voyages give little or no information respecting the greater part of the trading coast consequently we can derive no advantage from them we are therefore subject to every inconvenience that can possibly attend a ship on an undiscovered coast save the knowledge derived from Captain Gray's former voyage which is none² as has already very conspicuously appeared in a variety of instances and but for Mr. Haswell our chief mate who was with Captain Gray on his former voyage we should be totally ignorant of every part of the coast and it is to him we are indebted for what knowledge we have yet attained and of the various harbours we have yet visited.

These Islands I have been lately informed were discovered by a Captain Dixon in an english vessel belonging to London in 1787³ and by him named Queen Charlotte's Islands and as has been already observed were discovered by Captain Gray in the Washington in the summer of 1789 and by him named Washington's Islands.

¹ The *Columbia*, leaving Cumshewa Inlet, sails southward to Clayoquot Sound.

² Hoskins at every opportunity criticized the conduct of Gray as a navigator and as a trusted employee; see especially his letter of August 21, 1792, below, pages 481-485; and even of Haswell, Hoskins entertained no high opinion, as the same letter shows.

³ Dixon, in the *Queen Charlotte*, discovered and named them in 1787 (*Voyage round the World*, 224), even though he did not actually circumnavigate them. Gray, in the *Washington*, was along a part of the northern coast in May, 1789; and Douglas was in the same locality in the *Iphigenia* in early June, 1789.

[94] It is therefore my most sincere wish and hope that the amiable Queen of the one country and the illustrious President of the other may long live to enjoy those small honors which is in the power of the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other to confer.

There are three principal Islands the one to the southward which is formed by Barrell's sound, the large or main island and another off its north west extreme¹ there are also several smaller islands scattered about the various harbours and alongshore the whole forming a group extending from latitude $51^{\circ}52'$ north to latitude $54^{\circ}28'$ north and from longitude $130^{\circ}52'$ to longitude $133^{\circ}52'$ west being a tract of two and a half degrees of latitude and three degrees of longitude.²

That the discovery of these Islands to whomsoever it may be attributed has added very considerably to the geography of this coast is beyond a doubt and I think there situation sufficiently evinces them to be part of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus if so the straits of Admiral de Fonte can be at no great distance and must be acknowledged to exist³ though Captain Cook gave no credit to such vague and improbable stories this was a judgment too hastily formed.⁴

The principal tribes for skins reside at the three following villages Tooschcondolth, Masheet or Hancock's River and Tahtence⁵ this latter is the most famous it affording more [95] skins than any other tribe we have yet known or heard of and it is here where Captain Gray on his former voyage procured more skins than at every other part of the coast nor did he get all for they broke him of trade and

¹ Hoskins was not aware that Skidegate Channel separates Graham and Moresby islands. Regarding them as one island, he mentions Kunghit or Prevost Island as the southerly, and Langara Island as the northerly of the group.

² As usual the latitude is about right; in this instance the longitude is also very close to the correct figures. The *British Columbia Pilot* gives the exact location as $51^{\circ}50'$ to $54^{\circ}15'$ North Latitude and $130^{\circ}54'$ to $133^{\circ}10'$ West Longitude.

³ For the apocryphal voyage of de Fonte, see Martin F. Navarrete, *Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos* (Madrid, 1849). The latest and most complete discussion is by Henry R. Wagner in *Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society*, XLI. 190ff. Mr. Wagner suggests (203) that the hoax was perpetrated by Daniel Defoe.

⁴ But Cook was right and Hoskins was wrong. The belief in de Fonte's voyage was quite general amongst the Americans.

⁵ On Cumshewa Inlet, Masset Sound, and Cloak Bay, respectively.

he was obliged to return to Nootka.¹ It may be asked and with a great deal of propriety why we did not visit this village I must answer I don't know without it can be admitted Captain Gray did not know where it was and was therefore loath to expose his ignorance after so much pretended vaunted knowledge the reason at the time we were at Masheet was the same that induced us to leave that place.²

The natives during the summer season live in scattered huts for the benefit of fishing the principal people living together these temporary huts are most wretched but their head villages are neatly and regularly built the houses end on with pitched roofs³ in front is a large post reaching above the roof neatly carved but with the most distorted figures⁴ at the bottom is an oval or round hole which is either the mouth or belly of some deformed object this serves for a door way near to those head villages they have fortified towns or villages which they call "Touts" to which they retreat when invaded by a more powerfull enemy these are built on the most natural fortifications and much improved by art they endeavour to have only one means of access and this by a wooden pole with notches cut in it to admit the toe by which they ascend when they are all up the pole is hauled after them they then with stones which these [96] places are well supplied with annoy their enemy and are in general able to repel most any attack these places are also well supplied with provissions and water by which they can hold out a siege of several months if there enemy had the ability or skill to carry it on.⁵

¹ See Haswell's first log, above, page 96 and note 2. At the same place Dixon almost two years before (July, 1787) had obtained three hundred skins in less than an hour. *Voyage round the World*, 201.

² Hoskins is running true to form. Gray's every act meets criticism from him.

³ The Nootkan houses had shed roofs, but those of the Queen Charlotte Islands had pitched roofs.

⁴ One of the earliest descriptions of the totem poles of the Haidas. In John Bartlett's narrative (*The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor*, 307) is the earliest drawing of a totem pole. For other early descriptions see Ingraham's MS. journal, July 10, 1791, and Charles A. P. Fleuriu, *A Voyage round the World Performed by Étienne Marchand* (London, 1801), I. 401, where Marchand describes totem poles as seen in August, 1791.

⁵ Ingraham, in his MS. journal (July 13, 1791), describes one of these fortified rocks; see also Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, 205.

The government of these people appear by no means to be absolute the Chiefs having little or no commands over their subjects Cunniah the Chief of Tahtence¹ is acknowledged to be the greatest on the Islands his wife of course must be the Empress for they are intirely subject to a petticoat government the women in all cases taking the lead.

That these people trade with those over on the main for skins etca. is certain but as one shore cannot be seen from the other at Tooschcondolth over it surprizes me what guide those natives could have had who visited us there when it was foggy at the time and had been for several hours before so that they could not have an opportunity of being directed by the stars which makes it the more wonderful in all probability there is yearly many overtaken by storms and lost indeed the natives have informed me that is sometimes the case on asking Comsuah what guide they had to direct them he would answer by pointing up to the heavens on telling him it was thick and they could not see he would still answer by pointing up to heaven intimating thereby that there was one above who would always guide, protect and direct them that was good. [97]

In addition to their dress which has already been mentioned is or rather it appears to be an ornament an iron or copper collar of an elliptic form twisted like a rope put over the head the two extremes laying on the shoulders and the front side which is thickest laying on the breast this is worn by the Chiefs only and appears to be a badge of distinction.²

The manners, customs, dress, canoes etca. etca. of these people are all similar their language differs only in a few words in the termination of some words they have or make a long quivering which gives them a most savage disagreeable sound but to convey a better idea I here subjoin a list of words I was able to procure which

¹ This chief's name is spelled in various ways. He is the Blakow- or Douglas-Coneehaw of Meares's *Voyages* (365); he is mentioned by all the traders who frequented Dixon Entrance. In 1799 Burling, in the MS. journal of the *Eliza*, speaks of him (March 22) as an old man but the best known and most respected chief on the coast.

² These iron collars were invented, or at any rate popularized, by Joseph Ingraham of the Boston brigantine *Hope* in the preceding July. See his MS. journal, July 12, 1791. Hoskins is wrong in thinking that their use was confined to the chiefs: any Indian who would pay the price—three prime sea-otter skins—could have one.

are spelt as near to their pronounciation as my ear would direct which I am conscious is far from being right.

WASHINGTON'S ISLANDS	ENGLISH	WASHINGTON'S ISLANDS	ENGLISH
Cunniah	<i>The names of the Chiefs of the various tribes which inhabits the Is- lands that I have yet seen or heard of</i>	Keeahkong	<i>a Mast</i>
Needen		Intah	<i>a Rope</i>
Cuddah		Kite	<i>Shall I go?</i>
Skediates		Qui	<i>Stop</i>
Comsuah		Clutoo	<i>to depart or go away</i>
Caswhat		Clucartlarkit	<i>to return again</i>
Ugah		Comgoothle	<i>Hallo!</i>
Coyah	<i>a Chief</i>	Quah	<i>What</i>
Scemokit		Haunaday	<i>Come here</i>
Etlah ketah	<i>an inferior Chief</i>	Kenen	<i>to Paddle quick</i>
Ahliko	<i>the lower class</i>	Custsulah	<i>to Sing</i>
Klikkah	<i>a Man</i>	Winna	<i>Lives or stays</i>
Hongi	<i>Eyes</i>	Slin	<i>a Needle</i>
Skeeatz	<i>Eyebrows</i>	Quotah	<i>Thread</i>
Quoon	<i>Nose</i>	Tahtle	<i>to Sew</i>
Cahtsee	<i>Hair of the head</i>	Kyit	<i>a Tree</i>
Tinnicketi	<i>a Child or small</i> [98]	Enah	<i>a Woman</i> [99]
Tritsah	<i>Cheek</i>	Suque or Suhee	<i>Sun</i>
Tahngel	<i>Tongue</i>	Kong	<i>Moon</i>
Tsing	<i>Teeth</i>	Kyetsou	<i>Stars</i>
Skeeoquoi	<i>Beard</i>	Yeeyen	<i>Clouds</i>
Qu	<i>Ear</i>	Tatsoo	<i>Wind or to blow</i>
King	<i>to See</i>	Tull or Tellah	<i>Rain</i>
Koosow or Quesue	<i>to Tell or talk</i>	Cletow	<i>Land</i>
Cahtah or Ketah	<i>to Eat</i>	Quitsut	<i>an Island</i>
Cahnee	<i>to Drink</i>	Tungahl	<i>Sea or salt water</i>
Cahtee	<i>to Sleep</i>	Cundle or Cuntle	<i>Fresh water</i>
Tinglahishtong	<i>to Give</i>	Tahgo or Hahco	<i>Halibut</i>
Quden	<i>I understand</i>	Town	<i>Salmon</i>
Kahhit	<i>to Walk</i>	Koon or Nacoon	<i>a Whale</i>
Suttusko	<i>a War Garment</i>	Cahk	<i>Clams</i>
Suttishquah	<i>Jackets and Trowsers</i>	Skedong	<i>Geese</i>
Koodets	<i>a Woolen mantle</i>	Khah	<i>a Dog, Cat etca.</i>
Tulsoon or Taht- soong	<i>a Hat or Cap</i>	Wakun	<i>a term of friendship</i>
Nah	<i>a Village or house</i>	Wattah	<i>Trade</i>
Tootsah	<i>a Village for fighting</i>	Nukky	<i>a Sea otter skin</i>
Touts	<i>a Fort or fortified town</i>	Coaskow	<i>a Sea otters tail</i>
Klieu	<i>a Vessel or boat</i>	Yukiates	<i>Iron</i>
		Kottah	<i>a Chizzel</i>

WASHINGTON'S ISLANDS	ENGLISH	WASHINGTON'S ISLANDS	ENGLISH
Kilestigah	<i>an Iron elliptic collar</i>	Tahqueah	<i>Cold or to shiver</i>
Hunestigah	<i>a Copper Ditto</i>	Queakol	<i>to write</i>
Ethlieu or Kull	<i>Copper</i>	Come or No	<i>No or no more</i>
Sko	<i>a Knife</i>	Quillah	<i>The tobacco plant</i>
Hanesong	<i>a Looking glass</i>	Culicker	<i>Floodtide</i>
Kiatow	<i>a Spy glass</i>	Cahtsou	<i>Ebbtide</i>
Cotah	<i>a Chest</i>	Tonei	<i>a Brother</i>
Comlong	<i>Buttons</i>	Stahguilth	<i>a Spoon of horn</i>
Squotlong	<i>a Tinpot</i>	Jaskanus	<i>January</i>
Cahweet	<i>Beads</i>	Ilthgedooness	<i>February</i>
Clemen	<i>Pearl shells</i>	Tankoongus	<i>March</i>
Huun	<i>Large</i>	Heetgas	<i>April</i>
Sumun	<i>Small</i>	Hootgas	<i>May</i>
Tungah	<i>Thick</i>	Ilthkoongus	<i>June</i>
Sti	<i>Thin</i>	Swageenkoongus	<i>July</i>
Kill sti	<i>Good natur'd, Kind</i> [100]	Hagingass	<i>August</i>
Chiskiketong	<i>a Cannon</i>	Seehangas	<i>September</i>
Suskiahketong	<i>a Musket</i>	Keeselse	<i>October</i>
Hookiltow	<i>Powder</i>	Kulkoongus	<i>November</i>
Skahgile	<i>Shot</i>	Iakoongus	<i>December</i>
Tsook or Too	<i>to Discharge a gun or</i> <i>bow</i>	Squansang	<i>One</i>
Kudolth	<i>to Kill</i>	Sting	<i>Two</i>
Caznooting kakong	<i>to ask the name of a</i> <i>person or thing</i>	Squonolth	<i>Three</i> [101]
Tsahnoo	<i>Fire</i>	Stansung	<i>Four</i>
Tarse	<i>to Burn</i>	Claathly	<i>Five</i>
Lukush or Lux	<i>Good</i>	Clahquonolth	<i>Six</i>
Peeshuck or Peesuck ¹	<i>Bad</i>	Cheequahkah	<i>Seven</i>
Quan	<i>Sufficient or Plenty</i>	Stansoker	<i>Eight</i>
Colthlah	<i>to Steal</i>	Clahnisquonswingo	<i>Nine</i>
		Clath	<i>Ten</i>
		Elieu	<i>I've got no more</i>

But to return from this digression if so it may be called the winds still continuing light and variable at noon on the 25th the Islands off Pintards Sound² made their appearance bearing east three or four leagues distance my latitude at this time is 50°55' north and

¹ This word is of Nootkan origin, but being carried by the traders took root amongst the Haidas.

² The *Columbia* has sailed southward through Hecate Strait and Queen Charlotte Sound to Cape Scott, and thence proceeds southeasterly along the Vancouver Island shore. The islands are the Scott Islands at the entrance of Queen Charlotte Sound.

longitude $129^{\circ}46'$ west the wind now veering to the south west with which we stood to the south east at six the southernmost part of the Continent in sight bore south $78^{\circ}45'$ east sixteen leagues distance at half past six the wind hauled to the south east wore and stood to the southwest at midnight it became calm and so continued till ten in the forenoon of the following day when a light breeze again came from the south east.

At noon the westernmost Island off Pintard's sound bore north west six leagues distance and the south extreme of the Continent east by south my latitude by observation $50^{\circ}35'$ north and longitude $129^{\circ}20'$ west at seven in the evening the wind veered to the east south east when we stood on our tacks to the southward we had an abundance of whales playing about the ship and [102] through the night much sharp lightning in the southeast.

At noon [August 27] saw Woody Point bearing south $84^{\circ}22'$ east my latitude $50^{\circ}16'$ north by observation at two in the afternoon the wind again came out of the north west when we made all sail and steered east south east with a gentle gale and pleasant weather.

The following day at noon my latitude was $49^{\circ}19'$ north the entrance of Nootka Sound was now seen bearing north east by east about eleven leagues distance at seven it bore north by west eight leagues.

At three in the morning of the 29th shortened sail and hove to maintopsail to the mast head to the southwest at half past four again made sail for Clloquot at six it fell calm and so continued until eleven when a light breeze came from the southward the entrance of Clloquot at noon bore north east four or five leagues at three in the afternoon saw two sail to the westward standing to the eastward¹ at four several canoes came of in one of which was our old friend Hanna² he informed us Captain Kendrick was at Clloquot in a Brigantine³ and had been there some time the wind had

¹ Malaspina's vessels, *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, which had left Nootka Sound on August 28 bound for Monterey.

² This chief belonged to Ahousat, a village then on Vargas Island, Clayoquot Sound, and so situated that it had an uninterrupted view of the ocean. Its situation enabled him to meet many trading vessels; hence the frequent references to him.

³ The sloop *Lady Washington*, which Kendrick in the winter of 1790-1791, in China, had

now increased into a pleasant gale at five saw Captain Kendrick's boat a coming off fired a gun to leeward and hoisted the colours which was answered when Captain Kendrick came on board.

Nothing can equal the pleasure I received on meeting my old [103] friend¹ or our mutual professions of happiness on the occasion each being as eager to recount his various vicissitudes of fortune since parting as the other was to hear Captain Kendrick informed me that after the Columbia left China without stopping at Larksbay according to his orders to receive his dispatches for the owners and the Captain his final instructions he took a house at Macao he was so unfortunate as to loose the last season being detain'd in selling his skins and altering his vessel from a Sloop into a Brigantine this being the cheapest way he could refit as she stood in nead of every article both of sails and rigging he also met with every detention from the Chinese and the former Portuguese governor was not friend enough to assist him on the contrary did everything to distress him he had his house at Macao broken open provissions denied him himself arrested in the streets by a guard of soldiers and ordered immediately to depart and not to return again on pain of imprisonment thus was he most distressfully situated obliged to go on board his vessel at Larksbay and but for the assistance of the new Portuguese governor who had just come over he thinks he should never have been able to get away.

Captain Kendrick left Larksbay in March in company with the Grace of New York Captain Douglass they went into a harbour on the southern coast of Japan where they were received by the natives with the greatest hospitality here Captain Kendrick displayed [104] the American flag which is probably the first ever seen in that quarter they carried from China to Japan about two hundred prime sea otter skins but the Japanese knew not the use of them a few days sail from this they discovered a group of Islands to which on account of the natives bringing water off to sell was given the name of Water Islands they not being down in any chart extant

re-rigged: Boit says as a brig; Hoskins, as a brigantine; and Bishop of the *Ruby* says as a snow.

¹ This is strange language in view of the disparity of their ages: Kendrick was a man fifty-one years of age; Hoskins was, as he calls himself, merely "a boy." See Hoskins' letter to Barrell, August 21, 1792, page 485, below, in which he mentions this meeting.

the natives of these Islands as well as those of Japan and the Chinamen could not understand each other in talking but in writing they could well their tarry among these Islands was short the two vessels parted company soon after leaving them each making the best of his way to this Coast.

Captain Kendrick arrived on the 13th of June in latitude $52^{\circ}58'$ north he went into Barrell's Sound where his vessel a few days after his arrival was attacked and actually in possession of the natives nearly an hour when he again recovered his vessel killed and wounded a great many among the rest a woman who was a proper amazon. This he attributes to the following cause soon after he sent the Columbia on to China he sailed from Clloquot for Washington's Islands and went into Barrell's sound having been there a short time the natives found means to steal his linnen etca. that had that day been washed this with some other things they had at times robbed him of induced him to take the two Chiefs Coyah and Schulkinanse he dismounted one of his cannon and put one leg of each into the carriage where [105] the arms of the cannon rest and fastened down the clamps threatning at the same time if they did not restore the stolen goods to kill them nearly all the goods were soon returned what was not he made them pay for in skins as this was a means though contrary to his wishes of breaking friendship with them and well knowing if he let those Chiefs go they would sell him no more skins he therefore made them fetch him all their skins and paid them the same price he had done for those before purchased when they had no more the two Chiefs were set at liberty when he went into the Sound this time the natives appeared to be quite friendly and brought skins for sale as usual the day of the attack there was an extraordinary number of visitors several Chiefs being aboard the arm chests were on the quarter deck with the keys in them the gunners having been overhauling the arms the Chiefs got on these chests and took the keys out when Coyah tauntingly said to Captain Kendrick pointing to his legs at the same time now put me into your gun carriage the vessel was immediately thronged with natives a woman standing in the main chains urging them on the officers and people all retired below having no arms but what was in possession of the natives save the officers private ones Cap-

tain Kendrick tarried on deck endeavouring to pacify the natives and bring them to some terms at the same time edging towards the companion way to secure his retreat to the cabbin a fellow all the time holding a huge [106] marling spike he had stolen fixed into a stick over his head ready to strike the deadly blow whenever orders should be given the other natives with their daggers grasped and only waiting for the word to be given to begin a most savage massacre just as Captain Kendrick had reached the companion way Coyah jumpt down and he immediately jumpt on top of him Coyah then made a pass at him with his dagger but it luckily only went through his jacket and scratched his belly the officers by this time had their arms in readiness and would have ventured on deck with them before but for fear of killing their Captain Captain Kendrick now fired a musket from the cabbin then took a pair of pistols and another musket and went on deck being followed by his officers with the remainder of the arms they had collected the natives on seeing this made a precipitate retreat all but the woman before mentioned in the chains who there continued urging them to action with the greatest ardour until the last moment though her arm had been previously cut of by one of the people with a hanger and she was otherways much wounded when she quitted all the natives had left the vessel and she jumpt over board and attempted to swim of but was afterwards shot though the natives had taken the keys of the arm chests yet they did not happen to be lockt they were therefore immediately opened and a constant fire was kept up as long as they could reach the natives with cannon [107] or small arms after which they chased them in their armed boats making the most dreadful havock by killing all they came across this accounts for the story the natives told us when we were there.¹

Captain Kendrick after leaving that port proceeded to the southward went into Nootka Sound passed the Spanish garrison² there and went up to Mawinna where he tarried several days from this he proceeded up Tashees river and came out to sea at a place called by the natives Ahateset which is a sound laying between Chickleset

¹ For other versions, consult the references given above, page 200, note 2.

² For the Spanish account, see Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, 191-192.

and Nootka sounds purchasing as he went of the natives all their skins and *landed estates* for muskets, iron, copper and cloathing¹ he then came to this place where he has been more than a month purchasing of the natives their skins and *land* and equipping for China he spent the remainder of the day and evening with us.

At seven in the evening we cast anchor in the roads and in about an hour after it being slack water weighed and towed farther up and again anchored it being too dark to go over the bar.

When we first cast anchor those two vessels we had seen to the westward passed by they were two large ships and supposed by us to be Spaniards but some of the natives who had been on board informed me they were not Spanish nor English as these people are acquainted with both those nations I know not where those ships belong unless they are those two French ships the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* which sailed from France in the year 1785 on discoveries under the command [108] of the *Compte de la Peyrouse* or they may be Russian ships from *Kamtchatka* as they shewed no colours 'tis impossible to determine.²

The morning of the 30th was calm and the weather pleasant I accompanied Captain Gray in the jolly boat to breakfast with Captain Kendrick having had a previous invitation we were received at a small Island which he had fortified and dignified with the appellation of Fort Washington in honour of our Illustrious President³ in the meantime the ship weighed and towed up into the harbour and moored in nearly our former situation the natives visited us with a few skins at the same time gave us to understand they had not many having previously sold them to Captain Kendrick but now

¹ See, as to the value of this land, the letters from John Howel to Barrell, below, pages 491, 493. Copies of the deeds will be found in *Senate Document, Number 335* (32d Congress, 1st Session), 20ff. For the complete story of Kendrick's land purchases, see Frederic W. Howay, "An Early Colonization Scheme in British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (January, 1939), 51-63.

² Probably the Indians were deceived, as Malaspina's ships, the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida*, were from Old Spain, and the Indians had only been accustomed to vessels from New Spain. The *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* (La Pérouse's ships) had both been totally lost on the reef at Vanikoro three years before. See Peter Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas* (London, 1829), *passim*.

³ Kendrick had been lying there since August 5 putting the *Washington* in condition to sail for China. He did not actually sail thence until September 29—more than seven weeks of preparation. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIII. 289.

they would sell the few remaining to him who gave the best price.

1791. *September*. From this to the 6th of September the weather was in general moderate and pleasant during which time we had frequent and mutual interchanges of visits at nine in the morning of this day unmoored ship and fired a gun at ten weighed and came to sail beating down for the roads at noon the tide turning set us over upon the rocks sent the boats ahead towed clear and cast anchor in the gap in twelve fathoms water.

At half past eight the next morning again weighed and beat into the roads with an ebb tide at one in the afternoon cast anchor in four fathoms water Observatory Island bearing south by east and the entrance of the roads south south [109] east saw a sail in the offing a standing in latter part of the day thick fog with drizzling rain.

On the morning of the 8th we had light breezes and foggy weather at nine the weather became clear when we weighed came to sail and stood out to sea at noon the entrance of Cliaquot bore north west six leagues distance made all sail and bore away to the southward steering south east by south at four in the afternoon saw a ship in the southwest quarter which stood down for us until sunset and then hauled her wind showing no colours.¹

At midnight the winds became light and variable inclining to a calm at eight in the morning Companies Bay bore north three leagues a very heavy swell setting to the northeast at ten a gentle breeze sprang up from the eastward at noon my observation gave 48°42' north latitude when Cape Flattery bore east and the northwardmost extreme of the land northwest.

At six in the afternoon Cape Flattery bore east north east distance eight leagues through the night the winds were variable and the weather squally at nine in the morning we had a fresh breeze of the land when we plied to windward to get in with the village Chahnee² at noon it was cloudy with exceeding sultry weather the wind blowing in puffs of the land and fetching so hot a steam that many of our people insisted on it they were burnt the higher you

¹ On September 7 Marchand, in *La Solide*, was off what he calls Barkley Sound and records seeing the *Columbia* in that vicinity. See Fleuriu, *Voyage round the World*, I. 495. At first he thought her Spanish, but in China he learned her identity. *Ibid.*, II. 115.

² An Indian village near Cape Flattery.

where aloft the greater was the degree of heat this I conceived to be occasioned by some [110] backwoods the natives must have been setting fire to though there was no smoke seen to warrant this opinion I now more than ever regret I have no thermometer to determine this degree of heat at four in the afternoon several canoes came off from the village the natives in which brought a few skins which they soon disposed Tootooch's island¹ at this time bore northwest and the southermost extreme of the land south at eight in the evening the natives left us and we made sail.

At midnight the weather was calm and clear when Tootooch's island bore north north east three miles an excessive strong tide a running which swept us fast towards the breakers² hoisted out the boats and towed clear at four (in the morning of the 11th) a light breeze came from the southward hoisted in the boats and stood to the westward under easy sail at noon it inclined to be calm with a very thick fog at three in the afternoon heard the roaring of breakers haul'd our wind to the southward and made sail in about half an hour saw a rock about half a pistol shot of bearing south east tacked ship hoisted out the boats towed clear and stood to the northward at eight in the evening hearing the surf on what we supposed to be the northside of the straits tacked and stood to the southward there was excessive strong tides a running and so foggy we could not see a hundred yards ahead we continued to stand from side to side of the [111] straits having the surf on one side and the breakers on the other to give us warning when to go about at nine we sounded and got bottom with a line of twenty five fathoms.

From this to midnight of the 14th the weather continued foggy with light variable winds calms and strong tides during which time we made and shortened sail as occasion or opportunity offered though we were hourly in the most imminent danger and already had some very narrow escapes yet Captain Gray could not be induced to stand of to gain an offing but seemed rather to prefer this distressful situation which I am sure prudence could never have dictated to him

¹ An almost perpendicular rocky islet, bare of trees, and about one hundred feet high, lying half a mile northwest from Cape Flattery.

² Probably the reefs extending a short distance westerly from Tatoosh Island.

and there was not the least chance while this weather continued of the natives coming of with skins he therefore must be blamed by every body for sporting with the lives of so many people under his charge.¹

At four on the morning of the 15th it was cloudy with a large swell setting on shore the land now made its appearance about five leagues distance and it was known to be Cape Flattery at five a light breeze sprang up from the eastward stood in for the land steering north east at eight Tootooch's island bore north north east four miles distance the extremes of the land to the southward bore south by east at nine there being a strong tide against us we cast anchor before the village [112] Ahshewat² in twenty five fathom water over a muddy bottom Tootooch's Island bearing north one league distance several of the natives visited us with skins which were purchased among others was a Chief named Clahclacko who from what I could understand wished to inform me the Spaniards had been here since us endeavouring to convert them to christianity that he and several others had been baptized as also several of their children this ceremony he went through as also the chanting of some of their hymns with a most serious religious air though it was in broken Spanish and indian yet he imitated the sounds of their voices their motions and religious cants of their faces to a miracle³ at the same time condemned our irreligious manner of life.

The tide having turned in our favor at a quarter past one in the afternoon weighed anchor and stood into the mouth of the straits at three shortened sail and hove to maintopsail to the mast to wait for the natives Tootooch's island bearing south by east one mile distant many canoes came of with natives of whom several fine skins and fish were purchased at sunset the natives left us when we made short boards in the straits for the night in order to keep our situation for the benefit of trade in the morning.

We had light winds with drizzling rain the next morning at

¹ Haswell and Boit also tell this story. See pages 301 and 380, below.

² Classet, an Indian village near Cape Flattery.

³ There is at this point in the manuscript a marginal note in another hand: "Religion taught the natives by three Roman Catholic priests." Pantoja, of Elisa's expedition, had been at Neeah Bay, August 7-11, but makes no mention of the priests' activities. See Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, 182, 190.

eight one canoe came of with three men of whom two small skins were purchased finding [113] the natives did not incline to come of and having a good reason to think they had no more skins to dispose of their being every appearance of an approaching storm the weather now rainy and foggy at nine we wore ship and stood out of the straits to the northward at ten Tootooch's island bore south east six miles distance at half past twelve saw the land through the fog which we supposed to be Nittenat bearing east south east one mile distant hauled of shore steering west half south at one the wind which before had been moderate from the eastward now veered to the south west and soon increased into so strong a gale as to be thought necessary to send down the topgallant yards and close reef the topsails at nine in the evening the gale abated and the winds became light and variable with a heavy sea from the westward.

At ten in the morning of the 17th the wind having settled at east south east the topgallant yards were sent up and we made sail and stood along shore to the northward at eight in the evening the wind again veered to the southwest which at nine blew so fresh a gale as to reduce us to our double reefs at half past one the following morning the wind headed us supposing ourselves to be too nigh the land tacked and stood to the southward at three shortened sail at six again made sail and bore away for Clioquot steering north with a fresh gale from the west north west at noon Clioquot bore east four miles distance at half past twelve anchored [114] in the roads with the small bower in five fathom water it blowing a fresh gale the ship dragged let go the best bower and she road at three Mr. Haswell and myself went up the harbour in the pinnace to see if Captain Kendrick still remained there¹ at eleven in the evening the tide being favourable weighed and stood into a better birth about two miles farther up and again cast anchor in four fathoms water the entrance of the harbour bearing northwest by north.

The next day we had light airs and very pleasant weather at ten it being flood tide we got under way and ran up into the harbour and at one in the afternoon came to with the best bower in seven fathom

¹ It took Gray only three days in September, 1792, to prepare for the voyage to China; but Kendrick has now been a month and more preparing and is not yet ready.

water over a bottom of clay mud at two Captain Gray went in the pinnace armed to seek a good cove to winter and build our vessel in at five the Lady Washington assisted by our boats came down from Fort Washington and anchored alongside of us.

The morning of the 20th was pleasant Captain Kendrick honored us with his company to breakfast and spend the day at ten the tide being favorable we weighed anchor and with the assistance of the Washington's and our own boats we towed and sailed into winter quarters at one in the afternoon cast anchor in a snug cove called by the natives Clickselecutsee¹ moored the ship with the cables to the trees on each side thus situa[ted] we are entirely lockt in an excellent cove about eight miles from the anchoring [115] place in the harbour and fifteen miles from the sea several canoes with natives accompanied us up. It is worthy of remark that while the ship was mooring one of our people fired at a flock of geese then flying over the musket burst to peices in his hands and though there were as many as twenty of the people besides natives standing near him yet he nor they did not receive the least hurt.

Being now well sheltered in a convenient Cove on the morning of the 21st a party was sent on shore to cut down the trees and clear a place to build a house and erect our vessel others were employed on board in unbending the sails and striking the topgallantmasts the following day the foundation of our house was laid it being thirty six feet long and eighteen feet broad which was compleated on the 30th² the lower story is formed with logs piled horizontally with their ends let into each other and trunelled together the seams were filled with mortar we made of clay and burnt shells the upper story is framed and covered with boards which we procured from the natives for a trifling consideration in iron in front of the house were two ports for cannon and loopholes on all sides for musketry in the house was built a brick fire place for the convenience of cook-

¹ This wintering place, where the *Adventure* was built, was on the eastern side of Disappointment Inlet, Meares Island. The late Dr. C. F. Newcombe, an authority on all things Indian, stated that the Indians informed him that the *Adventure* was built on the southeast point of the entrance to Disappointment Inlet, opposite the present village of Opitsat. For the identification of this spot, see Samuel E. Morison, "The Columbia's Winter Quarters of 1791-1792 Located," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxxix (March, 1938), 3-7.

² "The last winter [1791-1792] he [Captain Gray] had spent in Port Cox or as the natives call it, Clayoquot." Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 43.

ing and keeping the house warm also a forge was erected where the smiths might be handy and convenient to do the necessary work that should be daily wanted for the vessel. [116]

On the 29th the Lady Washington John Kendrick Esquire commander sailed for Macao in China the day before he sent up his boat with an officer to inform me of his departure and request my company to spend the day which I did and also the night taking the most affectionate leave of him as he left the harbour it would be an act of ingratitude in me not here to remark that during the continuance of our two vessels in port Captain Kendrick has offered and afforded us every assistance and also treated us with the most marked politeness particularly myself who am indebted for many tokens of friendship.¹

1791. *October*. The 30th and 1st of October were employed in getting out the frame and sending it ashore where the carpenters were assorting and getting it in readiness to erect the smiths were also sent ashore with their tools to begin their work.²

On the 3d we had a very pleasant day when the keel of the vessel was laid which was named the *Adventure*. the pinnace with an armed party was sent to procure logs to be sawed into plank.

In the morning of the 4th sent four cannon, forty muskets several blunderbusses and pistols and a quantity of ammunition ashore to the house which was now called Fort Defiance to which Mr. Haswell was appointed to the command with [117] a party consisting of twenty men this day the frame of the *Adventure* was erected.

The 5th and 6th were employed in unreeving the running rigging stripping the ship launching and housing the topmast[s] a party was sent to procure logs for plank the 7th a sawpit was built and on the 8th began to saw plank etca.

On our arrival the natives were busy in removing their village from Inistuck to Okerminna a village at a much greater distance for which reason we have had but little of their company until this day

¹ The *Columbia* and the *Washington* belonged to the same owners. It is surprising that so little criticism of Kendrick's conduct in failing to account to his owners is to be found. It is plain from his letter of March 28, 1792 (below, pages 470-473), that Kendrick realized that nasty rumors were current.

² The building of the *Adventure*.

(the 12th) when our visitors were pretty numerous and from whom a few skins were purchased.

On the 13th the coopers were employed in overhauling our provisions repacking and repickling such as wanted it.

The 16th I went out in a canoe which Captain Kendrick purchased of the natives and made me a present of a shooting I left the ship early with an intention of seeing the village of Okerminna¹ it was noon before I arrived at Inistuck² which must be at least ten or twelve miles from the ship I proceeded a few miles beyond this when seeing nothing of the village and finding if I went farther it would be very late before I could reach the ship which would give an unnecessary alarm I returned to Inistuck before which is a clever snug cove in which there were many geese, ducks and teal sporting here I landed in order to get a shot [118] at them one of the people that was with me who also landed in creeping along the edge of the bush saw an animal which I conceiv'd to be an alligator the man was so agitated as not to be able to give any other description of what he had seen than that it was a huge animal very long with a large mouth and teeth the neck about as thick as his thigh and so tapered of to the tail with a black back and light yellow belly I immediately repaired to the place where this animal had been seen but could not get a sight at him from this circumstance I was induced to think it was only a burnt log (of which there are many about here) which the man's imagination had formed into a most frightful monster I have since informed the natives of what was seen who inform me there is an animal which from the description of them as they are painted on their canoes as also one they drew with chalk on board the ship as they are pretty good imitators can't be far from the thing and are very different from the alligators found in the southern parts of our side of America these having a long sharp head something like a hound with a good set of teeth the rest of the body in every other respect like a serpent it is called by the

¹ Their winter village. According to Haswell's first log it is far up a fresh-water river where they have plenty of salmon. I have elsewhere (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII. 293) hazarded the guess that it might be on Bear River; but for its supposed distance, the present Okeamin at the confluence of Kennedy River and Tofino Inlet might be Okerminna. It is, however, only twenty or twenty-five miles from Opitsat.

² This village cannot be identified at present.

natives a Hieclick and by them much revered they tell me this animal is very scarce and seldom to be seen living principally in the woods they offered me twenty skins if I would procure them one for they have such a superstitious idea that if they should have but the least peice [119] of this animal in their boat they are sure to kill a whale which among them is deemed one of the greatest honors indeed a peice of this magic animal¹ insures success at all times and on all occasions.

On the 18th the coopers finished the provisions which were all stowed below a few of the natives visited us but nothing was purchased. In the evening Captain Gray who had been out a shooting returned when Mr. Boit who accompanied him inform'd that about five o'clock three indian canoes with eleven men armed came into a cove where he was waiting for game they saw him landed and came up to him one of them seized on his cartridge box and broke it from the belt when it fell to the ground he immediately put his foot on it levelling his musket at the same time at Tootooch a chief who remained in one of the canoes they then gave a shout left him went into their canoes and paddled away for the jolly boat which was now seen coming down the flats they came up with the boat Captain Gray's great coat laying in the stern sheets they took hold of that one of the people levelled his musket at the rascals but still kept on rowing until they had got Mr. Boit aboard he then pointing his gun at the chief ordered them to desist and go of or he would immediately fire upon them they then agreed if he would tell them where Captain Gray was they would go he told them down to Opitsitah where he was not they left him [120] and paddled away with the greatest precipitation for that place Mr. Boit then went across the sound to an island where Captain Gray was took him in and they returned to the ship it is very probable these were a parcel of fellows employed by Tootiscoosettle to get revenge for Captain Gray's taking him sometime since as has already been mentioned² as these people did not appear to have a wish to hurt anyone else and all their enquiries were for him.

¹ Boit tells much the same story. The animal was created by vivid Indian imagination.

² Boit makes no reference to this incident; but it will be found in Haswell's second log under

On the 21st two canoes with natives visited us in one of which was Tootiscoosettle whom we suspected to be the employer of those fellows that sought for Captain Gray a few days since but this visit gives me reason to think we judged him wrongfully there being several shoals of sardines in the cove Tootiscoosettle requested the loan of two long poles with these and their paddles they began driving the fish in shore which continued to run round and round being curious to see what they would be doing I went in the boat with Captain Gray and joined the canoes when they had got these fish into about four feet water two men jumped overboard out of each canoe went ashore and got a number of green boughs with these in their hands they waded in the water driving the fish in shore when they had got them in about two feet water they made an inclosure with a number of those boughs so that none could escape it being ebbside they were soon left dry [121] when they were gathered from of the ground if it is flood tide or the water don't leave then they scoop them out with a net by this method the natives got as many as they wanted and we sufficient to last our ship's company a day we frequently afterwards tried this scheme ourselves but could never make it answer though the natives never failed and when they saw us to work would endeavour to put us right never was their vessel that wanted a seine more than we do for our people might have a daily supply of fish with which the cove constantly swarms in vast shoals as none of these fish will bite at the hook save some small sculpions and now and then a salmon trout we are therefore obliged to be contented with this and what the natives see fit to supply us with.

The weather since our coming into the cove has been in general warm and pleasant but from the 22d to the 28th we had very stormy rainy weather blowing in severe squalls this and the 29th we had heavy thunder and sharp lightning from the westward during this bad weather there could be no work done but what was in the house or between decks in the ship.

Our whaleboat being so bad we were obliged to condemn her and as another boat was necessary to replace it the 30th being a clear

date October 23, 1791. As Hoskins surmises, it was probably connected with the seizure of Tootiscoosettle in the preceding June; see page 186, note 1, above.

pleasant day a party was sent to erect a frame and thatch it to serve as a shed where the carpenters in bad weather might build one this also would serve to stock the [122] plank that was sawed from time to time to keep it from the inclemency of the weather 1791. *November*. this shed was finished on the 3d of November on the 7th the pinnace was dispatched to procure knees for the Adventure and timbers for the yawl the 9th the weather again becoming stormy the carpenters began the framing of the yawl the 12th and 13th we had heavy thunder sharp lightning and rain.

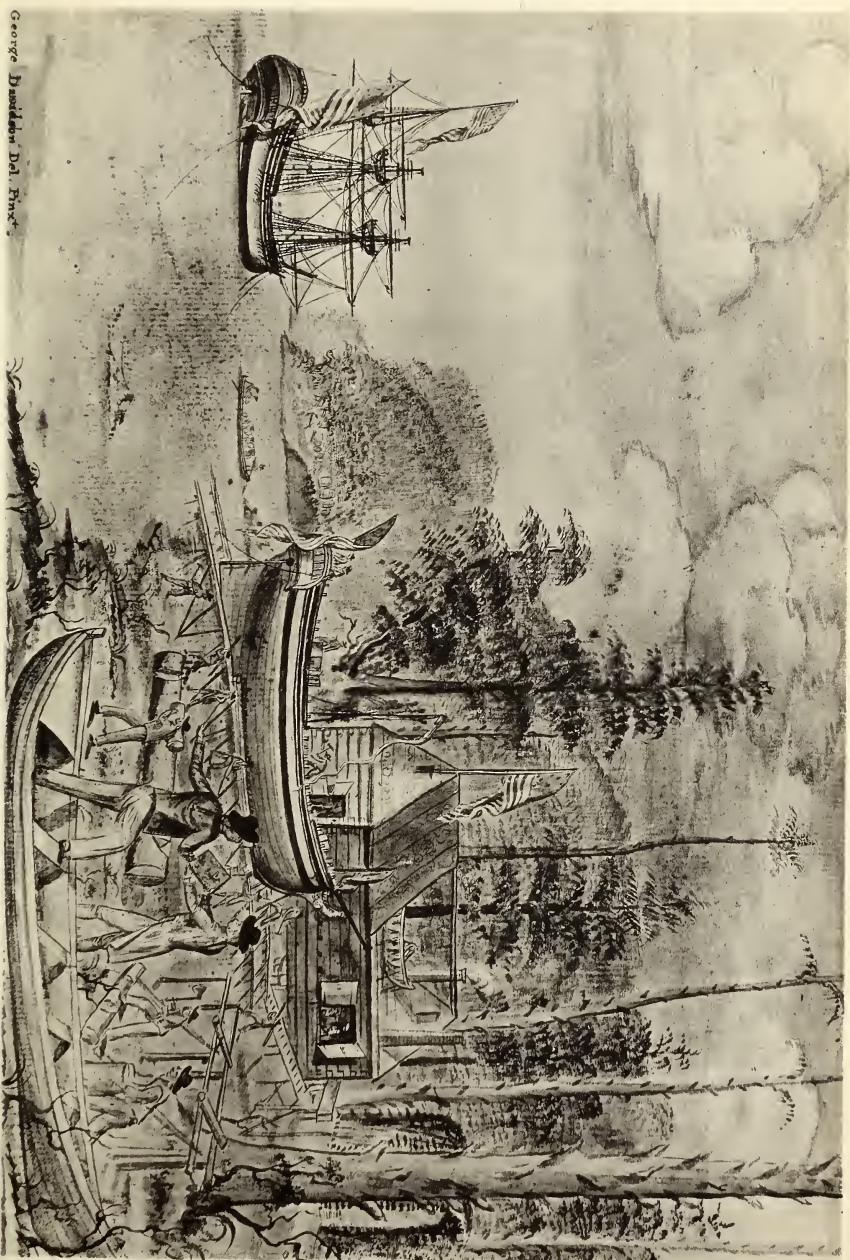
The 14th the weather again got settled and it became pleasant when the pinnace was dispatched with a party to procure more knees and boat timbers in the afternoon the carpenters finished planking the vessels bottom and on the morning of the 15th began to fix in the top timbers.

On the 16th we had a heavy gale which blew in violent squalls one of which struck the ship which caused her to drag the anchor was supposed to be foul but on heaving it up was found clear it was again let go when we came to our old moorings.

Having determined to make the Adventure larger than was originally intended an addition number of top timbers were requisite for which purpose the pinnace was sent on the 19th with a party to procure them the pinnace soon returned with one of the people who had his nose split open and was otherways badly wounded by the fall of a tree the wounded man was taken on board to be dressed and another put into the [123] boat to supply his place when she was again dispatched we were visited to day by some few of the natives from the Ahouset tribe to whom we expressed our want of oil for our lamps this want they soon supplied by daily fetching of it to us in large bladders made from the intestines of some fish which was purchased for trifles such as bits of iron, fish hooks, knives, buttons gimblets etca.

The morning of the 21st there was a very light frost discovered on our decks but there was none to be seen ashore this is the first that has been perceived though we nightly had heavy dews the pinnace was this day dispatched to procure some spare spars for the ship.

The 25th frost was again seen on the decks the pinnace was



George Davidson Del. Pinx.

THE COLUMBIAS WINTER QUARTERS IN ADVENTURE COVE

dispatched to procure logs for to be sawed into boards a party was also sent in the small boat a gunning and the carpenters began sealing the Adventure.

The 28th a party was sent in the long boat and pinnacle to procure wood at a grove of alder about a mile distant which was brought and landed near the ship to be cut up small and got in readiness to be taken on board the vessels in the spring at sunset I accompanied Captain Gray with a small party in the jolly boat to the village of Opitsitah¹ to wait for Deer the tracks of them having been frequently seen by those who had been down a gunning at midnight we returned having met with no [124] success the two following days we were visited by a number of the natives who brought us a supply of wild fowl and oil.

Having frequently expressed to the Chiefs my wish to visit their village of Okerminna which they as frequently told me was not navigable for such boats as ours it being situated at the head of a long narrow river which was obstructed by several bad falls at some they were obliged to land walk over and take canoes on the opposite side at others they must watch the tides and go over with the greatest care notwithstanding which their canoes often got upset and the people were drowned but that they would bring a canoe on purpose for me finding this was only done to amuse me and that they did not intend I should visit their village I became the more curious and desirous of going Tootoocheeticus being aboard to day I insisted on going with him in his canoe he made a variety of objections such as the distance dangers and the like he finding I determined to surmount every difficulty he should throw in the way finally told me he was not a going home but going to some other village from these circumstances and being advised to no longer persist in what might prove fatal to me I now gave up all hopes of ever seeing this village but from the best information I could collect from the natives must be at least forty or fifty miles dis-[125]tance from the ship for they tell me they leave the village in the afternoon and arrive at the ship in the forenoon of the following day they also tell me they paddle all night and as they generally appear to be

¹ This was the summer village; the winter villages were Inistuck and Okerminna. At this time of the year Opitsat was unoccupied, but the natives returned before December 10.

much fatigued I am induced to believe it now admitting this as their canoes seldom paddle less than three and often six miles an hour that I think after making every allowance for stopping etca. etca. it is a pretty moderate calculation this they tell me is a fresh water river and that they move there for the benefit of catching salmon with which it abounds.¹

The 3d of December our old friend Captain Hanna brought us a fine deer which was purchased the carpenters this day finished sealing the vessel.

The 6th and 7th we had stormy weather the latter day it was squally which caused the ship to drag hove taut the slack cable the following day the weather again became fair hove up the anchor unbent the cable run it out and made fast to a tree then hove them all taut.

On the 10th the wood cutters were sent to procure more wood Captain Gray went on a party a gunning in his excursion he stopt at Opitsitah where he found Wickananish and a few of his tribe just removed from Okerminna a building their houses. [126]

The 14th the pinnace with a party was sent to procure logs to make boards in the afternoon the carpenters finished the vessel's plank on her sides on the 15th we were visited by Wickananish and several of the chiefs of whom were purchased six good skins the latter part of this and all the following day we had heavy thunder, sharp lightning, hail, rain and sleet.

At the earnest solicitation of a number of the Chiefs I on the 22d (of the month) accompanied Captain Gray to the village of Opitsitah to see Yeklan the youngest brother of Wickananish we were received at the beach by a Chief with about forty young men who conducted us to the house of the sickman chanting an agreeable though solemn air as we went and making our arrival known to every one in the avenue to the house we were greeted by a number of the populace who had assembled on the occasion on entering the house we were received by Wickananish who presented us to his father and mother they received us with the most cordial affection

¹ It is difficult to suggest an Indian village on Clayoquot Sound answering these geographical requirements; and it is impossible to estimate the allowance to be made for exaggeration and falsehood in them. See, however, page 249, note 1, above.

and said or seemed to say save the life of my son and restore him to health who until now we had not seen having been obscur'd by six stout men who are a set of priests and doctors that do every thing by m[a]gic some of these were pressing on his belly and breast others sucking his throat making at times a most hideous noise which [127] is answered by the voices of a great multitude that had thronged the house now and then those men would pretend to scoop something up (as though it was water) with their two hands and then blow it way thus those men would continue to press and feel about the young man's body till they pretendedly would get hold of the evil spirit that was the cause of all his malady then seize on him as before mentioned and blow him away.¹

The sickman was laid on a board covered with mats stripped perfectly naked he appeared to be much emaciated those men had workt him into a high feaver and he had a pain in his bowels and limbs as we had judg'd the young man wanted nourishment so it was we had therefore brought him down some fowl soup and our servant made him some panado, boiled some rice etca. etca. we then left him though not until both he and his father made us promise a daily visit we were frequently asked both by him his father and several of the other chiefs if we thought he would die they were answered in the negative provided those men were not allowed to press him any more which was promised should be the case.

The cause of this young man's illness is an excess of grief at the loss of his only child which died a few months since this he took so much to heart as scarce to be persuaded by his friends to [128] receive sustenance sufficient to keep him alive add to this about three weeks since he visited us at the ship on his return he caught a bad cold and he will ere long in all human probability fall a sacrifice to his immoderate grief such is the affection of people whom we deem savages to their children.

These people as yet have only erected temporary huts within the framings of their houses their being but a small part of the tribe come down the hut where we visited the sickman which is the only one we enter'd there was scarce room to stand upright and but a

¹ Boit merely mentions this visit in his log (November 27, 1791). The conduct described by Hoskins was the approved and accepted practice of the shamans or medicine men.

small shelter from the inclemency of the weather as the boards were not so close but that you could see through all parts and it was not necessary to remove those on the roof to give a passage to the smoke with which the hut was continually filled this hovel was dressed out to the best advantage with peices of copper, bits of iron, pearl shells, strips of cloth etca. etca. hung up with strips of bark and decorated with eagles feathers in fact the whole presented one of the most lively scenes of human wretchedness.

On the 25th Wickananish with a number of the other Chiefs being previously invited honored us with their company to spend Christmas day their ladies were at the same time invited and came up in their canoes but they could not be induced to come on board rather preferring to tarry [129] in their canoes and receive what we chose to send them from our festive board which the Chiefs their husbands dictated there is one dish we had I can't help remarking which on our side of the Continent at this season of the year would be thought a curiosity this is a wortleberry pudding which is and has been in high perfection with several other sorts of berries ever since we came into the cove there not having been as yet frost sufficient to kill them which is a little extraordinary in this high latitude.

The people as this is a day of festivity in many countries and a day on which all nations ought to rejoice was given to them and the house at the Fort granted them to spend it in which at daylight in the morning they neatly and fancifully decorated as also the vessel on the stocks with spruce boughs interspersed with the various flowers of the season they were allowed as many fowl such as geese, ducks, teals etca. as they could eat also of grog and every other thing a double allowance and to their credit be it spoken they spent the day with the greatest propriety not in noisy mirth making a drunken frolic on such an occasion as if common among sailors but with social glee and good harmony endeavouring to throw of the ruffian and imitate the gentleman when the day was spent they all returned to their respective duties not the least intoxicated with liquor.¹ [130]

On the 31st we again visited the sick chief who appears to be

¹ In the manifest of the *Columbia*, September 25, 1790, were included three hogsheads of New England rum and two hogsheads of West India rum. See below, page 443.

mending fast we had not been long there before a number of women came in and ranged themselves on each side of the room three deep and about twenty yards in length then the chief ordered them to entertain us with a song which was performed by upwards of two hundred men and women the music was rude but agreeable it being both vocal and instrumental the vocal part being performed by the women and the instrumental by the men their instruments are various one was an empty chest slung to a beam very handsomely painted and adorned with eagles feathers a man with a stick bound round with cæder bark struck on this which served for a drum several others with long poles striking against the boards on the roofs of the house others again with various hollow instruments in shape men, birds or any other figure their fancy suggests these had a few pebble stones in them which they struck against their hands and had a very good effect¹ when they first began to sing an elderly woman stood out in the center making a variety of the most ridiculous motions and gestures soon after another came out and so on to four these appeared only to serve to excite laughter and merriment the exactest time was kept during the performance by the voices motions and gestures of all as those who sung accompanied their voices by the motions [131] of their hands and bodies the spectators were more than double the number of the musicians and yet in the other houses there was scarce a perceptible diminution of there numbers I asked the sickman if this singing was not disagreeable to him he told me no but on the contrary was very pleasing for he said a few nights since the moon when he was asleep told him that if he had have had a great deal of singing his child would not have died and unless he himself had he would also die therefore he every day should have a concert superstitious wretch but thou art only a child of nature.

These people now have their village compleat the houses are built over the frames² and are large commodious and not inelegant.

1792. *January.* January the 1st 1792 being new years day a gen-

¹ Traditional ceremonial and dance rattles of the coast, familiar since the days of Captain Cook. Examples are to be seen in any large museum of anthropology. For representations of the various forms, see Niblack, "Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Annual Report* (1888), United States National Museum, plates 58-65.

² The people have all returned from Inistuck and Okerminna, and in so doing have brought

eral liberty was granted to all the people and a double allowance served them on the 2d many of the natives visited us from whom two skins were purchased as also a few fowl.

The 3d the Calker began calking the Adventure's bottom and on the 4th the pinnacle was dispatched to procure more knees.

On the 6th we were visited by many of the natives with skins among the rest was Cassacan the chief of Nittenat who still retains the loathsome disease he had when we visited him at his village the natives now demand [132] muskets, powder and shot for their skins which now supplants copper and cloathing.

The 9th the steerage was parted off to make a more convenient place to put our skins the Carpenters this afternoon finished beaming and kneeing the Adventure.

On the 10th Captain Gray and myself went down to the village in the jolly boat to visit the sick chief¹ when we arrived at the beach and were on the point of landing as Captain Gray went to move his gun it went off the charge just grazed my side went through our two great coats the stern of the boat and one of the shot into a natives arm who had just paddled clear of the stern otherways he would have received the whole charge our situation would then have been the most critical for though it was an accident yet in all probability it would have been construed otherways and we should have fell an innocent sacrifice to an enraged multitude for it would have been impossible for us to have got away as their canoes will paddle much faster than our boat could row luckily however the gun was only charged with swan shot as we had been killing a few geese in our way the native therefore got but little damage we dressed his wound as well as we were able gave him a knife and he appeared to be satisfied we then [133] proceeded to the sickman's house where we as in general found Wickananish to whom I told what had just happened he heard it without the least emotion and laughed when I asked him what he would have done with us if the man had have been killed and said those who come to his village peaceably shall never meet with uncivil treatment.

back the cedar boards that made the sides and roofs of the houses. These are now replaced on the frames.

¹ Yethlan, the youngest brother of Wickananish.

We had not been setting in the house long when about a dozen stout fellows came in some with paddles others with peices of iron etca. I can't say but that on the sight of these people I felt myself in a most disagreeable situation Yeklan's wife no doubt observing the emotions of my mind which I willingly would have concealed very kindly said to me don't be afraid of those people they won't hurt you they belong to Esquoot¹ and have come to see my husband I felt myself ashamed at my emotions having been observed and at the same time all the tenderness of her language—there was a place cleared for these people and they all came and set down after having being seated a short time they each held two chizzels in their hands when one got up and made considerable of a harangue in an audible voice then one of Yeklan's people got up and answered him after a few responses those chizzels were received and laid at Yeklan's feet [134] when the whole household three times sung out clacko clacko clacko thank ye thank ye thank ye.

On the 12th we had many natives aboard with the Chief of the village Etshouset² from whom was purchased a Deer and two geese.

The first part of the 16th was rainy and disagreeable but it clearing in the afternoon the old Chief brought his youngest son Yeklan aboard who is very sick and requests Captain Gray's permission to let him stay on board and be doctored which is granted.³

Having had frequent invitations from Chiefs since their removal to Opitsitah to spend a few days with them at their village and on my refusal have been told I was afraid and that they would leave another Chief on board the ship while I was gone having now another invitation from Tootiscoosettle whom I could not well refuse and as his father and brother were on board the ship there was no danger to be apprehended I therefore went in his boat accompanied by Mr. Boit⁴ and tarried until the following day at sunset when I returned

¹ A harbor lying between Clayoquot and Nootka sounds, and about thirty miles from Opitsat as the crow flies. It is today called Hesquiat.

² Perhaps the village Echachis, on Wakennenish Island near the entrance of Templar Channel, Clayoquot Sound.

³ In view of the subsequent attempt to capture the *Columbia*, Hoskins later thought this step merely a manoeuvre to ascertain what sort of watch was kept at night.

⁴ The date of this visit, according to Boit, was January 17, 1792. Though Boit mentions the visit, he does not indicate that Hoskins or anyone else was with him, nor does he enter into such minute details as Hoskins does.

not a little pleased with my excursion though I was not aware until my return of the bad construction that might be put on my visit by lascivious minded people for as these natives are remarkable for their chastity so my honor if not my inclination would [135] not permit me to wish them to swerve from it.

As soon as we arrived six men received the canoe from the surf and carried her up on the beach where we landed dry Tootiscoosettle immediately sent to inform his brothers and the other chiefs of our arrival and in the mean time conducted us to his house at the upper end of which they spread clean mats and placed boxes for us to set on but scarce were we seated before the house was thronged all the Chiefs came to welcome us and requested our company at their houses on the morrow particularly Wickananish who requested we would honor him with our company at a ball he should order at his son's house on the morrow—the chief now very politely asked me what I would eat I pointed to some herrins I saw hanging up he ordered them to be brought and had them roasted which was done by thrusting a stick through them standing them up before the fire and now and then turning them until they were done when they were brought and laid before me on a clean mat these with some bread and salt that I brought down with me I made a very good supper in which Wickananish and Tootiscoosettle both joined me there was water brought me in a clean tinpot to drink but the chief expressed much regret at the same time that he had no kind of liquor to offer me¹ and said if he had have had one days warning every thing should [136] have been more to my mind supper being finished and every thing cleared away he now asked me to choose what part of the house I would sleep in this as I was under his roof I left for his determination he then ordered a large chest to be brought and placed just back of where I was setting upon which was spread several mats and a sail a small box with a moose's hide buff leathered (which is one of their war garments)² served for a pillar and

¹ Captain Cook, in 1778, reported of the Indians of Nootka that "when offered spirituous liquors they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate." The maritime traders had in six years broken down this repugnance, and by 1791 the Indian was inordinately fond of intoxicating liquor.

² These war garments of tanned moose or elk skins were called by the traders, clamons. The principal source of supply was the Columbia River, though many were obtained on Vancouver

a sea otter skin cootsack¹ hung on a pole for a curtain which served to screen me from the sight of the populace this he said was for me and asked if it was agreeable to my wishes on my answering in the affirmative he said I was at liberty to retire whenever I pleased thus did this good man endeavour to accomodate me in as much stile as his situation was capable of.

About ten o'clock the people began to disperse when they cooked a quantity of fibrous roots which they eat with oil these appear to be the roots of clover and other grass and are by no means unpalatable after this the chief ordered all their fires out and we retired to bed he lay on some mats alongside of me and a row of his people lay to guard us so that it was impossible to get up without awaking some of them [137] the Chief told us if we attempted to walk without one of his people attending with a torch we should certainly be killed and if we wished to walk at any time two of those people should attend us.

I found these people kept a diligent watch six or eight men running about the beach all night with lighted torches every now and then calling to each other² some small canoes also rowing guard and the door way of every house guarded by one or two men for what reason they kept this watch I could not rightly learn whether it be for fear of other tribes attacking them (which is always done in the night) or of the wild beasts they pretend the latter but I have good reason to conclude the former is principally the cause.

At daylight in the morning Wickananish sent for Tootiscoosettle to come to his son's house I being awake he requested me to accompany him we found but few at the house when we first entered but it soon began to fill when Wickananish harangued them the[n] Tootiscoosettle and afterwards another chief named Hannappee who is high priest and Wickananish's uncle's eldest son after several discourses by these three different Chiefs which at the conclusion of each [138] was answered with loud shouts the people were ordered to depart.

Island. The natives were greatly surprised when shown that a rifle bullet would pierce them. See Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 307.

¹ A mantle or robe, which, when made of sea-otter skins, consisted of three skins, two sewed together lengthwise and one along the bottom crosswise.

² Boit mentions the watch and the calls to each other, but says nothing of the torches.

The purport of these harangues were to the following effect that whereas the eldest son of Wickananish to whom he had given his name and taken upon himself that of Hyyoua had become old enough to head his whaling canoe (a lad about twelve years old) he had given it up to him that it was expected in future they would look up to him as their Chief and in case his boat got upset or destroyed by the whales all who paddled in her must expect instant death but should they prove successfull they would meet with every mark of Wickananish or Hiyoua's pleasure and according to ancient custom he had already been giving them and had had some singing and dancing that in four days he should give them a great deal more the meantime they must dedicate to mirth and festivity.

After the greater part of the people had dispersed leaving only a few of the principal men Wickananish (the name I shall continue to call the chief) told them he had determined to have an extraordinary dancing and singing to honor his visitors or as he calls us "Tiye awinna" or travelling chiefs to which they agreed when it was notified throughout [139] the village by a man who was sent round for that purpose he entered all the houses and with a loud and audible voice ordered the men to appear at a certain time at the further end of the beach dressed in their best array.

I now left the Chiefs and went to Wickananish's house where I was introduced to several Nootka chiefs from this I went to several others houses being importuned by the Chief of every house to visit him for scarce would they let me pass their house without entering every where I found them dressing they would first go bath and wash in the saltwater afterwards wash themselves in freshwater then wipe dry the women would then rub their faces with deers tallow which they would heat by chewing then paint and oil their bodies and dressing their hair in various fashions I was pleased to see the attention these females paid to their husbands who seemed to vie with each other whose should be best decorated.

About ten o'clock they began their dancing and musick when Tootiscoosettle came and desired me to stay with him he being lame did not join them telling me if I mixt in with the mob very probably I might be insulted which he should be the more [140]

sorry for as the persons would not be known therefore it would not be in his power to punish them.

They came along the beach very slow singing and dancing to the exactest time sometimes two or three chiefs dancing from one end to the other on the shoulders of the company Wickananish himself marching in front from right to left ordering the dancers there were four women on each who served as musicians they having a copper machine with pebble stones in it which they rattled and sang at the same time finally the company arrived opposite the house of young Wickananish being at least three quarters of an hour coming not a quarter of a mile where they gave a genteel dance then rushed up the passage one by one Tootoocheetticus leading the way I suppose there were about two hundred in this company after the principal part of them had got in I entered with Tootiscoosettle who placed me on a good seat on one side and Mr. Boit on the other side of him the house was clean and neatly decorated with the branches of spruce and fir a number of other natives now entered the house to assist in singing who were placed round in two rows having [141] a board placed before them and a small stick given to each for to strike on it no women or strangers were admitted to be actors in the company but those women who acted as musicians before mentioned how many there were in the house that sung I know not but should suppose nearly six hundred besides there were nearly twice as many who stood without and were spectators.

After a short respite they began to sing at the same time shaking their rattles and striking on those boards with their sticks which though a harsh confused noise was to the exactest time and by no means displeasing after singing several songs in came two men with a couple of bundles of laths on their shoulders the outer ends all of a blaze they run round and round several times before the company skipping and hollowing which was answered with loud laughs from the whole company then they laid them down in the middle of the room and went and fetch'd more with some large billets of pine wood and made a great fire they then again began to sing and after singing several more songs they began to dance which they did by squatting on their hams and jumping to the [142] musick

round the fire frequently whirling round two or three times in the air after singing and dancing two or three more tunes the scene closed with a frantic dance jumping and catching hold of their peoples garments or flesh Tootoocheetticus caught hold of one fellows cootsack who sat at my feet with his teeth making a jump with a whirl at the same time and tore it in too after this they all dispersed.¹

To describe their various dresses would fill a volume scarce any two being alike the principal part had their bodies painted of a dead red their faces variously some of a shining black others red, others white again others black and white or black red and white variegated according to fancy etca. their heads as various as their faces in general they were incrustated with grease and paint strewed with down and dressed out with small branches of the cypress and the long feathers of the eagles tails stuck up on top of their heads they wore a garment which was tied round their waist and hung as low as their knees a flaxen stuff tied in a bow just below the knees which hung to the ground and another bow of the same sort tied round the thick of the arm again others with dresses quite [143] the reverse taking the whole together they formed the most savage grotesque appearance I ever beheld.²

We were invited by Tootoocheetticus to take dinner with him which we did on clams and fish which were both boiled and roasted after dinner we went to Tootiscoosettles to whom I expressed my wish of returning he immediately ordered a boat to be got ready and manned we then paid each of the Chiefs another visit and taking our leaves left them.

While we tarried at Opitsitah we were treated with the greatest politeness and attention by all ranks of people every one seeming to make it his study to render our situation agreeable and happy but none more so than our friend Tootiscoosettle who immediately on my arrival appointed two men to wait and tend upon me these people conducted me wherever I chose to go preeceeding me and proclaiming who was a coming.

¹ Boit's account (below, pages 386-387) is very brief, but agrees with this in the main. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, gives a short account (265) of a similar ceremony in recent years.

² See generally on these matters, Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, Chapters 8 and 9.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th Tootiscoosettle came to invite Captain Gray and myself down to the village he said Wickananish was going to give a great deal both to the Chiefs and people and wished to give us some skins Captain Gray [144] being indispos'd declined the invitation and I excused myself as I knew those presents would cost much dearer than if the skins were purchased¹ and let them be given to whom they may they would be sold to us in the end this Chief was by no means pleased with our not accepting of Wickananish's invitation we sent the sickman off in this Chief's canoe who has become so filthy that there is no enduring him. The topmast were this day sent up and rigged.

The 23d we were visited by many of the natives from whom were purchased a few skins, two deer and several geese and ducks.

On my enquiring of the natives they have frequently given me to understand that this front land from de Fuca's straits to the northward of Chickleset was an Island or rather I suppose a group of Islands² that the people who live at the mouth of the Straits go up them in their canoes and procure skins from the natives there and that the Nootka people walk over land having among our visitors this day two Chiefs from the latter place Clahquahkinnah and Hannahpiset I again brought on the subject when they confirmed what I had before heard they [145] say that in one night and part of a day some of their chiefs walk over particularly Maquinnah and Nas-sapy who go often and that those back chiefs walk over to Nootka³ on the back side of Nootka from their description is a large bay full of Islands on which the natives are very numerous and from whom most of their skins are procured for a very trifling consideration in comparison to what they are afterwards sold to foreigners.⁴

¹ The invariable experience of the maritime traders. Ingraham, in his MS. journal of the *Hope*, tells of his efforts to evade trading under the guise of reciprocal gifts—a plan in which Skidegate, a Haida chief, was expert.

² The belief in the insularity of the coastal front was general, doubtless derived from the Indians; but the fact was not demonstrated until Vancouver, in the summer of 1792, sailed through from Cape Flattery to Cape Scott.

³ The Indians near Johnstone Strait evidently had trails across to Nootka, along which flowed the intertribal trade. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 269. The journey occupied four days, and the distance, says Vancouver, was twenty leagues.

⁴ The reference must be to land furs, for the sea-otter was practically unknown in the Strait of Georgia and the other channels back of Vancouver Island.

On the 25th the Calker finished calking the Adventure's bottom and on the 27th she was graved on the 31st a gang of hands was employed in fitting the Adventure's rigging.

At nine o'clock this morning a large canoe with six natives came from the village with a request from Wickananish that I would come down and visit his sick brother I accordingly went in the canoe on my arrival at his house I found the sickman much emaciated and very low I carried him down several things that I thought would be serviceable to him which he received with the greatest seeming gratitude and for which I had the thanks and benedictions of all who were present among whom were his father mother wife and eldest brother from this I visited Tootoocheetticus who [146] two days since had lost an adopted son a fine lad of about twelve years of age I found him laying with his face towards the ground his wives in the same position upon my entering he raised his head and held out his hand for me to come to him I went he cordially took me by the hand and seated me on his couch then told me of his misfortune his eyes at the same time bedewed with tears which trickled copiously down his cheeks the tear of humanity which I in vain endeavoured to check now started from my eye and I was already a partaker of his grief and sincerely condoled with him at his loss at the same time persuaded him it was best to be resigned to the Almighty's will he then desired that I would not and requested me to desire Captain Gray to not think hard of him if he should not come to the ship for several days for he said he should not leave his house till his sorrows had got sufficient vent which time alone could accomplish This was truly a house of mourning and if among civilized nations the shewing of a decent sorrow for the death of a child or friend is praise worthy how much more is it so among savages who from their untutored life can be scarce thought a degree above the brute creation. [147]

As humanity in every stage of life is pleasing more particularly when found with the savage who inhabits the wilds of america it therefore I hope will not be thought improper in its being remarked in this place the lad whose death has been just mentioned was a native of Claheset a village on Tootooch's Island situated at the mouth of the straits of de Fuca his mother was a sister to Tootoo-

cheetticus¹ his father died a few years since when Tootoocheeticus took this boy and adopted him for his son and in every respect treated him with the most paternal affection.

1792. *February*. On the 1st of February the Calker began calking the ship's sides and upper works the 2d all the empty water casks were sent ashore to the Fort² and at seven in the morning of the 3d unmoored ship and hauled her alongside of a steep rocky bank w[h]ere she was made fast it being intended here to discharge the ship previous to her being hauled ashore to grave.

I was much against the ship's being hauled to this place³ as it unnecessarily put us in the power of the natives in this situation the Ship and Fort being out of sight of each other no assistance could be expected they being divided into two separate parties there [148] force of course was weakened which should the natives take advantage of and carry either it would not only be the loss of lives but the ruination of the voyage on the other hand it was answered that the natives were very peaceable and friendly and there was no cause to apprehend any danger from them that it was much more convenient to discharge the ship at this place than in the way I proposed which was to land every thing in our boats at the Fort that we might be ready at all times to support each other in any case of emergency but those who had the conducting of this bussiness thought it less trouble to themselves to haul to this place it was therefore determined against my opinion and as I could not prevent it I only told Captain Gray I hoped the natives would not take any advantage of the opportunity which was now presented them.

This day the carpenters finished decking the Adventure and the Columbia began to discharge.

The 5th the Carpenters, calkers and others in their various branches this is the first sunday our people have been employed but the season for cruizing is now approaching so rapidly that it has become absolutely necessary.

¹ Another brother of Wickananish, but must be distinguished from Tootiscoosettle, the eldest brother. Clahaset, or Classet, was, according to Vancouver (*ibid.*, II. 49), "about two miles within the cape," not on Tatoosh Island as here stated.

² Fort Defiance, as Gray had called the house ashore.

³ Hoskins finds fault with this as with nearly every other action of Captain Gray. But neither Haswell nor Boit makes in this case any criticism.

From the 7th to the 11th [149] the weather was stormy with severe squalls and much rain this day the cannon were landed the ship cleared and washed through out.

On the 14th the natives visited us having heard several guns fired the last evening I asked the Chiefs the cause of it when Too-toocheetticus informed me he had been learning his people to fire havi[n]g placed up a board on which he drew a figure the size of a man as they were shortly a going to fight the Hichaht people¹ he wanted his to know how to fire in the night.

The 16th the Calker finished calking the ship's sides when a party of the people were sent to cut and make brooms split up some dry wood and get every thing in readiness to grave.

At six the following morning the ship was unmoored and hauled to the beach at Fort Defiance for the purpose of graving at two in the afternoon it came on to rain (which continued until midnight) but this although it gave considerable trouble did not prevent the paying that side of the bottom which had been but just finished scraping and burning it was Captain Gray's intention to have hauled back to the bank the [150] night tide and wait a better opportunity to grave the other side but the tide did not rise high enough to float the ship in the morning at seven o'clock the ship being afloat and the weather by no means appearing to be settled the ship was hauled to the bank.

Yesterday we were visited by Wickananish and several other of the chiefs who gave me an invitation to come to there village to day being in want of some boards² at ten o'clock I went in the jolly boat to bargain for a parcel on my arrival at the village I found Wickananish superintending some people who were making canoes which he said was for the purpose of whaling every body appeared to be busy never in my life did I see all ranks so engaged.

I was not as usual permitted to rove at large young Wickananish³ having strict orders to attend me wherever I went and prescribe the

¹ The name may be fictitious or it may refer to Echachis, an Indian village then on the southeasterly end of Wakennenish Island, Templar Channel. See below, page 269, note 1, and page 317, note 1. It would appear that in reality they were practising for the attack soon to be made on the *Columbia*.

² A native product, of course, split from the cedar, and used for walls and roofs of their houses.

³ The lad who had recently been so named.

houses to which I should enter in some of which they were making spears barbed arrows etca. others prepairing guns and making shot etca. I demanded the cause of all this preparation they said shortly they were going to destroy a tribe not far distant called Hichahats¹ who had not of late in every respect paid them that homage which they thought due to so great a nation I [151] returned to old Wick-ananish and enquired concerning this war and when it was to commence he said in two months shew me the canoes in which he should go which had been new fitted and painted up saying they would carry from twenty to thirty men each at the same time asked me if I would go with him and was not afraid.

Hearing a confused noise in his house I expressed a desire to pay his wives a visit he peremptorily told me I should not go I then asked him what all that noise meant he said two days ago a canoe with two men and a woman in it struck on a rock and upset that the woman was drowned and they were bemoaning her loss this excited my curiosity still the more and I attempted twice to go the first time I was called back he saying if I went they would throw stones at me and kill me that he himself was afraid to go I told him I was not and set out a second time when I was forcibly stopt by a man who seized my by the coat and brought me back I was diverted from attempting it again as Wickananish's father invited me to go to his house which I readily accepted and went but here I did not meet with that friendly treatment to which I had been so usually [152] accustomed while here the natives brought in many barbs and spears for the old man's approbation one of the latter of which he laughingly measured if it would go through me I tarried here but a little while before I again returned to Wickananish whom I now found holding a counsel with some old men and I could plainly perceive the debates ran high though on my approach they desisted I told him I wished to purchase some boards thinking this would gain admission to his house but this scheme would not do he as before sent his eldest son with me to some of the lower peoples houses I went purchased what I wanted and again returned to Wickananish with whom I now endeavoured to appear to be much

¹ This form of the name more closely resembles that of the village then on Wakenenish Island, Templar Channel.

offended telling him at the same time that he had never been denied admission into the ship, cabin or house and asked him why he denied me his house he then consented I should go if I would wait until a man he was going to send to the house should return as soon as this man returned he took me by the hand and we went to his house the noise was now discontinued and the house in general appeared as usual save one square place which was formed by mats hung on poles about eight feet high and reaching to the ground in [153] this there was still continued a confused noise and it was a considerable time and after long persuasion before I was permitted to go near or look into it and then not till after they had called out to them but there was nothing to be seen only a parcel of people squatting round looking at each other like so many mumchances when I left them the noise again began a man now stood up on a box that he was above the mats to see that I did not return which I did several times by various circuitous motions in hopes of not being perceived but a fellow who followed me round always gave notice of my approach when the noise was discontinued one of my people in coming near this sacred place had several stones thrown at him which had I not perceived him in time he would have had the rashness to have returned some disagreeable consequences would of course have ensued finding it therefore useless to attempt to gain any further information at five in the afternoon I took my leave.¹

The tide having but just began to make about a quarter of a mile above Opitsitah my boat grounded on the flats which detained me until after sunset.

During my tarry at the [154] village Wickananish was very importunate to know whether we had done graving the ship if it was good weather to morrow we should grave the other side if she now lay at the bank and particularly if she would lay there all night also how many days after she came of the ground she would lay there to all which questions I gave such answers as would satisfy any person but a credulous savage.

A little without the Cove I saw Tootiscoosettle he was in his

¹ The friendly relations had continued so long that even this unusual conduct aroused no suspicions.

canoe laying close under the island I saw him and called to him he came and said he had just come from the ship he asked me if I had done coming to Opitsitah and insisted on my promising to come to morrow saying his wife Whattlewhyotlah of whom I was a favourite was unwell and wished exceedingly to see me Tootiscoo-settle now asked me similar questions to what Wickananish had done before concerning the ship and to whom I gave similar answers. he then told me Captain Gray had been taking some cloathing away from him which if I would have returned to him he would come for in the morning this I afterwards found to be some cloathing belonging to the boatswain that had been stole from the ship this was hardly a [155] prudent step in Captain Gray as I was gone to their village for one moments reflection would have given him sufficient reason to think if the news reached the village before my departure they would retaliate on me.¹

I now parted with this chief and soon got aboard of the ship where I found them all in the greatest consternation and much rejoiced at my return telling me they never expected to see me more.

Captain Gray now informed me of a conspiracy concerted by the natives to take the ship and murder us all this information was given by Ottoo our sandwich islander who says Tootoocheetticus asked him how many men kept watch a nights if Captain Gray did etca. to wet our guns knock the priming out of our small arms and pistols and give him powder and ball that he with his brothers and a number of their people were a coming to night to take the ship that they should land on the opposite side of the bank walk through the bush and could then easily jump on board the ship kill the watch and every soul on board but him that he must run to them on the first onset that if they succeeded he should be [156] made a great Chief and they would give him plenty of skins afterwards as though Tootoocheetticus suspected Ottoo would discover the plot he said they would come in two nights and not to night as his brothers could not be ready until then.

I now made enquiries myself as I could hardly credit what the

¹ The boatswain was Benjamin Harden, who died about a month later (March 22, 1792) after a lingering illness. Here we find another complaint by Hoskins against the captain; plainly, Gray could scarcely do anything right in the eyes of this "prejudiced, discontented boy," as Hoskins characterized himself.

boy said not thinking is possible for so much ingratitude to exist in the human heart especially in those who appeared to be so much our friends and with whom we have so long lived on such good terms men who have been treated by us like christians and brothers who eat at our table drank of our cup partook with us of the best the ship afforded and that could be procured who had their sick attended and every thing we were possessed of requisite for their relief freely administred that they should now seek our lives is an action which none but a savage heart is capable of conceiving had we have treated them ill or as some people have an idea savages ought to be treated had we have ravished their women despoiled their towns destroyed their fisheries or committed any depredations whatsoever they would have just grounds [157] for this inhuman conduct and would by no means be blameable for seeking revenge but the contrary of all this has been the case the modesty and chastity of their women has been admired and commended by us and the severest punishment to any one who should dare to insult them their fisheries we have encouraged as also their hunting and fowling by purchasing whatever they chose to spare in fine we have endeavoured to gain the good will of all ranks of people belonging to this tribe to instil into their minds noble and generous ideas of our nation and to efface from them all savage principles this in some measure we had the vanity to flatter ourselves was accomplished till this unfortunate period which puts it beyond a doubt that it is impossible for an honest honourable or gratefull principal ever to enter the breast of a savage.

But it was not revenge for any injury they had received for which they were seeking it was alone to possess themselves of our property which to them appeared immense and which in a similar situation in a more civilized country would have been a temptation to many.¹

On enquiry I found it was by one of those accidents which

¹ Hoskins does not realize what an affront to the tribe was the arrest by deception and imprisonment of one of their chiefs, a brother of the head chief. So frequently were the chiefs similarly trapped that in the following year Wickananish refused to go on board the *Margaret* unless a hostage were left ashore, and in 1793 he refused to trust himself on the *Jefferson*. Doubtless in this case the property was an added incentive, but it is plain that revenge was the primary motive. Boit's account will be found below, pages 387-389.

[158] always discovers the most savage plots and brings to light the most secret murders that we came to the knowledge of this.

Mr. Smith¹ having observed Ottoo and Tootoocheetticus to be talking together for some time he seperated them and ordered the boy about his work but they soon found means to be together again Mr. Smith after seperating them several times at last spoke pretty harshly to both Ottoo and Tootoocheetticus telling the latter he was talking bad to Ottoo though not suspecting what it was the Chief immediately sneaked into his canoe and went off.

Ottoo now goes into the caboose where was one of the people and says to him what is Mr. Smith mad with me for does he think I talk with Tootoocheetticus to come and take the ship this created much suspicion in the man's breast who questioned Ottoo pretty close when he told the story nearly as I have before related the man now told Ottoo to go and inform Captain Gray immediately or he would and then Captain Gray would kill him Ottoo as he supposed to save his life informed and thus were we [159] accidentally saved from being all massacred and probably the greatest part of us in our beds.

I cannot but be surprized at their not detaining me and my boats crew at their village and can assign no other reason for their not doing it than the fear of giving the alarm to the ship thinking at the same time a few hours could make but little odds when they were so sure of having me.

It was now the general opinion and therefore was determined that the ship should be hauled on shore and graved to night as in our present station we could neither afford assistance to the Fort nor the Fort to us if the natives should attack us in two parties and they might overpower one but the ship being on the ways we could afford mutual assistance to each other whereas should their party be divided their plan of attack would be frustrated in some measure.

As soon as the tide served the ship was hauled on shore the meantime was employed in getting the arms and ammunition in compleat order and readiness for the attack it was a most beautiful starlight [160] night we had got the bottom of the ship

¹ Owen Smith, originally the third mate, but doubtless promoted after the murder of Mr. Caswell in the preceding August.

scraped and nearly burnt when the natives gave a most dismal whoop this was between one and two o'clock in the morning the people who belonged to the Fort flew to their arms and those who belonged to the ship was by no means behind them in less than five minutes every man was to his quarters with arms and ammunition ready for action never did men keep a sharper look out or appear more determined but to be conquered by death alone.

We continued to hear the most dreadful shrieks or whoops till day began to dawn they appeared to be in two parties the one sounded from towards the bank where the ship had laid the other from the gap opposite to the Fort I suppose those shrieks or whoops must have been the order for retreat the Chiefs were frequently called to by name telling them we were ready for them and to come on but were always answered by a dismal shriek no doubt with me it has been long in agitation with them to take us and their fetching the sick chief aboard was a manoeuvre to see what look out we kept of nights.

As soon as the ship floated which was about nine o'clock we hauled back to the bank where we [161] had scarcely made fast before a canoe with three of the lower people entered the cove they approached us with evident signs of fear they brought a few fish for sale as an excuse which were purchased when they left the ship they would frequently turn round point to the place on which they landed view the ground position of the ship and Fort etca. another canoe with three women in it came about noon they brought fish and leeks but would sell them for nothing but powder and shot Captain Gray ordered them to immediately depart with a promise of giving them a plenty of both those articles when we should come down to Opitsitah¹ the people in both these canoes were very particular in enquiring whether we should lay at the bank all night etca.

Immediately on the ship's being made fast the people were set to work reloading her which by their activity and industry notwithstanding they were up all the preceding night they accomplished and the ship was hauled off to her moorings before sunset the Carpenters Smiths and others with their tools and every thing that

¹ Hoskins does not explain this enigmatic expression, but Boit throws a possible light upon it in his entry for March 27, 1792.

was thought valuable was brought on board from the Fort the cannon were discharged and thrown out of their [162] carriages that they might not be used against us the Adventure was secured with additional shores to the roof of the house adjacent trees etca. and if it was not impossible it would be at least a work of time for the natives to throw her down finally the Fort was abandoned for the night and all retired to the ship there was a quarter watch set and every one who slept lay upon his arms but the natives did not think it prudent to disturb us.

In the morning of the 20th the carpenters and others with a strong guard were sent ashore to the Fort to get the Adventure in readiness to launch as soon as possible.

About noon we were surprized after what has happened on being visited by the father of Wickananish and Tootiscoosettle they approached us with the most specious shew of friendship though their countenances betrayed the most evident signs of fear the old gentleman came on board but Tootiscoosettle would not¹ the former of which brought a sea otter skin cootsack and the latter two sea otter skins² these Captain Gray took from them and told them to go to Yethlure and Yeklan to whom a musket and cloth cootsack had been [163] lent for their pay these chiefs were then ordered to depart and never to return again on pain of death³ I was sorry for this as it effectually shut up our source of trade which is our principal bussiness on this coast and we now have no longer a right to expect to be able to procure any more skins from this tribe who as yet have done us no farther injury than alarm us confine us to the cove and within the reach of our vessels out of which at present we have no bussiness it is therefore a pity to make an open rupture with people from whom no harm is to be expected but it must be attributed to a sudden irritation which will cause a man to do things often that he will afterwards be sorry for.

On the morning of the 22d a forge was erected on deck for the

¹ Probably Tootiscoosettle remembered his imprisonment on the *Columbia* in June, 1791.

² The cutsark and skins would represent five skins and would be worth in China about \$150.

³ This again illustrates the highhanded conduct so common throughout the maritime fur-trade. Conjoined with the Indian's idea of vicarious responsibility, it accounts for many of the so-called unprovoked attacks by the natives upon the traders. Here again is criticism of Gray—this time a proper one, though Gray was only doing what other traders did.

smith to work at at noon the Adventure was ready to launch when they started her she ran a little more than her length then stopt the ground proving false her ways sunk under her the carpenters immediately went to work blockt and shored her up again relaid the ways and properly secured them and the following day at noon she was launched¹ and hauled alongside of the Columbia firing a salute with three cheers there was no natives in the cove [164] at this time that we saw though there were several canoes with natives laying out side and a looking in.

The 24th the people were employed in procuring ballast and restowing the hold it being necessary as every thing was got on board in a hurry and promiscuously the 25th a party was sent to take the boards of the house as they were wanted on board the vessels and to send off every thing that was valuable one canoe with natives brought us fish and on the 27th we had three canoes with natives who brought both fish and fowl which were purchased on the 28th we began filling water and getting of wood which was compleated in the afternoon of the 1st of March.²

1792. *March.* The 2d 3d and 4th we had stormy weather the latter day much thunder and lightning with hail rain and sleet the weather became more pleasant on the 5th when the calker began calking the ship's counter Tootooch brought us a few fowl and some other natives a few fish on the 8th the spare spars were got in between decks.

On the 14th the boats were procuring ballast for the Adventure the 15th the people a scraping the Columbia's sides and bends and paying them [165] shortened the Adventure's mast four feet and stept it the 16th a party employed a rigging the Adventure Casacan the Chief of Nittenat visited us he brought six fine skins which after bartering about the price all the day long he was going to carry of in the evening but Captain Gray took them from him and paid him the customary price this I thought impolitic as through this man we might be able to purchase all the skins in this village

¹ Boit says "she went off admirably." Cf. Haswell's account, pages 313-314, below.

² The *Columbia*, which had been in winter quarters since October, is now beginning the season's trade. The new sloop *Adventure* is to trade in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands, while the ship takes the southern coast. Within ten years the vessels ceased to go into winter quarters, and traded throughout the year.

but Captain Gray thought otherways and if this chief was permitted to carry of these skins we should get none at all.¹

On the 18th delivered the Adventure a twelvemonths provisions and part of her cargo on the 19th a party in the boats were procuring her water we were visited by a number of the natives who bring us plenty of fish and leeks.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the 21st Benjamin Harden our boatswain departed this life and on the following day about noon after performing divine service his remains were interred on shore at Fort Defiance² this man has for many months lingered under that most disagreeable disorder the diarrhæa which it was not in the power of any medicine we are possest [166] of to divert this man was a good seaman and well respected in his office The spirits of this man was surprizing the night we expected to be attacked by the natives at a time when he was not able to be removed from his bed he begged that he might have a pair of pistols laid along side of him that should the natives overpower us he might shoot the savage who came to take his life then says he I shall die in peace.

On the 23d bent the sails and filled up what water has been drank out.

In the morning of the 25th we had light airs with rain and sunshine alternately at noon it cleared and became pleasant at two in the afternoon cast off the fasts hove up the anchor and towed out of the Cove the wind coming a head would not permit us to go down into the harbour we therefore cast anchor in five fathom water as did the Adventure at a short distance from us Clickscle-cutsee³ or as we called it Adventure Cove bearing south 78°45' east one mile distant round island north 0°15' west a quarter of a mile and the rocky islands south 22°30' east four miles distant at half past five the following morning again hove up and came to sail [167] with the ebb tide doubling round the islands which lead into the

¹ Another instance of the autocratic conduct of the maritime traders. Kendrick had done the same thing at the Queen Charlotte Islands (see above, page 240). The trader had come for sea-otter skins, and them he would have by fair means or foul. It was not a question of nationality.

² Cf. Boit's comment on him, below, page 389.

³ This Indian name for Adventure Cove seems to have dropped out of memory. The compass bearings show, however, that it was somewhere on Meares Island, about the southeasterly corner of Disappointment Inlet.

harbour the tide ran so rapid and we not doubling sufficiently short it swept us close to some rocks when the small bower anchor was let go which fetched the ship up in six fathoms water the rocks about eight or ten yards astern a kedge anchor and hawser was carried out to the northward the sails furled then the bower anchor hove up hauled off by the kedge took it up and ran into the harbour¹ under our staysails where we came to with the small bower and moored with the best to the southwest when moored the ship in six fathom water the flag staff at Opitsitah bearing north north west harbour island south half west and Fort [Defiance] east by north the Adventure was already moored in company we were by some of the natives visited who brought us fish and leeks but no chiefs came these natives had been at our winter quarters which their canoes plainly evinced from the quantity of rubbish they had in.

At four in the afternoon the wind veered to east south east and blew in heavy squalls with thunder lightning hail rain and sleet this continued until about two the following morning when in a severe squall it shifted to [168] the opposite point of the compass but the storm abated none in its violence it still continuing with hail rain and sunshine alternately until the evening when it abated the wind again veering to the eastward with constant heavy rains.

In the afternoon of the 28th the weather having become more settled I went on shore at the village of Opitsitah from which the natives have removed to Ichahchiss² a village in the roads this village has every appearance of having been left with precipitation by the natives as they had left many of their domestic utensils scattered about the houses and hid back of them in the bushes I here found abundance of various sorts of greens springing up which after my people had gathered a sufficient quantity I returned aboard.

On the 29th a canoe with a few natives from the Etshouset tribe fetched us a deer which was purchased and in the afternoon of the next day we were visited by Clahquahkinnah³ a Nootka chief now

¹ The Port Cox of Meares.

² This village, according to the map in Meares's *Voyages* (202), was then on the southeasterly end of Wakenenish Island; it is now on Village Island, which is close to its southern point. The natives had fled precipitately on the approach of the vessels; perhaps they remembered Captain Gray's threat. Cf. Haswell's entry for March 26, 1792.

³ No other trader gives this name of a chief.

residing at this place no doubt with a design to reconnoitre our post and see what reception he would meet with he was received civilly but at the same time shown that we were always prepared for an attack. [169]

As we are now about leaving this place¹ though contrary to my wishes not on the most friendly terms with the natives for which cause little knowledge can be expected to be derived from any future intercourse with them no doubt it will be thought from our wintering in this harbour that every information must have been obtained respecting this people and their country but it is to be remembered that soon after we went into winter quarters the natives removed to Okerminnah where they continued until the middle of december this village was at so great a distance as to have never been visited by any of us and our visits by the natives were casual and unfrequent the middle of december as above mentioned they began to remove to Opitsitah this village was also at too great a distance for a frequent intercourse with each other from these circumstances our knowledge can only be considered as superficial for no doubt when any of us visited those natives at their village as is common with more civilized people so with them they put the best side outwards as what little knowledge has been obtained may not come amiss I will here subjoin it. [170]

This Harbour or rather this district or tribe is called by the natives Clioquot and as has been before observed by Captain Gray Hancock's Harbour it is situated about twenty leagues to the east south east of Nootka in the latitude of 49°9' north and longitude 125°26' west the enterance to this harbour is through a roads² about five miles in length where there is good anchorage the only obstruction in the passage through the roads is two sand spits the one running off from the eastern the other from the western shore to go clear of these you will run close in to Observatory Island steer from thence north north west until you get the passage into the harbour open on the eastern side of Harbour Island (there is a passage on the other side of the island but not so good) you may

¹ On March 27 Boit had, at Gray's command, destroyed the Indian village of Opitsat. Hoskins was there on the twenty-eighth but makes no mention of its having been destroyed.

² Templar Channel.

then venture to keep away for it keeping Harbour Island shore aboard till you are in the gap then by doubling round the eastern point you will find good anchorage in six or seven fathoms water over a sandy bottom about a mile from the shore.¹

There is a number of Islands of various sizes scattered about the harbour also several sand banks or spits and many fine coves in one of [171] the latter which was best suited for our purposes we wintered this harbour is well sheltered from almost every wind the tides run very strong it is high water full and change at twelve o'Clock and rises fourteen feet from the sketch of the harbour which accompanies this² a better idea may be formed than from any description I can give.

The land towards the sea shore is pretty low and level but back it rises into hills some of a moderate and others of a great height that of one of the former which I measured was two thousand six hundred and forty feet there is but little good soil which is on the low land and in the vallies and is formed from decayed trees rotten moss and leaves which are swept down from the mountains by the heavy torrents of rain which fall in the winter season this is about two or three feet deep and would with care admit of cultivation were the natives so disposed except these every other part appears to be one continued mass of rocks which makes it very astonishing how those large trees (with which the land is every where well covered) on the sides and summits of the mountains are supported.

The climate of this [172] part of the country (if I may be permitted to judge) is certainly much milder though not so healthy as that on our side of the continent it is neither so hot in summer nor so cold in winter which considering the latitude and its being on the same continent is much to be wondered at the frost through the winter was never so hard as to impede vegetation the snow which fell was very light and this only two or three times indeed what fell was little more than sufficient to bare the name though we could frequently when it rained with us plainly perceive it snowed on the mountains The bad weather began to set in on the 10th of no-

¹ These directions check very closely with those of Haswell in his first log. See Meares's map, *Voyages*, 202.

² This sketch has apparently not survived.

vember and continued till towards the last of december for the greater part of which time we had stormy weather with almost constant rain the wind from south east to east south east but when it veered to the westward which it sometimes would the weather became fair I have found at all times on this coast that an easterly wind was a certain prognostic of an approaching storm while a westerly wind was quite the reverse from this time the weather became more settled storms and rain were less frequent and it daily grew milder inso-[173]much that there was but little difference between this and summer and what in a less parallel of latitude at this season of the year in our country would be deemed incredible is that many of the berry bushes have been for some time in blossom the grass grown to a considerable heighth and vegetation of all kinds in great forwardness what can be the cause of this climates being so mild I will not pretend to say or even hazard a conjecture on¹ but if the natives may be believed it is not always so for according to their accounts it was a very moderate winter.

The trees with which these woods are composed are white yellow and pitch pines fir black and white spruce hemlock red and white cedar white cypruss black and white alder elder wild cherry crab apple and a tree with a leaf ressembling the hemlock the bark of a deep crimson the wood much like the west india red wood and nearly as heavy as *lignum vitæ* it is called by the natives "Wetap" besides these the natives informed me there was oak birch and maple growing at Okerminnah but I could never persuade them to bring a peice of the wood or a leaf of the tree this together [174] with having never seen any thing made of those woods in their possession induces me to think they told a fiction² the trees here grow with the greatest vigour and to an amazing size.

About the borders of the woods grow spontaneously a variety of bushes such as the wild red and white rose black currant gooseberry whortle berry blue berry black berry the mulberry leafed raspberry and a berry ressembling our thimbleberries besides these there

¹ Hoskins evidently knew nothing of the Japan Current, which moderates the climate of north-west America.

² The natives were nevertheless stating the truth: oak, birch, and maple are all to be found on Vancouver Island.

is a large bush whose leaves not a little resemble the orange leaf but of a much darker shining green the berry is large of a black colour and has a very pretty taste¹ also a tall bush with a small light green leaf somewhat similar to the leaf of the barberry bush which bears a scarlet berry twice as big as a currant and of a most delicate taste² the former of these bushes are called by the natives "Yahmah" and the latter "Esinnuah" among the rocks are found strawberry vines and pigeon or partridge berries.

In the spring there are leeks or small onions hogweed nettles thistles wild mustard wild parsnip wild parsley wild cellery two sorts of wild tanzey purslin sorrel camomile blue violets mullen wild pease clover [175] and several other sorts of grass on the lowland there is plenty of samphire water cresses and lillies there is also a root resembling the ground nut found on our side of the continent and tastes when raw like an acorn this is called by the natives "Poke" which was discovered to be the root of the wortleberry bush they have also a root similar to sassaparilla which is of a sickish sweet taste and stickliquorish which the natives call "Sheetlah" within the woods there are two or three sorts of fern some mosses and various other plants unknown to me.

The only quadrupeds seen by us were deers wolves raccoons squirrels land otters martins mice and once one of our people saw a bear though their tracts were often seen about on beaches our knowledge therefore of the animals is chiefly deduced from the skins found in possession of the natives or brought by them for sale and I doubt whether all these belong to the animals of this place our imperfect knowledge must be attributed not to want of inclination but to the impossibility of penetrating far into the forests it being so filled with underwood fallen trees and craggy rocks which are so rotten that at every step you are in danger of tumbling down some [176] precipice at the hazard of your life or at least your limbs excursions of this sort for these reasons were seldom attempted therefore those animals seen by us were only what chance or hunger forced out to our view.

The skins are bears, wolves, foxes, rein, fallow and moose deers,

¹ The salal.

² The huckleberry.

land otters, raccoons, brown minks, martins, beavers, wild cats, grey rabbits, the large grey and small brown squirrels common in our country and mice. The fallow deer, wolves, (which are grey) raccoons, squirrels and martins are found in great abundance bears are scarce and the skins much valued by the natives for cloathing they are large and of a beautifull shining black land otters are also scarce much smaller than those found in our country and their furr inferior that domestic animal which is so generally admired and commonly found with the natives on this coast is not here¹ at which on expressing my surprize the natives gave me to understand that some few years since the whole tribe agreed to destroy them that they might be freed from that part of the filth which these dogs contributed.

The amphibious animals are the common seal and sea otter as a traffick in the skin of this latter animal [177] is what principally induced us to visit this coast a short description of it may not be improper this animal when young is of a dirty white with long course hair which being hauled out leaves a short chesnut coloured fur its colours change through its natural gradation of life as it grows older the fur grows thicker blacker and longer with less hair till it arrives at its maturity having the belly and head at this time of a yellowish white after this as it still continues to grow older the longer hairs or fur are tipped with white until it becomes of a beautiful silver grey and I have no idea they degenerate from this though it is the opinion of some people they do and that they turn of a light brown no new skins I ever saw brought for sale were of this colour but old ones and those that have been much worn are and it is well known that air and age will soon turn the blackest skin to a chesnut brown without the addition of oil paint and dirt which they contract from being worn by the natives this animal in shape much resembles the seal it has a very good set of teeth which are remarkably white and much valued by the natives the largest skin of this animal that I saw measured six feet two inches from the [178] end of the nose to the tip of the tail and three feet ten inches in the widest

¹ John Ledyard mentions dogs at Nootka in 1778 (*Journal of Capt. Cook's Last Voyage*, 70), as does Rickman's (anonymous) *Journal* (246); but Captain Cook says (*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, I. 294) that dogs had not yet found their way to Nootka.

part the fur of this creature is certainly much finer and more delicate than any heretofore known the discovery of this coast has therefore opened a new source of commerce which if committed to proper hands would be a most valuable one.¹

The feathered tribe are not very numerous nor do they form any great variety ravens, crows, brown eagles with a white head and tail, herons, robins, house and bank swallows are the most numerous besides these there are three sorts of wood peckers the Virginia red birds yellow or bastard canary birds snow birds, long tailed thrushes ground birds tomtits sparrows wrens blue jays partridges quails a small species of hawks owls pigeons and doves and several sorts of humming birds add to these the water fowl which are pretty plenty from the last of august until the beginning of march there are two sorts of geese the one resembling the common wild geese found on our side the continent the other brown and from its tameness was denominated foolish geese by our sailors there are also brants two sorts of ducks shags shilldrakes and teals large loons several sorts of divers and gulls seapies plovers murrs marsh larks [179] peeps the large crested American king fishers and a few flocks of swans were once or twice seen there was also a bird about the size of a hawk with a large crest and of a dark bottled green seen flying about the woods this bird was scarce and seldom to be seen we were therefore never able to procure and of course only had a distant sight of them.

Fish are every where found in great abundance on the coast are hump back, right and bone whales as also very large sharks and common porpoises within the harbour in coves and creeks are salmon and a fish which appears to be of the same species two feet long and upwards with the end of its nose turning down like a hawks bill a small gold and silver bream flounders cod halibut elephant fish sculpins frost fish a fish in size of the pamp fish having narrow longitudinal blue stripes on a ground the colour of burnished gold there are also red and black fish about the size of and much like those known by the name of red and black snappers in the west indias small gaff fish, coal fish, dog fish, herrins, sardines, scates and

¹ Compare this description with Steller's as given in F. A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages* (New York, 1925), II. 214ff., and with Jewitt's description in his *Adventures*, 120-121.

a fish in size and shape of the mackarel found on our coast and is exceeding fat this fish was supposed by some of [180] our gentlemen to be a species of the herrin it may be so but for my own part I must confess it is very different from any fish at present known to me.

The herrins and sardines as is usual with those fish come in at stated seasons in large shoals as also the two sorts of breams and may be reckoned the most numerous next to these are the salmon which in their season are caught in great plenty and are the fish on which the natives almost solely rely for their subsistence the other fish are caught in small quantities in their various seasons and made use of occasionally.

The shell fish seen by us were muscles some of which are seven inches in length in which are found pearls of no great value; limpits, sea ears, cockles, perriwinkles, snails, scollops, quohogs, clams, wilks, crabs, pearl sea eggs and starfish some of which had sixteen or eighteen rays there was also a soft flabby substance the natives procured from among the rocks which had a very disgusting appearance and got the appellation from our people of horse guts. The kelp is of the "*Fucus gigantius*" described by Mr. Banks in the straits of Lemaire; a red and brown sponge, eel grass and rock-wood; large branches of coral have been seen in possession of the natives [181] but whether it is found in this place or procured from their neighbours I don't know but suppose the latter as none of us ever came across any.

The only reptile that was seen is the "hieclick" before mentioned and from the natives it was not learnt there were any others. The insect tribe are pretty numerous the flies are of various sorts; musquitoes, knats, some humble bees, gooseberry and rose moths, beetles etca.

The rocks which constitute the mountains peices of which are to be found on the shores is hard and of a greyish cast but when broken is of a dark blue or slate colour. Their were no ores found with the natives except a red ochre substance. The natives informed me that in the woods back of Okerminnah they procure a stone which by calcining they make their black shining glimmer of though I was never able to procure a peice of the stone yet I must confess it has all the appearance of having undergone that process the rest of their

pigments are produced from vegetable substances or got in exchange from their neighbours.

The natives who inhabit this place are in general about the common stature by no means muscular and strong [182] built but tolerable fleshy though not corpulent and a lean person is scarce found among them they have broad full visages the cheek bones rather prominent the face falls in between the temples quite back to the crown of the head which is pressed forward so as nearly to form a line with the forehead which is low their eyes small and black the nose flattens at its base with large nostrils the mouth long and large with thick lips teeth pretty regular well set and tolerably white.

As many of the original inhabitants on our side of the Continent have been found divested of beards some writers have presumed to say they never have any while others have disputed on the cause of such deficiency be that as it may I find it natural to the people on this but it is customary with them particularly the young men to pluck it out those who let it grow have a considerable with long whiskers their eyebrows are scanty from the same cause of plucking what remains is with grease and a black pigment neatly formed into a narrow arch on the head they have a plenty of hair which is coarse long black and strong. In general their limbs are not in proportion to the rest of their bodies they have short crooked legs projecting ancles which appear to be swelled and a large flat sprawling foot these latter [183] defects are entirely occasioned by their continually setting or squatting on their hams and both from inclination and want of place not making use of that most agreeable exercise of walking.

These people keep their bodies so covered with grease paint and dirt that it is almost impossible to ascertain their true colour though when they have been prevailed upon to wash it off their skin appeared of that sallow white which distinguishes the inhabitants of our southern states many of the natives when young are very agreeable and full of vivacity but after a certain age they are much reserved with a certain sameness which borders on a dull thoughtful disposition. The women are in general rather shorter than the men of the same colour but of a more delicate form. their natural feminine graces sufficiently evinces the sex and by which they are

easily distinguished. many of the young women have considerable pretensions to beauty; indeed all have an open pleasing countenance which added to a modest pretty carriage that is not to be expected in untutored people at once surprizes and charms a virtuous mind from their constant squatting they are scarce able to walk and it has frequently given me pain to see them try it is in this position alone that they have [184] any way an unpleasing appearance.

Their general dress is a mantle¹ with three sides square the other which is the bottom on a circular sweep and fringed the upper part has a narrow strip of fur sewed round it and the sides are edged with small cord in form of network this garment is made of the inside bark of cædar which is soaked in water and beaten until it becomes of a flaxen state their mode of wearing these garments is various sometimes tying them before behind or on one side again they are put under one arm and tied over the opposite shoulder in this latter way both arms are left free and is wore most common when at work or paddling in their canoes they have another thing made of the same substance called a "Cletanick" with a hole in the center just big enough to admit the head this hangs over the shoulders and reaches as low as the elbows the hole in the center of this is also trimmed with fur and the bottom fringed this is worn in addition to the mantle indeed this flaxen dress is peculiarly worn by the women and lower class of men the chiefs always wearing two or four sea otter skins sewed together with the head downwards tied as the other garments the fur sometimes inside and sometimes out according to fancy they also wear a peice of cloth [185] cut in the same shape with their mantles or a great coat this latter is not much liked indeed they appear to have a natural aversion to our garments they being too confined for people who love to be loose for their legs and feet they have no covering their dress is constantly the same summer and winter though the chiefs sometimes make use of the addition of a bears, deers or wolfs skin. on their heads they wear a cap made of very fine matting in shape of a cone or sugar loaf with a round knob at the top.² they have another of a coarser

¹ See Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 304.

² For illustration of this conical cedar bark hat, see the atlas to Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, and the atlas to *Viage hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1802).

matting of the same shape with a flat top and tassels of leather thongs these are tied under the chin to prevent their blowing off the former of which is only worn by the chiefs but the latter is by the women and common men though they very frequently go without any covering in rainy weather they have a coarse thick mat made for the purpose which they heave over their shoulders and which serves well to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather the chiefs wear their hair clubbed or qued and frequently decorated with the small branches of cypress the common men and married women let their hair hang loose while the unmarried and girls wear it in four or six clubs done up with beads or have it hung with peices of copper pearl shells buttons etca. [186]

Their is another dress which remains unnoticed and appears solely to be adapted for war this is a thick leathern mantle doubled and was supposed by some of our gentlemen to be the skin of a moose¹ others of a sealion the fact is none of us knew from anything we saw no judgment could be formed nor could it be learnt from the natives with any precision to what animal it belonged nor whether it was procured by themselves within their own territories or from their neighbours by barter but let it be procured where it may it is neatly worked well tanned and kept elegantly white and clean some few that I have seen are painted with a variety of fancy figures this garment is tied over the right shoulder with a hole cut for the left arm and so fixed as to cover from the chin down to the ankles from the natives account this will not only resist arrows but even spears cannot peirce it once also they had an idea shot could have no effect upon them but they too fatally know the contrary now they have also a leather apron and a leather cloak covered with rows of deers hoofs placed in various directions this latter part of the dress is only worn by the chiefs and is intended not only to strike terror into their enemies [187] but as they always attack in the night to keep their people together.

That these people are Cannibals is beyond a doubt² not from anything we saw but from their own confession and much credit is

¹ See above, page 260, note 1.

² The better opinion is that the Indians of the Northwest Coast were not cannibals; anything of that nature was purely ceremonial and symbolic. Though Cook, Ledyard, Meares, and many

due to them for their diffidence in making it known for it was not until after they were frequently questioned and an acknowledgement made on our part that it was the case with us that they would own it and when again they were told we only said so to know if it was their custom they appeared to be much abashed but with a modest firmness would not deny what they had before asserted this inhuman custom is only practised on those whom the fortune of war throws into their hands and is conducted in the following manner the men people are collected at the Chiefs house for the purpose of music and dancing a number of those unhappy prisoners are at the sametime present joining in the sport not knowing whom fate has decreed to be the victim on this occasion each possibly consoling himself with the vain hope it is not his lot or mayhap with the more pleasing idea that the time is come which will put an end to all his misery in the midst of the music several Chiefs enter dancing after taking a few turns¹

others charge them with cannibalism, none of these persons ever saw any cannibalism, and all their evidence fits equally with mere ceremonial or religious rites. See hereon Frank Boas, *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Washington, 1897).

¹ So ends the journal. Evidently, like that of Ingraham, it was laid down to be continued at a later day which, unfortunately, never came. Rarely is one of these journals complete; usually it begins abruptly and ends abruptly. The interested reader may well compare these last pages of Hoskins with Chapters II and III of Book IV of Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (II. 288-336).

*Robert Haswell's Log
of the Second Voyage of the "Columbia"*

A VOYAGE ON DISCOVERIES

In the Ship Columbia Rediviva

By ROBT. HASWELL

1791. *Sunday, Aug. 14th.* Wind ESE.¹ The wind so light and variable that it prevented our sailing, though the weather was pleasant.

Monday, Aug. 15th. Wind WNW. Light breezes and variable. At 9 weighed and attempted to beat out, but the tide being contrary we came too in 30 f[atho]m water and waited its return. At 2 PM weighed and beat out of the harbor, hoisted in the boats and set steering sails. At 8 PM Port Tempest bore N b W distance 15 miles, and Masachree Cove² West 9 miles. Latter part pleasant.

Tuesday, Aug. 16th. Wind WNW. Moderate and pleasant. At 1 PM saw a brig in the SE quarter and at 2 hailed her. She is the Hancock of Boston, Saml. Crowell commander. They sailed from Boston the beginning of November, touched at St. Salvadore, at Staten Land, and at the Sandwich Islands, and arrived on this coast in July, having had a longer passage than ourselves. The brig bore up and run to the south in company with us. Wind variable. At sunset Murderer's Cape bore West, distance 5 leagues.

Wednesday, Aug. 17th. Wind SE. Light breezes from the southward. At 2 AM saw a ship to the westward. At 4 Washington Islands bore from WSW to South about 10 leagues distant. Stood along shore with the depth of water from 1 to 3 f[atho]m, beat into Hancock's River, and at 2 PM anchored in 6 f[atho]m water over a [2] bottom of mud with the small bower and 70 f[atho]m of cable, with an excessive strong flood tide. At 2 the brig³ anchored not far distant from us. Latter part rainy, disagreeable weather. This port, though we discovered it on our former voyage, we never entered till now. It is one of the best places for sea otters on the coast, and early in the spring will no doubt afford us a very considerable

¹ The *Columbia* is now about to leave Port Tempest where she has been since August 12, save for the short time that she was at Massacre Cove.

² The ship is proceeding southwardly down Clarence Strait, Alaska.

³ The *Hancock*.

number. Its Lat. I judge (for I had no observation) is $54^{\circ}16'$ N and Long. $132^{\circ}23'$ W.¹

Thursday, Aug. 18th. Wind Variable. Fresh breezes and pleasant. I was employed sounding the river² up to a considerable distance and found it everywhere navigable. There were several small scattering villages, but there were visible traces of numerous tribes residing here at some season of the year, but those that came on board us made us understand their village was removed two days' journey up the river. When sounding the river I went on board the Hancock and invited Capt. Crowell and Mr. Crayton the supercargo to accompany me on board. This they readily agreed to, and as he intended to go out, he got underway and stood down the river, and when we came abreast of our ship the gentlemen accompanied me on board, ordering the officer of the brig to keep as near us as possible, and if the tide should run too strong, to anchor.

About 10 PM we were surprised to find the brig was ashore. Our boats were immediately [3] dispatched to their assistance, but before we arrived she was off. From what I could collect from the different stories³ they told us, I find they have been on no part of the coast but about 30 leagues in circumference round the place we are now. That they had to the amount of 700 skins and were bound to China in the course of 15 or 20 days and meant to return again in the spring. They were so polite as to be the bearers of our letters.

Friday, Aug. 19th. Wind Variable. Light breezes with rain. At 10 AM the Hancock sailed. Many of the natives came off with good skins. Seamen employed in the repairs of the rigging, and other ships' duties. Purchased a fine fish. Geese were very plenty, but since the death of our friend,⁴ our sportsmen have become timid, fearful of being caught by the natives in an ambuscade. We ran no hazards and no geese were shot. Wind SE.

¹ The account of the earlier visit will be found in Haswell's first log, May 22, 1789, though it contains no reference to this spot. Its true position is latitude $54^{\circ}3'$ North, longitude $132^{\circ}11'$ West.

² Masset Sound, a narrow, riverlike waterway connecting Masset Harbor with Masset Inlet.

³ The constant complaint was that the maritime traders told different stories of their movements and successes. The trade was permeated with the spirit of competition and jealousy.

⁴ Joshua Caswell, who, with two others, was murdered at Massacre Cove on August 12, 1791. See Hoskins' entry of that date, above, page 221.

Saturday, Aug. 20th. Wind WNW. Early in the morning it was foggy, with drizzling rain. Some of the natives came off with skins, but as the brig Hancock had been here several times and her long boat almost constantly, we had good reason to suppose we should find other tribes that were better stocked with skins, and at 9 AM we weighed with a westerly wind and an ebb tide and beat out of Hancock's river.¹ At 1 PM the tide [4] turned and we came to with the best bower in 6 f[atho]m water, over a bottom of hard sand, 4 miles distant from Hancock's river; it bearing S by E 5 leagues distant, the NW part of Cape Hancock² W½S 2 leagues distant, the SE part of Murderer's Cape, NNW. At 5 PM with a fresh breeze from the westward, weighed and stood to the northward to clear the shoals of Cape Lookout. Cape Hancock is in Lat. 54° 18' N and Long. 132° 34' W. Cape Lookout is in Lat. 54° 24' N and Long. 131° 56' W and Murderer's Cape is in Lat. 54° 43' N and Long. 132° 23' W from Greenwich.

Sunday, Aug. 21st. Wind NW. Under snug sail we stood to the NE until 3 AM when we spread all our canvas and stood to the SE with the depth of water from 7 to 12 f[atho]m about 4 leagues distant from the Islands.

At noon Cape Lookout bore NW distant about 8 leagues. The breeze was fresh. We stood along shore till ½ past 5 PM when the Island off Cumsuea village bore SSE, 3½ leagues distant. Shortened sail, handed the mainsail double reefed the topsails, and hauled our wind to the NE. Fresh gale and clear. At 11 PM wore ship the southward.

Monday, Aug. 22d. Wind WNW. Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 4 AM made sail for Cumsuea Village, Toochocondolth. Found the variation of the compass by an azimuth and ampd. of the ☉ 20° 2' E. Fetching in far [5] to leeward we made several tacks to endeavor to gain a more commodious anchoring place, but the tide was strong against us, and at 9 PM we came to in 35 f[atho]m water. Toochocondolth bearing N by W distance 2 miles. Our anchoring

¹ The *Hancock* had brought out in frame a longboat, which was put together somewhere on the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands. It was rigged as a sloop and commanded by John William Adamson, formerly with Meares, and "a good man in the sea otter trade." Cf. Hoskins' narrative, August 20, 1791.

² Cape Hancock may be Cape Edensaw, Queen Charlotte Islands.

place is in Lat. $53^{\circ}2'$ N and Long. $131^{\circ}31'$ W.¹ A good many of the natives came off with their Chief, but skins were not so plenty among them as they were when we visited them last, and we soon found Ingraham was in the neighborhood.² Of course it was thought advisable to make but a short stay. Wind SE by E. Having set up our rigging, at 1 PM we weighed and stood to the eastward, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 saw a boat rowing towards us, frequently firing muskets, and we heard several cannon fired up a sound to NW of us.

We bore down and the boat soon came alongside.

It was Mr. Crup³ in the Hope's boat with a message from Capt. Ingraham, informing us that he intended to leave the coast in a few days, and if we had any commands he would be happy to be the executor of them. They seemed to hint they had purchased an excellent cargo.⁴ The latter part was calm.

Tuesday, Aug. 23d. Wind NNE. The breeze springing northwardly we set all our light sails, directing our course to the ESE.

At 8 AM the northwardmost land in sight bore NW by W and the southwardmost SE by S.

Toochcondolth W 6 leagues. At noon I observed our Lat. $52^{\circ}37'$ N our Long. at this time was $131^{\circ}31'$ W. Variable winds and calm all the latter part. [6]

Wednesday, Aug. 24th. Wind WNW. Moderate breezes and pleasant. With all sail set at 4 AM Cape Haswell⁵ bore S by W distance 7 leagues, and at noon it bore SW by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W distance 10 leagues. Latter part moderate breezes and pleasant weather. At noon this day my Lat. was $52^{\circ}5'$ N and my Long. $130^{\circ}12'$ W.

¹ The village of Cumshewa (Tooscondolth) is in latitude $53^{\circ}3'$ North and longitude $131^{\circ}38'$ West. The *Columbia* had been at this village on July 31, 1791. Hoskins waxed eloquent upon the prospects of trade there. He was right, as was shown by the great number of skins obtained there a few days later by Ingraham in the *Hope*.

² Ingraham had been there for a fortnight. He had now on board 1,400 sea-otter skins, mostly obtained in that vicinity.

³ Ingraham and Hoskins give the name as Crafts; he was the first mate of the *Hope*. Boit calls him Cruft, which is probably correct. See Ebenezer Dorr's affidavit in *Senate Document Number 335* (32d Cong., 1st Sess.), 25.

⁴ This success Ingraham credited to both the invention of iron collars as a medium of trade and his staying in one place where skins were plentiful instead of flitting from village to village as others did.

⁵ Cape St. James, the southern point of the Queen Charlotte Islands, so named by Captain George Dixon in 1787.

Thursday, Aug. 25th. Wind WNW. Moderate and pleasant, with all sail set steering to the southward. At noon my Lat. was $50^{\circ} 51' N$ and Long. $129^{\circ} 45' W$. At 6 the southwardmost part of the continent in sight bore E by S distance 16 leagues. The wind hauling to the southward (SE), took in all steering sails, and braced sharp. Being gloomy towards midnight we took in topgallantsails and staysails, and single reefed the topsails.

Friday, Aug. 26th. Wind between South and East. Light breezes and pleasant weather. At noon our Lat. was $50^{\circ} 35' N$ and our Long. $129^{\circ} 38' W$. The breeze was exceedingly light and variable. Tacked ship several times. At 7 the southwardmost land bore E by S and the westwardmost Island NW by W.¹ Many whales playing about the ship.

Saturday, Aug. 27th. Wind Variable. The weather exceedingly pleasant. Lat. observed $50^{\circ} 16' N$ and Long. $129^{\circ} 40' W$. At noon a breeze sprung up from the NW and we made all sail, Royals, Topg[al]l[ant] and Steerings. At 8 PM passed Woody point. [7]

Sunday Aug. 28th. Wind W by N. Light breezes and pleasant weather, standing to the southward with all sail set. At noon the entrance of Nootka Sound bore NE by E distance about 11 leagues. Our Lat. at this time was $49^{\circ} 22' N$ and Long. $127^{\circ} 26' W$. At 7 PM the entrance of Nootka Sound² bore N by W distance 8 leagues. The latter part exceedingly pleasant.

Monday Aug. 29th. Wind NW. Light breezes and clear weather. At 3 AM shortened sail and hove to, maintopsail to the mast, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 hove about and made sail for Cliaquot. At noon the entrance of the Roads bore NE distance 3 leagues. Observed our Lat. $49^{\circ} 4' N$.³ This day's work contains 36 hours to commence the harbor log. At 4 PM a canoe came off and informed us that Capt. Kendrick was in the harbor. At 5 saw his boat coming off.

Fired a gun and hoisted our colors. This was answered and he came alongside and was saluted with three cheers. Capt. Kendrick

¹ After having left Cumshewa Inlet the *Columbia* sailed southward along the easterly coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands. She continues her course southward towards Vancouver Island.

² The *Columbia* is proceeding southeastward along the western coast of Vancouver Island.

³ Cliaquot Sound is the first inlet south of Nootka. Its latitude is $49^{\circ} 5' 30''$. The roads are Meares's Port Cox. The *Columbia*, says Boit, is now "in her former station."

after the sale of his skins at Macao, began to make his vessel a brig.¹ This operation being under his directions, took such a length of time that he lost his season on this coast and was obliged to stay at Lark's Bay till the ensuing spring, when he sailed in company with Capt. Douglas,² and touched at Japan. Not finding a good sale port for their Furs they made but a short tarry. Separating, Capt. Kendrick had but 8 weeks passage and arrived the 13th of [8] June eight days later than ourselves.

This, considering the immense length of our passages, discharging our cargo in Boston, repairing our ship thoroughly, new masts and spars, and fitting with everything necessary for this immense voyage is truly surprising, and must convey an idea that our former commander is not a very urgent man of business. The first port he arrived in was Barrel's Sound,³ where the natives attempted to capture him. In this, however, they were mistaken, and a great slaughter was made among them without shedding blood from any of Capt. Kendrick's crew.⁴ He had very poor success to the northward. This tempted him soon to leave that part of the coast and proceed to the southward. He entered Nootka Sound prepared to defend himself against the Spaniards. They were equally ready and by what I could collect from the officers, they had it in their power to have sunk them at pleasure, but they were not hostilely disposed, and they passed the port and proceeded to Mahwina, the Spanish launch being sent to assist in towing them up.⁵ While they were in this port the Spaniards treated them with great hospitality, sending them daily supplies of greens and salads. Capt. Kendrick did not

¹ See page 165, and page 238, note 3, above.

² Haswell here takes another fling at Kendrick's dilatoriness. William Douglas had been in command of Meares's vessel, the *Iphigenia*, in 1788 and 1789 and was now owner and commander of the *Grace*, a schooner of eighty-five tons. The two vessels, the *Grace* and the *Washington*, left Lark's Bay, China, at the end of March, 1791. See Amasa Delano, *Narrative of Voyages in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston, 1817), 42-43.

³ Houston Stewart Channel.

⁴ Hoskins' narrative contains a detailed account of the affair, August 29, 1791.

⁵ This was on July 12, 1791. Elisa's account will be found in *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington* (Washington, 1872), v. 176-177. As he "paso por nuestra castillo con les mechas encendidas y gente armada," the Spaniards, through a speaking trumpet, warned him not to enter, but he used a conveniently deaf ear. They sent an officer to forbid him from trading. Kendrick stated that he would obey the order; however, in leaving Nootka Sound he took care to pass out by way of Tasis Canal and Esperanza Inlet.

think it prudent to pass the garrison again so left the place and went out by the western [9] passage, which though not very good, affords very good harbors. While he was in Nootka Sound and its environs he collected upwards of 8 hundred prime sea-otter skins. He next came to this port and has also had good success. He has upwards of twelve hundred skins and is bound immediately off the coast.¹ Wind calm. At 7 PM anchored in the roads and in about an hour weighed, the tide flowing, and towed farther up, but it was too dark to enter over the bar, so anchored again to wait till morning.

Capt. Kendrick spent the evening with us and went late aboard his own vessel. Saw two ships which we supposed to be Spaniards, pass this port standing to the southward.²

Tuesday, Aug. 30th. Wind WNW. Early in the morning it was calm and pleasant. At 8 AM weighed and towed into the harbor and anchored with the small bower in 6 f[atho]m water. At 2 moored ship with the best bower to the NW.

I spent the latter part of the day with Capt. Kendrick at Fort Washington. He had hauled his brig on the ground to grave in a very convenient place, and the place where the provisions and stores were landed, was fortified, and dignified by the appellation of Fort Washington.

Wednesday, Aug. 31st. Wind WNW. Light breezes from the westward and exceedingly pleasant. People employed in scraping and painting the lower masts and repairing the rigging. The natives off with skins, but as they came not abundantly [10] it was reasonable to suppose Capt. Kendrick had purchased most of their stock.³

Thursday, Sept. 1. Wind Variable. Light breezes and cloudy with light showers of rain. A party of our sportsmen out shooting geese, which were in tolerable abundance.

¹ Kendrick did not actually sail until September 29, 1791; but he was always very leisurely in his movements.

² The *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, under Malaspina. In *La Vuelta al Mundo* (Madrid, 1885), Malaspina states (194) that on September 2, 1791, when his vessels were skirting the coast towards the Strait of Juan de Fuca, he saw an American vessel trading in that neighborhood. Cf. Hoskins' narrative under date August 29, 1791.

³ "They all seemed very fond of Captain Kendrick for he ever treated them with great kindness; but I believe their principal view for wishing to see him at present was to dispose of their skins at an exorbitant price which none but Captain Kendrick would give." Ingraham's MS. journal, August 4, 1791.

Friday, Sept. 2d. Wind S. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Natives off with skins.

Saturday, Sept. 3d. Wind S. Moderate breezes and pleasant. People employed in the necessary repairs of the rigging.

Sunday, Sept. 4th. Wind W. D[itt]o Weather. The people necessarily employed.

Monday, Sept. 5th. Wind Variable. The weather still continuing pleasant, filled two pinnace loads of water. Preparing for sea.

Tuesday, Sept. 6th. Wind WSW. Moderate breezes and pleasant. At 10 AM weighed and came to sail beating down for the roads. At noon the tide running we anchored in the [roads] in 12 f[atho]m water, over a bottom of clay with the small bower. Latter part foggy.

Wednesday, Sept. 7th. Wind SW. Moderate breeze and foggy. At ½ past 8 weighed and beat into the roads with an ebb tide. At 1 PM anchored in 4 f[atho]m water, Observatory Island bearing S by E the entrance of the roads SSW. Saw a sail in the offing. Left riding in this port the brig Lady Washington. Latter part rainy, down t[op]g[al]lant yards.

Thursday, Sept. 8th. Wind W. Light breezes and foggy. At 7 AM sent up the topgallant yards. At 9 weighed and stood out to sea, bound to the [11] southward. At noon the entrance of Clioquot bore NW 6 leagues. At 4 saw a ship¹ in the SW quarter.

Friday, Sept. 9th. Wind NE. The winds light and variable. At 8 Companey's bay bore North distance 3 leagues. At noon Cape Flattery bore East, and the northwardmost land NW. Observed in Lat. 48°42' N and Long. []. At 3 PM Cape Flattery bore ENE distance 8 leagues. Latter part squally.

Saturday, Sept. 10th. Wind ENE. Still squally. Single reefed the topsails and at 5 tacked ship to the southward. The weather became so hazy that we could see scarcely 4 miles. The weather was not damp, but appeared like an intensely thick smoke.

We beat up to the village Chandee² and a great number of natives came off with skins. We shortened sail and stood to and fro

¹ The French ship *La Solide*, under Étienne Marchand. Hoskins also mentions the vessel but does not identify her.

² An Indian village near Cape Flattery. See Haswell's first log under date April 3, 1789.

off Tatooches Island. The breeze was now fresh and Capt. Gray concluded to lay under the lee of the land thus nigh all night. I endeavored to dissuade him from it, and advised him to take a better offing for the night in case the wind should come on shore or even fall calm, for there is no anchorage, and an excessively strong tide, with a dangerous reef not far distant. Wind NE. In preference to this advice he took his own resolution and the latter part continued exceedingly thick and hazy.

Sunday, Sept. 11th. Wind Calm. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 at night the weather cleared and we saw Tatooches Island bearing NNE distance 3 miles. It was calm, and in less than an hour, so strong did the tide set, we were within $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of a most dangerous reef.¹ Thus critically situated we hoisted out [12] our boats and sent them ahead to tow, and assisted by a very light breeze from the southward we narrowly escaped our impending fate. It soon came on foggy and we had gained but 5 or 6 miles distance from the reef when Capt. Gray ordered her to stand in shore again. It was so nigh a calm that though all sail was set, she went but about a knot, and so foggy that we could not see twice the ship's length. The wind was W by S and we steered East. At 3 PM the officer of the watch brought expected tidings to me that the sound of breakers was not far distant. Capt. Gray was at this time asleep and I ordered him to haul the wind to the southward, as we lay most off on that tack.

In a few moments we saw the rocks not $\frac{1}{2}$ pistol shot from our lee bow. Immediately hove the ship in stays and with the boat ahead got her round on the other tack. At this time we had no soundings with a long scope of line. Hove out the pinnace and sent her ahead. At 5 hoisted in the boats and took in the light sails. At 8 PM dark and foggy we could distinctly hear the surf on the north side of the straits.² Sounded in 25 f[atho]m water. Tacked and stood off till midnight when we again tacked to the northward.

Monday, Sept. 12th. Wind WNW. Moderate breeze and foggy.

¹ Probably the reef which extends a short distance west from Tatoosh Island.

² Boit and Hoskins tell the same story of Captain Gray's imprudent conduct in running in a dense fog and strong currents back and forth across an unknown channel some twelve miles wide.

All these 24 hours keeping nigh the north side of the straits, making short tacks, never stretching nearer than 25 f[atho]m water, and at the clearest time we could not see a quarter of a mile. [13]

Tuesday, Sept. 13th. Wind WNW. Still foggy, disagreeable weather, and no sight of the land, though constantly within hearing of the surf.

Wednesday, Sept. 14th. Wind WNW. The fog continues and we had neither seen land, sun, moon, or stars to ascertain the ship's situation for several days, and constantly encountering rapid currents.

Thursday, Sept. 15th. Wind WNW. It became more clear, and at 4 AM saw Cape Flattery bearing NNE with a light breeze we stood towards it. At 9 having a strong tide against us we anchored in 25 f[atho]m water. Tatooches Isle bearing north 1 league distant. At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1 weighed the anchor and stood into the straits of Juan de fuca. At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 3 hove to, maintopsail to the mast, breeze light, and pleasant weather.

Friday, Sept. 16th. Wind E. First part pleasant. At 10 Tatooches Island bore SE distance 6 miles. Made sail to the westward.

It was Capt. Gray's intention to go into winter quarters as soon as possible and for this purpose as a proper place had pitched on Naspatée in Bulfinches Sound.¹ We hastened towards that place, but the wind did not long favor us, when it came directly on shore (SSW) and it was with very considerable difficulty we kept off the shore.

Saturday, Sept. 17th. Wind ESE. The wind soon came again to the eastward, and we pursued our course though Capt. Gray had resolved on going into Nootka Sound if the wind would [14] allow. At 8 in the evening, we saw the round hill of Cliaquot bearing NE.² The wind was fresh at SW and looked likely to haul along shore in that direction.

Sunday, Sept. 18th. Wind WNW. The wind heading us so that we gained in with the land too fast and could not weather point breakers, at 2 we tacked to the southward and at daylight wore and

¹ Naspatée is Columbia's Cove in Nasparti Inlet, today known by the native name, Quin-eex. The American vessels frequently refer to Nasparti Inlet as Chickleset or Bulfinch Sound.

² Vargas Cone, a remarkable summit, 432 feet high and very conspicuous from the westward.

stood for Cliaquot with all sail out. At noon the entrance of the harbor bore East distance 4 miles. At 1 PM anchored in the roads with a very fresh breeze with the small bower, but dragging this we let go the best bower and brought her up. Sent down the topgallant yards. I manned and armed the pinnace and went to see if Capt. Kendrick still remained in the harbor. I was accompanied by Mr. Hoskins. We found him nearly ready for sea, but not much more so than when we left him.¹ We spent the evening in conversation, himself and officers congratulating us on our return.

Monday, Sept. 19th. Wind WNW. Light breeze. At ½ past 12 weighed and towed into a better anchorage, where we waited until daylight when we weighed and stood into the harbor. It now struck me that if we spent so much time as would be required to go to Nootka or Bulfinches sound, considering the wind had now set in to the westward, exactly contrary, it might be late before we began to [15] build our sloop and consequently bad weather would accompany the undertaking.

These ideas I communicated to Capt. Gray and he concurred with me in the opinion that it would be the best place we could winter, if proper wood could be found to saw into plank.

In search of this and a commodious cove to winter (of which there were plenty) we went, and returned fully satisfied with our discovery. On our return we found Capt. Kendrick under way for the harbor in which we lay, having abandoned Fort Washington.

We joined our boat to assist in towing down, and in a little time she anchored within a cable's length of us in the middle harbor.² Latter part pleasant.

Tuesday, Sept. 20th. Wind WNW. With a light breeze and pleasant weather, at 10 weighed, and with the boats ahead, assisted by Capt. Kendrick's towed up to our winter quarters, a cove about 3 miles from Opitseta,³ and moored with the sheet anchor to the NW in the mouth of the cove, the small bower cable clinched to a

¹ Cf. John Howel's estimate of Kendrick in his letter to Joseph Barrell, December 23, 1796, page 493, below.

² The Port Cox of Meares, in Cliaquot Sound.

³ Adventure Cove. The Indian name, according to Hoskins, was Clickslecutee. It was near the entrance of Disappointment Sound, Meares Island, Cliaquot Sound. Opitseta is, of course, the Indian village Opitsat of the preceding narratives.

tree on the harbor island from our larboard quarter and a hawser from the starboard quarter to a tree nigh the watering place. Latter part pleasant weather. [16]

Wednesday, Sept. 21st. Wind WNW. In the morning I landed with a party and struck the first blow towards building a log house and clearing a place for the vessel, for it was as compact a thicket as ever grew, few of the trees were less than two fathoms round and many of them four.

This made our work heavy but all our people showed themselves alert to accomplish the undertaking. This work continued without intermission until the Twenty-seventh, when it drew nigh a conclusion.

This day sailed the Lady Washington J. Kendrick Esq. commander, for China.¹

Thursday, Sept. 29th. A party of the people during this time had been employed getting the ship as snug as possible. Sails were unbent, topgallant and topsail yards were unrigged and stowed below. All the spare spars and lumber was landed, and we began to land the frame of our sloop.

Friday, Sept. 30th. Wind Variable. On the 30th she was delivered of her twelve months burden and Columbia's young adventure emigrated into its scences of discovery. [17]

Sunday, Oct. 2d. Wind Variable. The Sabbath we restrained from labor. The weather was pleasant and a party of sportsmen were out shooting.

Monday, Oct. 3d. Wind Calm. Monday the 3d we laid the keel of the sloop Adventure, every person busily employed. Mr. Smith in the pinnace after logs for plank.

Wednesday, Oct. 5th. Wind S by E. The weather moderate and foggy. All hands diligently employed. Finished stripping the ship. A party with the pinnace out cutting plank for the Adventure's decks.

Friday, Oct. 7th. Wind Calm. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 7th, the carpenters, sawyers, smiths, etc. working diligently, when in the evening about 11 o'clock, it being foggy as ever, I was

¹ According to Hoskins the *Washington* sailed on September 29. He is very likely correct, for he tells of spending the preceding day as the guest of Captain Kendrick.

suddenly awakened by the report of a musket, and the cry that the Cove was full of Indian canoes. With this alarming news I sprang out of bed (for I now dwelt on shore) armed myself and my small party consisting of 7 persons, and marched down the beach, resolving to oppose their landing, and if we were disappointed in this we could easily retreat to our port¹ which was well prepared for fighting at close quarters. But wonderful to tell these mighty war equipped savages, turned out to be none other than some rocks, which the tide ebbing low, had left dry. These seen through the fog might easily, by the [18] apprehension of the watch, be conjectured to be canoes. I did not chide the sentinel for a false alarm, for it were better to be alarmed when no danger is nigh than once to let it overtake us unprepared.²

Our work still jogging on in a steady regular course, the two whip-saws kept constantly at work sawing plank, for it was our misfortune to find those of oak we had brought from Boston most badly damaged and so rotten as to render them quite unserviceable.

Wednesday, Oct. 12th. On the 12th I was visited by Wickananish and one or two of his brothers. They gazed with much admiration at our house and vessel and expressed much wonder.³

Indeed we are so forward with our work that I could wish Capt. Kendrick had stayed till this time and seen our situation for he told his officers during our cruise to the southward, that he did not suppose it would ever be put in execution as he did not think there was a person on board us capable of conducting the business of building the sloop. Now he would see us with a comfortable dwelling house containing our smith's forge and shop convenient for his work, carpenter's shop with benches etc. and several good lodging rooms and cabins, the [19] whole well armed, two cannon mounted outside and one inside of the house through a port, and in every direction loopholes for our small arms and pistols, of which we have a tolerable plenty, and our party is augmented to ten in all. He would find the sloop's frame completely set up and the carpenters begun to

¹ Fort Defiance, as they had called the house built in the cove, of which Haswell was in command.

² Hoskins does not mention this incident. Boit refers to it under date October 7.

³ Fort Defiance and the sloop *Adventure*, then in building.

plank her bottom. This I am confident we have executed as quick and perhaps as well as he himself would have done. I am daily visited by some one or other of the Chiefs, who express great admiration at our artisans. The sawing of plank, the smith work, and the dexterity with which our people cut down and hew trees strikes them with wonder. They almost always when they come sell a few skins, and generally bring a few wild geese and ducks for sale. The fowl indeed now are so plenty that our sportsmen seldom return without 20 or 30 ducks and geese.

Thursday, Oct. 20th. From this time until the 20th it was hazy, disagreeable weather, but all our artisans were constantly employed in their various departments and got briskly forward with their business. But it now became so intolerably rainy that we were compelled to desist and work in the house. The carpenters were now employed preparing the trunnels¹ for driving, and the sawyers that no time might be lost were employed cleaning small arms.

Friday, Oct. 21st. On the 21st the weather was tolerably good and all resumed their out door work. Our chimney had [20] been but indifferently built and I was fearful if the cannon should be fired in the house it would fall and perhaps bring with it the blacksmith's chimney. To prevent this disaster I ordered it hauled down to be rebuilt. A lime kiln for this purpose was burnt and the next day it was begun. The weather this day was rainy and disagreeable and necessitated our carpenters to take shelter.

Sunday, Oct. 23d. The 23d it blew a heavy gale with smart claps of thunder, and heavy rain.

This day Capt. Gray and Mr. Boit went on a shooting excursion. Capt. Gray landed at a place where the geese frequently light and Mr. Boit landed on the opposite side of the sound at a considerable distance, and sent the boat to another place.

Thus situated they watched the approach of game when Mr. Boit was surprised to see three canoes, with four men in each, each person equipped with a spear and the Chief with a musket. They landed close to Mr. Boit and three or four stout fellows came to him and attempted to take his cartridge box from him, and in snatching it broke the belt and it fell on the ground. He immediately clapped

¹ Treenails: the wooden nails then used in the construction of a vessel.

his foot on it pointing his musket at the Chief in the canoe ordering him to make his people desist or he would immediately shoot him, on which they all jumped into their canoes and paddled off shouting. They went to the Jolly-boat [21] which was then returning and would have taken the great coats which were in her by force, but at length they said that if they would tell them wher Capt. Gray was they would immediately leave them. Mr. Boit told them he was at Opitseta, which was at a considerable distance from the place he was really at, and two of the canoes paddled off for Opitseta with great haste.¹

They then crossed the sound and took the Captain in and were returning on board when the same Chief (Tatooch² of Ahowset) came alongside of our boat and sold two geese with the greatest unconcern, though their behavior was suspicious. I think their intentions were only to rob, seeing the number small and somewhat intimidated, but fearing their intentions might be worse it put us much more on our guard.

Of the remainder of this month there were but two days that our builders could work out of doors, the rest of the time being intolerably rainy and disagreeable weather.

Tuesday, Nov. 1st. November was ushered in with tolerably good weather and considering the season remarkably temperate, our work going on briskly. That no time should be lost when bad weather returned, a house was erected, thatched with the boughs of trees in which we could build a boat.

Friday, Nov. 4th. On the 4th and 5th Mr. Smith with a party cut several logs for plank. We had daily parties out shooting and were tolerably successful. On the 6th I went and cut a quantity of timber to build a boat and several more knees for the sloop.

The weather was favorable to our work but few hours on a stretch for several days. Indeed the days have now become so short, scarcely exceeding 8 hours, of [22] which the sun is obscured from us by the highth of the trees 7, that our work hangs heavily. Indeed in the

¹ Cf. Hoskins' account under date October 18. Boit was fifth mate, but, presumably, is now fourth mate as the result of promotions consequent on the death of Mr. Caswell, the second mate.

² Probably Tootiscoosettle, brother of the head chief, Wickananish. Tatooch was the chief at Cape Flattery.

very rainy times, the carpenters, who without urging are naturally diligent, are employed in the house building a boat, the armorers repairing arms, the joiners planing the beams and carlings.

Monday, Nov. 14th. On the 14th she was completely planked up to the waist, and on the following day the top timbers were erected and I despatched the pinnacle under the command of Mr. Waters¹ for boat timber and knees.

Wednesday, Nov. 16th. On the morning of the 16th it blew exceedingly fresh with rain, and about 4 we discovered the ship was dragging her anchor.² I caused her to be hauled and by 9 o'clock it became more moderate, we hove up the anchor and remoored.

Thursday, Nov. 24th. The 24th was very unpleasant weather. (23 years of age) On the 25 and 26th I had parties out cutting logs for plank.

Sunday, Nov. 27th. On Sunday all hands at rest from their labors. Performed divine service.

The remainder of the weather was variable and the people constantly employed, and when the weather was favorable Mr. Boit had the command of a party wooding. This we landed on a point of the Cove where it was cut and split fit for use. We were very frequently visited by the natives.

The days are now so very short and the weather so very bad that our work moves forward but slowly. So low has the sun descended that it peeps not even through [23] the trees at us though it has not reached its southern bounds. Many of our people about this time were confined with severe colds and rheumatic pains, occasioned by the cold, wet weather, and I myself attacked with gout in my breast, and necessitated to remove on board where it [is] less damp and cold.

Saturday, Dec. 10th. About the 10th the natives moved from their winter village to Opitsetah.³

¹ Abraham Waters, originally fourth mate, but now probably third mate. He was later mate of the *Adventure*.

² This happened even though the cove was protected by an island which narrowed the entrance to about one hundred feet and was so small that in any direction the *Columbia* was not over a stone's throw from shore.

³ The natives had a summer and a winter village. Opitsat was the summer home, near the sea.

Parties were frequently out shooting game and generally visited the village where they met with very civil treatment.

1792, *Jan.* Our carpenters diligently exerted themselves even [in] the worst weather to forward the work in their department, and at the end of the month we laid the sloop's beams, but the weather was so bad that it was the latter end of January before we began to lay the deck. It was indeed mortifying to find we had little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ enough knees for the deck, and no more oak plank than would plank her bottom.

Friday, Jan. 27th. Indeed we had not enough materials to make her an open boat. However, we were in a country where there is plenty, though indifferent timber,¹ and we found plenty of good pitch pine knees.

Feb. It was Capt. Gray's intention to haul to a very convenient place in the north part of the cove where the ship could lay and discharge on the bank, afloat at all times of tide. On the 2d in the morning they [24] began the operation of preparing to lay the ship on the ground. The constant rains retarded the business very much.

Thursday, Feb. 2d. We were now visited very much by the native Chiefs and their wives with a strict cordiality of manner and confidence, unusual before. The women would visit me at the house with an air of the greatest freedom and sociability, and the Chiefs almost every day visited us (I allowed none of the lower class to land) and seemed to admire our progress, and were inquisitive to know when we should launch.² Their manner was such that we imagined we had attracted their sincere regard. All the winter they had stayed on board as long as they chose and partook at our table of such as we ate and drank. Capt. Gray had even allowed an inferior who was very ill, to tarry with his father and servant, on board many nights for the recovery of his health, although he was a very disagreeable companion; and before this event and afterwards for a considerable time had visited the sick three or four times a week at the village,

The winter home was, according to Haswell, Oakaminah; according to Hoskins, it was Oker-minna. For the identity of the winter home, see page 249, note 1, above.

¹ A strange epithet to be applied to the Douglas fir.

² Cf. Boit's statement under date October 13, 1791.

supplying them with drugs, rice bread molasses etc. so much had he labored to gain their esteem.¹

Friday, Feb. 17th. The weather was so exceedingly bad that it was not before the 17th that we could [25] grave one side, when the weather became so rainy we were necessitated to haul the ship into her former berth and wait for more favorable weather.

Saturday, Feb. 18th. On 18th though it looked unfavorable in the morning became tolerably pleasant and we were visited as usual by several Chiefs.

At dusk I came on board to supper and found Tototeescosettle. His brother Totoocheatecose had not long left the ship. Tototeescosettle had been detected this afternoon with a jacket he had stolen from the boatswain, but Capt. Gray's lenity was such that he would not have the thief punished, and only took the jacket from him. The fellow had gone but a little time before Ottoo our Sandwich Island lad informed Capt. Gray of a plot that was laid by the natives to capture the ship.

He told him Totoocheatecose had promised to make him a great Chief if he would wet our fire arms, and a sea-otter skin for each musket ball he would give him, telling him he meant to come through the woods and board the ship from the bank, and kill every person on board except him, and he must come to him as soon as the affray commenced.

Ottoo asked him when he would come. He at first said that night, but afterwards said the other tribes that were confederate with him were not ready and it would be two or [26] three days first. It was not till supper that I knew anything of the matter, when Capt. Gray ordered the swivels to be loaded, then informed me of the plot. We were now situated alongside of a bank, which is as commodious as a wharf for the natives to board us from. Our people had no arms or ammunition. All our great guns were landed on the bank. As we were thus situated I advised Capt. Gray, it being the top of high water, to haul on the ground that tide and grave by night, giving for my reasons, being away from the bank and aground would

¹ Captain Gray took a great personal interest in their sick. Hoskins, who accompanied Gray on some of these errands of mercy, gives a lengthy description of the methods of treatment of the sick adopted by their shamans. See above, pages 254-255.

render it less practicable to board us, while we could on shore and on board give mutual protection to each other in case they should make an attempt, the ship laying within pistol shot of the fort, and by this nightly operation facilitate our business. Consequently we should be able to take everything off from the bank on the morrow, and by being off the next night to our anchors prevent an evil that had like to have been fatal to us. Capt. Gray was of my opinion, and the ship was immediately removed.

I went on shore and put the fort in a good posture of defence. I discharged and reloaded the cannon, and put the small arms in as good order as possible, and on [27] board they were employed preparing their arms for a smart engagement.

As Capt. Gray had remained on board, I took the command of the party to grave the ship. The tide had ebbed so that our people by being up to waist in water, scraped to the bottom of the keel, when Mr. Smith told us the natives were coming and close to us. I ordered Mr. Boit with all the ship's people immediately on board and with my party went to join the small detachment we had left in the house to guard it, but I was much surprised to find Mr. Boit with several of the ship's people had come up to the house. These I immediately ordered on board not wishing to leave the ship void of defence, and taking 3 people with me guarded them down. I returned and waited the attack with everything prepared to give them a warm reception. I heard them also hoop. One party seemed nigh the bank and the other near the small entrance of the harbor, perhaps to have attacked the fort. No doubt when they found the ship was removed they hooped to inform the other party that their scheme was abortive. Thus having their plans frustrated they retired without planning any new mode of attack.¹

Sunday, Feb. 19th. The day now broke and the tide had rose but little. We [graved] the principal part of the bottom, the other having been well scraped. The tide rose early to float her [28] and they hauled to the bank, and in the course of the day everything except a few things of small value were taken off and the ship hauled to her berth in the harbor and moored head and stern. All day the carpenters were employed preparing to launch the sloop and in the

¹ See page 272, note 1, above, for a comment on this episode.

afternoon all the tradesmen's tools and things of value were removed on board the ship and we abandoned the fort, that our parties being united might be in greater safety. Dividing our people into four watches Mr. Smith, Mr. Waters, Mr. Boit and myself took charge of them. In the course of the day two canoes came alongside of the ship. In one of them was one of the Chief's wives and several other women.

Monday, Feb. 20th. In the course of the night we suspected we could hear people walking on the beach and among the trees. At daylight on the 20th I caused 4 cannon loaded with canister shot to be fired among the trees near the sloop, and then I landed with a strongly armed party to prepare for launching, and having placed a guard in our rear to prevent an ambushade, our business went on with great alacrity. About 11 o'clock Toteescosettle a most notorious villian in the plot and who had intended to have murdered us the other night, came [29] alongside with his father to sell his skins asking the gentlemen if they would not come down to the village or go shooting, perhaps imagining we did not hear them shout, or knew nothing about the matter.

However, Capt. Gray took the skins from him¹ and ordered him immediately to leave the ship. He was also told that if his father had not been with him he would have been instantly shot. He immediately paddled off with an aspect deeply tinged with terror.

Capt. Gray did not think it advisable to make him a prisoner, until some future opportunity when the sloop should be off the stocks. The natives of this place and the villages nigh had by barter become possessed of more than two hundred stands of arms, and a large quantity of ammunition,² and were now become skilled in the use of them. This they supposed was a force so much superior to ours, that in our late condition might insure them success, and inviting the adjacent tribes to partake of the glory of vanquishing, and profit of sharing the spoils, they embarked, it is reasonable to suppose, with not less than Two thousand fighting men, and had not

¹ See page 275, note 3, above.

² Each trader blamed the other for trading such weapons. It would appear, however, that the only maritime traders who did not supply the natives with firearms were those who did not have them.

Tatoocheatecose imparted the secret to Ottoo, in all probability they would have been successful. [30]

They had a long story to hide their intentions, that they were going to attack a village called Highshakt and had purchased many muskets and some ammunition for that purpose, and even been very anxious that I should allow the smiths to make daggers to kill the Highshakt people with. This name possibly applied to us, or was fictitious,¹ to delude us. They even told me when one of the Chiefs saw a number of the sloop's blocks hanging in the house, that they should have the Highshakt people's heads hanging in their houses in the same manner in a little while.

An instance was scarce ever known among the most fierce and savage nations, of so much treachery and baseness, after such humane and hospitable treatment. Even they showed no small share of hospitality and civilization, for our parties were frequently so detached as to lay much in their power, and several of our gentlemen, particularly Mr. Hoskins, were at the village daily, and were never treated uncivally. They wished not the lives and clothing of two or three persons, but rather wished to treat them with a seeming cordiality, until at some unguarded moment they might [31] make the whole a prey to their perfidy.

Tuesday, Feb. 21st. Our full employ now was to launch the sloop with expedition, and this it is probable we should have accomplished, had not the ways, which were blocked with very buoyant wood, floated, but when the tide fell I fully prevented a future accident of the same nature. *Wednesday, Feb. 22d.* At high water on the 22d, being perfectly ready, we began to launch. She ran about 30 feet and stopped, for the launching plank being green pine, furred up before the bilge ways. We were under the mortifying necessity of blocking and shoring the vessel again, to make as good arrangement as possible for another day's launch.

Thursday, Feb. 23d. The morning of the 23d was exceedingly pleasant. I landed as usual with a strongly armed party and at high

¹ Highshakt may be, as Haswell suggests, a fictitious name. No village or band bearing that name is mentioned by any contemporary authority; nor is it to be found in the *Report of the Commission on Indian Affairs* (1916). But see the note on Hichakt, page 317, below.

water about 3 o'clock successfully launched the sloop *Adventure*.¹

We did not affect this without considerable trouble, being hove off with a hawser from the ship. We hauled alongside of the *Columbia* and moored with an anchor to the NW and a spring to the SW Cable and the breast fasts to the ship. Thus situated our tradesmen proceeded to finish the sloop with alacrity. Parties were now employed tearing down the house and removing everything that could be of utility to the natives, on board. On the 26th it came on [32] a spell of rainy weather with heavy gusts of wind and hail which continued till the 8th of March without intermission.

Thursday, Mar. 8th. This totally prevented the progress of our carpenters, smiths, etc. On the return of good weather, work again was pursued cheerfully. She was plank sheared and the bulwarks erected. We found the sloop had some small leak in her, and it being necessary to haul her on shore to rip off the launching cleats we were lucky enough to find and stop it.

Wednesday, Mar. 14th. On the 14th we took on board a boat load of ballest and a number of bricks, and stepped her mast, but finding it too tall I had it shortened four feet and again stepped.

Sunday, Mar. 18th. On the 18th we took on board the bread, beef, pork, flour, rice, peas, and beans, had her sides painted and bends blacked.

On the 19th we completed wooding and watering.

Wednesday, Mar. 21st. On the 21st Benj. Harding, boatswain of the *Columbia*, departed this life, aged 31 years, after lingering a long time, of dysentery, and on the following day he was buried.² The weather was again very disagreeable, carpenter's mate and joiner on the sick list. This is a mortifying circumstance as much in their line is still [33] to be done. *Sunday, Mar. 25th.* On the 25th we weighed and swept out into the middle of the sound, but finding the *Columbia* met with difficulty in weighing her anchor I came to and sent my boat to their assistance.³ They soon after weighed, but a strong current setting up they could not fetch near so far as we

¹ Hoskins tells a similar tale of the difficulty of the launching. Haswell was later in command of the *Adventure*.

² For Hoskins' tribute, see above, page 277; for Boit's tribute, see below, page 389.

³ This shows that Haswell was already in command of the sloop *Adventure*, now rigged and nearly ready for sea. She sailed a week later, on April 2.

lay. When they came to we hove up and dropped within 20 yards of them, and lay at single anchor all night. Calm and foggy.

Monday, Mar. 26th. On the 26th at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 we bent a mainsail and jib, weighed in company with the Columbia, and stood down for the lower harbor but the ship being driven too nigh a ledge of rocks, came to, I came to also. They warped into channel way and again came to sail.

We stood about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile farther, when the tide met us and we came to with the best bower in 7 f[atho]m water, the swash way bearing SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile distant, and Opitsetah NW distance $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. Carpenters constantly employed on the sloop.

At 5 the ship moored. We dropped within 20 f[atho]m of her and moored with the best bower to the eastward $\frac{1}{2}$ a cable, and the small bower and two thirds of a cable to the westward. In the course of the day a number of canoes came alongside with crabs for sale, but no Chiefs made their appearance. They had deserted Opitsetah [34] and lived in a number of small scattered groups at many different places. The wind, all night, blew a gale in almost every point of the compass. The gale was accompanied with hail and sleet.

Mar. 27th. Tuesday, we had heavy gales from the westward with hail and rain. Carpenter planking up the stern. Seamen on the rigging. Carpenter's mate and joiner sick.

The 28th and 29th we had heavy gales with rain continually. The weather appears more rigorous now than it has done this winter, and much retards the progress of our carpenter.

Friday, Mar. 30th. Wind Variable. The 30th I had a spar for a topmast cut. The 31st was boisterous.

Sunday, Apr. 1st. April 1st I received the principal part of my cargo and stores, and was busily employed preparing for sea.

Monday, Apr. 2d. Wind Westerly. Early in the morning of the 2d I received my sailing orders and weighed in company with the Columbia, and by 10 o'clock was safe out of the harbor.¹ Wind W by N.

There was a large sea going and we had the satisfaction to find

¹ From this point onward until September 28, 1792, we follow the movements of the sloop *Adventure*. This is the only record extant of her operations.

our vessel a very good seaboat, and outsailed the Columbia. My orders were to proceed to the northward, but the [35] wind being directly in my teeth, Capt. Gray concurred with me in the opinion that it would be best to proceed to Cechahat Cove Company's Bay,¹ there put my vessel in complete order for sea, and then the first fair wind proceed north. I dined with Capt. Gray and on my return on board made sail with a fresh breeze at WNW in hopes to arrive at anchor before night. In this, however, I was mistaken for the tide being exceedingly strong against me and the wind strong from the place our anchoring ground bore, we beat until sunset without gaining a mile, but being favored by a clear moonlight night, I was encouraged to persevere, and as soon as the tide slackened, we went briskly to windward and at 9 PM anchored in Cechahat Cove in 17 f[atho]m water, over a bottom of mud and clay. The wind was from the westward all night and squally.

Tuesday, Apr. 3d. Wind WNW. In the morning the wind was light inclining to calm. We had a number of the natives off, but purchased no skins. There were but two brought off and those not worth the price required.

I kept the carpenters and seamen fully employed in the equipment of the vessel. The latter part of the day was attended with strong westwardly gales. Moored with [36] the small bower to the ESE.

Wednesday, Apr. 4th. Wind WNW. Strong gales and clear. Carpenters and seamen employed preparing the vessel for sea. Many of the natives off, but nothing was purchased of them except a little oil.

Thursday, Apr. 5th. Wind WNW. Strong gales and squally with hail and rain. Cut and altered the foresail to make it fit. Carpenters employed fixing the ports. I find the cold more severe than I have felt it all winter.

Friday, Apr. 6th. Wind WNW. Moderate breezes and clear, pleasant weather. Many of the natives were off but only 3 skins were purchased. This leads me to think they are possessed of but few. Carpenters employed hanging the ports. Seamen on the rigging

¹ Unable to proceed northward, the *Adventure* runs before the wind southward for Sechart Cove, Barkley Sound.

and altering the jib. Painters painting the bulwarks etc. Early in the morning the wind was light to the southward. Seamen and others employed in preparing for sea. Several natives alongside who traded with me on a very friendly footing, for a few sea-otter skins. A Highua Chief of Hichaht¹ was alongside all the morning. [37]

Saturday, Apr. 7th. Wind NNE. Being tolerably well prepared for sea, at 10 AM we weighed and came to sail, with a very light flattering breeze, but we were soon fortunate enough to be overtaken with a fine breeze at NNE. At 2 we bore away to the southward of the reefs and stood to the westward. At 4 Company's [Bay] bore E by N 5 leagues distant, and at 8 PM Clayoquot bore NNE 8 leagues.² I steered a W by N course all night as in all probability the wind would be westwardly on the morrow. Towards midnight the wind grew moderate. Moderate breezes and pleasant weather.

Sunday, Apr. 8th. Wind NNW. At 6 the entrance of Nootka Sound bore NNW distance 8 leagues, and Point Breakers³ North 10 leagues. At noon the wind came in westwardly and we stretched in shore within three leagues of Breaker's Point, when we hove about and stood to the southward. Reefed mainsail.

Monday, Apr. 9th. Wind WNW. Strong breezes and clear pleasant weather. Plying to windward in Hope Bay. At noon I was in Latitude $49^{\circ} 5' N$ and in Longitude $127^{\circ} 24' W$. Nootka Sound bearing NNE 12 leagues distant. In the evening we came under snug sail and stood to and fro. [38]

Tuesday, Apr. 10th. Wind WNW. On the morning of the 10th the wind was more moderate. Made all sail and stood in for the land. At noon Nootka Sound bore NE by N 10 leagues, and Ahatsett⁴ NW by N 9 leagues. My Latitude at noon was $49^{\circ} 24' N$. I stood within 3 leagues of the land and hove about with the wind at WNW and stood off shore. Clear weather. At 6 PM the southwardmost land

¹ Hichaht may be Echachis, the Indian village on Wakannenish Island, near the entrance of Clayoquot Sound.

² The *Adventure* now puts to sea on her maiden voyage, intending to sail to the Queen Charlotte Islands.

³ Nootka Sound is the inlet immediately northwestward of Clayoquot Sound. Point Breakers (Cape Estevan) is at its entrance.

⁴ Ahatasat. The name as used here refers to the region of Esperanza Inlet, the inlet lying next to the northwestward of Nootka Sound, with which it is connected.

in sight bore E by S and the northwardmost NW. The night was hazy and calm.

Wednesday, Apr. 11th. Wind ESE. All the first part calm. At 11 AM a light breeze at ESE sprang up and we made all sail. At noon Nootka Sound bore NE 7 leagues distant. I observed in Latitude $49^{\circ}14'$ N. All the latter part calm, but it has much the appearance of an eastwardly wind.

Thursday, Apr. 12th. Wind ESE. At 4 AM the 12th a breeze sprung up to the eastward. We made all sail with the breeze gradually strengthening. At noon Nootka Sound bore E by N distance 11 leagues. Towards the latter part the wind grew light and as the swell hove on shore I kept her W by N all night. [39]

Friday, Apr. 13th. Wind ESE. In the morning of the 13th with a moderate breeze from ESE we stood in for the land. At 8 AM Split Rock bore ENE 1 league distant. I stood up into the bay to NE of Woody Point and then coasted along the shore. As it bended it made several deep bays in which there seemed to be no harbors. At noon I observed in Latitude $50^{\circ}16'$ N Woody Point bearing SE by E distance about 5 leagues.

I hove to and let a small canoe come alongside. I purchased of them 24 large fish and again made sail.

At 2 PM seeing several large canoes coming off I hove to. When they came alongside finding they had no skins I immediately made sail. They came from a large sound in which there are good harbors. I distinguished it by the appellation of Port Lincoln.¹

I regretted not being able to examine this place, but my anxiety to get to Washington's Island forbid my losing so good a wind, especially as I knew it was Capt. Gray's intention to cruise this part of the coast on his return from the southward. Port Lincoln is in Latitude $50^{\circ}26'$ N and Longitude $128^{\circ}30'$ W.

As soon as I left the canoes I steered a West course meaning to go to the westward [40] of the Islands off Cape Ingraham, but finding a strong current and a heavy swell setting to the North, I kept West by South going little more than 1 knot. Variation per Ampd.

¹ Quatsino Sound, the most northwesterly of the inlets on the ocean side of Vancouver Island. Haswell, in the *Adventure*, seems to have been the first to notice this sound.

21° 10' East. At 7 the westwardmost land in sight bore WNW and the eastwardmost ESE.

Saturday, Apr. 14th. Wind NW. NW by W. The 14th was exceedingly pleasant. I employed all the people in cleaning small arms. About 10 AM the wind came in to the westward. Tacked several times as the wind varied. At noon in Latitude 50° 46' North, the outwardmost Island¹ at 3 PM bore NE by E distance 6 leagues. The night was cloudy. Wind variable.

Sunday, Apr. 15th. Wind N by W. The morning of the 15th was exceedingly foggy with the wind at N by W stretching WNW. At noon I was in Latitude 50° 58' N and Longitude 132° 32' W the rocks off Cape Haswell² bearing No. 19° W distance 53 miles. The weather continuing thick and foggy I stood WNW all night, many whales playing about the ship.

Monday, Apr. 16th. Wind N by W. In the morning it was clear, and pleasant. At 8 AM the wind heading us off to West, I hove about and stood in NE. At noon I observed in Latitude 51° 1' N. The wind stood at N by W till 7 PM when a lively breeze at ESE sprung up. My Latitude at this time [41] was 51° 2' N, and my Longitude 131° 9' W. Cape Haswell bearing N 7° E distance 53 miles. Variation per Ampd. 22° 5' E. As it was my intention to go to the northward on the west side of the island³ I came under snug sail and steered NW all night.

Tuesday, Apr. 17th. Wind ESE. At ½ past 4 the 17th we made sail and stood in North, and at ½ past 7 saw the South end of Washington's Islands bearing NNE 4 leagues, and the southwardmost hummock⁴ off the Cape bore NE 5 leagues. We made all sail alongshore. At noon I observed in Latitude 52° 10' N Barrel's Sound bearing E by N distance 4 leagues.

At this time a place that had the appearance of the entrance of a harbor bore NNE 3 leagues distant. This place is in Latitude

¹ Of the Scott Islands.

² The so-called rocks are now known as the Kerouart Islets, which lie off Cape St. James (Cape Haswell), the southern point of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

³ The western side of the Queen Charlotte Islands had few villages and produced no trade, save at Houston Stewart Channel and Parry Passage, which could be reached as well by following the easterly side, a side that was rich in furs.

⁴ One of the Kerouart Islets.

52°20' N. At 6 PM the southwardmost land in sight bore ESE and the northwardmost NW by W. The latter part light airs.

Wednesday, Apr. 18th. Wind SSE. Moderate breezes and pleasant weather. Early in the morning we passed several places that had the appearance of harbors or deep sounds. At noon I observed the Latitude 53°5' N my Longitude at this time being 132°8' W. A little to the northward of this station we had a number come off, and with them a number of good skins. They were of the Tooscondolth tribe,¹ subject to Comsuah. The people were [42] very difficult to trade with and I purchased but few skins, being anxious while the Eastwardly wind lasts to arrive at the West end of the Island. Where this tribe dwells is the strait that divides Washington's Island nearly in the middle.²

The strait forms into a very spacious harbor, capable of containing a hundred sail of shipping, commodiously navigable from the West side through a gut not a quarter of a mile wide. Whether it is navigable from the east side for large vessels or not I am at present unacquainted.³

The distance across to where we formerly lay on the East side I calculated to be 20 miles.⁴ The coast I sailed past all this day is very broken and must form many good harbors. The coast generally trended NW by W by compass; but in about 53°20' the coast turned abruptly to the westward, for a considerable distance and left a large channel running to the NE that forms all the West end into a very large island.⁵ It blew very hard and was thick weather, that prevented me from following it up, and being nearly night I made sail for the westward.

Thursday, Apr. 19th. Wind East. In the morning of the 19th I found myself much farther off shore than I expected. I stood on to the northward [43] with a stiff gale which obliged me to reef several

¹ These Indians, whose home was at Cumshewa Inlet, on the eastern side of the Queen Charlotte Islands, had crossed to the western side by Skidegate Channel, a shallow waterway separating Graham and Moresby islands.

² Skidegate Channel.

³ Skidegate Channel is not navigable for vessels, being blocked by a bank at its eastern end with not more than four feet of water at high tide.

⁴ Haswell's computation is an underestimation; the distance is more than thirty miles.

⁵ Probably Rennell Sound. It does not, however, separate the land into an island.

times. In the evening we hove to with a ballanced mainsail with her head to the southward. The northwardmost land in sight bore N by W and the southwardmost ESE. Wind at East.

The breeze was sometimes fresh and at others squally. Shook the reefs out and lay her to with the mainsail, and the jib sheet to windward. This evening we were nigh the SW entrance of Tadents Village and harbor.¹

Friday, Apr. 20th. Wind W by N. On the 20th the wind being adverse to our going to the eastward I stretched to the northward intending to beat to windward on the north side, until I should find a harbor. We for a considerable time fancied we saw a boat.

I was much concerned, fearing there was somebody on this part of the coast before us, but on nearer approach I found it was the trunk of a tree with several branches standing above water that bore the appearance of masts and sails. All the latter part was cloudy, disagreeable weather, with strong gales.

Saturday, Apr. 21st. Wind W by N. At 4 AM on the morning of the 21st wore ship to the southward and made all sail. At 8 AM the bulk of Washington's Island bore SE by E distance 5 leagues. All hands variously employed on ship [44] duties. At 6 PM tacked ship to the northward. At 7 westwardmost part of Washington's Island in sight bore S by W, the eastwardmost ESE. At 10 PM tacked ship to the southward. Midnight calm and hazy.

Sunday, Apr. 22d. Wind E by N. At 4 AM on the 22d a light breeze sprung up from the eastward and we stood in shore. Noon moderate and pleasant.

At 3 several canoes came off from Tadents village.² They had many skins of which I purchased few, for they were so exorbitant in their price as to ask two great coats for one skin. This price, however, I was resolved not to give, being confident I could sell them better elsewhere. At 7 PM the westwardmost part of Washington's Island in sight bore W by S. Squally with rain.

¹ The *Adventure* has now reached the western entrance of Parry Passage—Dixon's Cloak Bay—a favorite trading place. Tadents is an Indian village in Parry Passage.

² The *Adventure* has now rounded the northern point of the Queen Charlotte Islands and is working eastward along the northern shore. Since Tadents was a popular trading place, the natives, knowing that many ships would come in the course of the season, held out for high prices.

Monday, Apr. 23d. Wind Eastwardly. Early in the morning I saw a place about 17 leagues to the eastward of Tadents where there was the appearance of a good harbor.¹ I stretched in under snug sail for it. It blew a gale and at 1 PM on coming to the entrance, which was scarce $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile wide, I found myself in less than 2 f[atho]m. It being now high water I let go the anchor and hoisted the boat out, and sent Mr. Waters to sound the entrance of the harbor.

It was perfectly smooth, the wind being [45] off shore. He found exceedingly shoal water all across, except in one narrow channel. Whether this runs through or not is uncertain, but I am apt to think it not navigable for anything larger than a boat.

As the place where we now lay would be dry at low water, I shifted my berth into 5 f[atho]m hard bottom. At the first I intended to have rode the gale out in the place I lay, it being very well sheltered from the southwardly winds (E by S) and the banks being not more than a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile distant, but fearing the wind might chop in to the northward on a sudden, it would be difficult to beat out, and I was conscious as the ground was bad, she would not ride out a gale to the northward. The number of natives too was small and very poor.

I weighed at 3 PM and stood out of the bay. This place is in Latitude $54^{\circ}9' N$ and Longitude $132^{\circ}45' W$. The east [west?] cape of the Islands, Cape Coolidge, bore WSW 17 leagues, and is in Latitude $54^{\circ}15' N$ and Longitude $134^{\circ}13' W$.² As soon as I was out of the bay I began to beat to windward for Hancock's River and before dark Cape Lookout bore ENE distance 18 leagues.

All night it blew a perfect gale of wind and we beat to windward under the close reefed mainsail and foresail. [46]

Tuesday, Apr. 24th. Wind E by S. In the morning of the 24th I had the satisfaction of seeing ourselves to windward of our port. It was very thick with squalls of hail and sleet.

¹ Virago Sound, the entrance to Naden Harbor, which lies about seventeen miles to the eastward of Parry Passage and is quite shallow. The entrance is contracted to about four cables in width with a depth of about twenty feet.

² Cape Coolidge is probably Cape North, the northerly point of the Queen Charlotte group. The name did not persist. Its location is about latitude $54^{\circ}13' N$ and longitude $132^{\circ}50' W$. Haswell's longitude as given is reasonably close for those days.

Stood in for the harbor. The wind coming contrary we beat up under reefed sails, and $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 PM came to in 14 f[atho]m water, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile distant from the east shore, the west chop bearing NW and the east chop north.

Wind ENE. There were but few natives came off and they brought nothing for sale. The latter part moderate and pleasant.

Wednesday, Apr. 25th. Wind South'dly. In the morning finding we had dragged our anchor in the night I weighed and came to farther up the stream. Many of the natives came off.

I purchased of them some fish and a few otter tails.¹ They brought but two skins for sale and they asked two great coats for each.

The natives of this port though we frequently had great throngs of them alongside, behaved themselves with great propriety. They would not indeed sell me their skins without an exorbitant price, telling me the Captains Douglass, Kendrick, Barnett, Ingraham, Crowel, and Keanna would be here soon, and they would give them what they had asked.² [47]

Now there was nothing I had for cargo but great coats, that these people would take, and these they would give only one indifferent skin apiece for, and demanded 2 great coats for a large good skin.

Thursday, Apr. 26th. Wind NNW. As there are many other places on the coast where it is equally likely to find plenty of skins, and a long season before us to find such places out, I rather chose to keep my goods and trust fortune for a better market for them.

Friday, Apr. 27th. Wind WSW. The natives frequently tell us that one Jones, a person belonging to Captain Crowel's brig stayed among the natives of Tadents, and was now at Legonee. Whether this is a device of their own brain to amuse or the fact, I know not.³

¹ Sea-otter tails were always sold separately from the skin itself. Jewitt says that on the tail the fur is finer and closer set than on the body.

² R. D. Coolidge had succeeded William Douglas as master of the schooner *Grace*, a vessel without any legal papers (Ingraham's MS. journal, July 8, 1792); John Kendrick was master of the *Lady Washington*; Thomas Barnett, master of the *Gustavus*; Joseph Ingraham, master of the *Hope*; Samuel Crowell, master of the Boston brigantine *Hancock*; and Francis Joseph Viana, master of the *Felice Adventurer*.

³ This plan, though frequently tried, was always a failure. The sailor soon tired of the life and shipped on the first vessel that would take him. Ingraham, writing of this incident in his MS. journal, July 3, 1792, says that Captain Crowell had left one of his seamen and had taken a

Saturday, Apr. 28th. Wind South. We had heavy gales and boisterous weather while at this port, so that the time spent here did not grieve me much, for had I been out I should have had a very disagreeable time.

After doing some necessary jobs about the vessel, and leaving a letter for Capt. Gray with the Chief of the port, Cattar,¹ early in the morning of the 28th I weighed, intending to go to Comsuh's on the east side of the island.² The wind was moderate and the weather pleasant, and it looked much like a north wind. In this, however, [48] it disappointed us.

I ran along the edge of the shoal³ of Cape Lookout till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 on the morning of the 29th. It blew a strong gale at SW by S. We struck soundings in 8 f[atho]m water on the shoal, when we hove to with her head to the southward.

Sunday, Apr. 29th. Wind SE by E. At 3 AM we wore and soon saw the land ranging from NW to E by S about 2 leagues distant. We immediately wore and made sail to the southward with a steady lively breeze at SW, and were soon abreast of Sea Lion Rocks.⁴

At noon I observed in Latitude $54^{\circ}36'$ N. and my Longitude was $130^{\circ}55'$ W. The wind was moderate and we were close in with the land. We hove about and stood to the westward. At 7 PM Cape Lookout bore W by N.

Tacked to the northward, being pretty nigh the island. The wind was moderate though it promised a heavy gale. About midnight it came on in exceedingly heavy gusts and by 4 AM the 30th it was a perfect hurricane. [49]

I was fully acquainted with the real danger of my situation and thought it the best way I could do, to bear away through Addam's Strait,⁵ going round Cape Lookout, for should it blow 24 hours,

native to Macao as a hostage. He continues: "The native was now returned, but it seems the man left the port in the first vessel that came the present season, which was a Portuguese brigantine belonging to Macao." Legonee is Kaigahnee, on Dall Island, Alaska.

¹ This chief of Masset cannot at present be identified.

² Haswell now leaves Masset and, sailing eastward in Dixon Entrance, rounds Rose Spit or Invisible Point and continues southeasterly along the eastern shore of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

³ Rose Spit, which extends from Invisible (Rose) Point.

⁴ Perhaps Brundige Rocks, at the southern entrance of Clarence Strait.

⁵ This seems to be Dixon Entrance, which separates the Queen Charlotte Islands from the

and I lay to in these straits there is little doubt but I should fall a prey to some merciless reef or some perilous cleft of rocks.

Monday, Apr. 30th. Wind SE. The weather was so amazingly thick with the tempest that at the clearest time we could not see $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile. We bore away at 4 AM, when it was daylight, and stood west. At 6 we struck soundings in 17 f[atho]m. We hauled NW, gradually decreasing our water to 5 f[atho]m. I then hauled our wind to the ENE and deepened to 7 f[atho]m. Thus situated I could have wished to have seen the land a few moments, but it still grew thicker. I stretched off into 17 f[atho]m water and traced the shoal round in that depth till we arrived on the NW side, which was about 12 AM. The sea ran to a great highth and was amazingly agitated by the shoalness and irregularity of the bottom. Indeed I never saw so perfect a disorder in the waves, much heightened by the violent strength of the wind, which made the whole milk-white. This awful scene [50] was frequently strengthened by sharp flashes of lightning and showers of hail. It was necessary to run a many courses to find our way to sea where we might have good searoom. As we turned the NW part of the shoal, we hauled to the SSW and made sail. We soon found a very visible alteration in the movement of the waters. The sea fell and by 4 PM the weather was tolerably moderate. We stood in for Washington's Island under the ballanced mainsail and foresail, and before night saw the land about half way between Hancock's River and Cape Lookout,¹ and hove to in the night in from 8 to 20 f[atho]m water.

Tuesday, May 1st. Wind ENE. At 1 AM Hancock's River bore SSW 3 leagues distant. I made all sail to the westward. About noon a canoe came off and brought with them some halibut, and soon after we were visited by a number of other natives with skins for sale.

Cunnea the Chief of Tadents came off accompanied by his wife, (who is the superior officer).² They sold us many skins and were very anxious for us to go in to a anchor. This I determined to [51]

mainland to the northward. No other trader, so far as is known, used this name. The sloop now retraces her course westward around Rose Spit.

¹ The *Adventure*, after rounding Rose Spit, continues her course in Dixon Entrance westward towards the northwesterly part of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² The common spelling is Cunneyah. He was one of the chiefs in Parry Passage. For the power of the women of the Queen Charlotte Islands, see page 96, note 4, and page 208, note 1, above.

do, if in the morning the wind should be unfavorable to our going to the southward.

Wednesday, May 2d. Wind ENE. They had such an abundance of skins that it would have been a good cargo to have purchased them all, but they asked such a price for them that it would have taken all the salable articles I had to have purchased 70 of them.¹ I had the breeze light and foggy all night. In the morning of the 2d I stood in for the land with the wind at ENE and a lively breeze. As the wind was fair I determined not to touch at Tadents, but make my way to some cheaper place. Early in the afternoon the wind died and we lay becalmed about a mile distant from the shore, and 2 leagues to the southward of Tadents. While we lay in this condition the Chief and her husband came off and sold me several good skins on the usual terms, and I promised to come to their village again before long. It continued calm till midnight. *Thursday, May 3d.* Wind NW by W. We had it foggy all the next day with the wind to the westward, blowing a light breeze. I had no observation and towards night the wind increased considerably. I reefed and came under snug sail, and lay to all night, expecting I should fall in [52] to windward of Tooscondolth, but on the morning of the 4th I was mortified to find ourselves to the southward of the port.²

Friday, May 4th. Wind NW by W. The weather having been so thick we could not see the land since leaving the west end, and perhaps a strong current, must plead my excuse.³ Thus situated, knowing it would be impossible to beat to windward, in a little time I made sail to the southward in search of a good harbor, but found none that suited my mind and saw no natives.

Late in the evening I saw a place that I supposed would be a good harbor, and as the wind was light I lay off it all night.

Saturday, May 5th. Wind WNW. On the morning of the 5th I

¹ The *Adventure* is now near the eastern end of Parry Passage. Its western end is Cloak Bay where Dixon, in 1787, and Gray, in 1789, had secured such large quantities of sea-otter skins at such low rates of exchange. See page 96, note 2, above.

² The *Adventure* now proceeds southward along the ocean side of the Queen Charlotte Islands. "Tooscondolth" does not here refer to the village of that name, which was on the eastern side of the islands, but to the western end of Skidegate Channel, by which the people of that village reached the ocean. See page 320, note 1, above.

³ All navigators, from the days of the Spaniard, Juan Perez, in 1774, mention the prevalence of fog on the ocean coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

stood in, but the wind was light so that it was afternoon before I entered the sound, a piece of great length and 60 f[atho]m of water. I began to beat to windward and about 4 PM anchored in 60 f[atho]m water, being the first bottom I had got, with the best bower, for it blew fresh in squalls, about 4 miles from the entrance of the sound and a mile from the narrows into the large harbor. I went in the boat, manned and armed, in search of a better place for the vessel to lay. I entered a cove nearly abreast of which we had [53] anchored, and found it exactly suited to our purpose, being a most commodious place to get wood and water. I then rowed up into the other harbor and found it not so well adapted to our purposes, but a most excellent place for a large fleet of shipping to ride. I returned and found the sloop had drifted a considerable distance. I immediately weighed and towed into St. Tammonies Cove, Port Montgomery.¹ We anchored in 12 f[atho]m water, mud bottom.

Sunday, May 6th. Wind NW. Sunday the 6th all hands were employed in needful duties, cutting wood, filling water, re-stowing the hold. Carpenters finishing the stern, blacking the spars etc.

Monday, May 7th. Wind NW. On the morning of the 7th, it was clear pleasant weather. We finished the stern and painted it, and at 8 AM weighed and run down the harbor with a lively breeze at NW. I think the discovery of this harbor a valuable acquisition for a vessel that had met with an accident and wished to repair, clear of the natives, for I believe this port is only visited casually by strangers from Coyah's tribe.²

This place affords great abundance of good yellow pine timber and spars, plenty of water, and good wood that is hard and desirable fuel. St. Tammonies Harbor is in Lat. $52^{\circ}25'$ N [54] and Longitude [] West.³

¹ This port and cove have not been identified. The *Alaska Pilot*, following Ingraham's MS. journal, gives their latitude as $52^{\circ}35'$ N., which would indicate a sound on the ocean side of Moresby Island, of the Queen Charlotte group, in the neighborhood of Big Bay. It may be Big Bay. Haswell used Port Montgomery as a rendezvous with the *Columbia*; see below, entries September 1 to 4, 1792.

² Coyah was the head chief at Houston Stewart Channel, by the Americans called Barrell's Sound. It lies some thirty miles southward of the unidentified sound mentioned in the preceding note.

³ There is a difference of 10' between Haswell's and Ingraham's latitudes; see *Pacific Coast Pilot, Alaska*, Part I. 52.

I had been informed by some of Coyah's tribe that there was a ship laying at Barrel's Inlet,¹ and I had little reason to doubt them, as one of the natives had a jacket and trowsers they had purchased of them, on the buttons of which was printed, long live the President G. W.

I had been resolved to touch at Gray's Cove² before, nor would I let this report retard me, for I was anxious to know who it was, and to get letters from home.

I made sail for Barrels Inlet but the wind growing light it was two o'clock before we were abreast of the outer island the wind drew down the sound and we began to beat windward. At 3 PM we saw a boat coming towards us. Found her to be the boat belonging to the Margret of Boston, James Magee, Commander. Mr. Lamb, the chief officer, was in her.

They sailed from Boston the 25th of October 1791 and arrived on this coast the 24th of April 1792, touching only at St. Jagos on his passage.³

Captain Magee was in a very disordered state of health, when he made the land to the southward of Cape Ingraham, when his health was so much impaired that he gave up the conducting of his ship to Mr. Lamb, his Chief Officer. They ran for the south end of this island. This was the first port they had entered on the coast. They had been laying in this port 10 days and had collected but few skins. We beat in and anchored at 7 PM a little above the Margeret, with the best bower in 8 f[atho]m water.

Saluted Captain Magee with three cheers. [56] As soon as the vessel came to I waited on Captain Magee, and was happy in having news from my native country, in this remote clime.

Captain Magee commanded as fine a vessel as ever I saw of her size, and appeared exceedingly well fitted for his voyage, and I believe there was no expense spared. I found on board here, letters for

¹ The ship *Margaret* of Boston, James Magee master, which arrived at Houston Stewart Channel on April 26, 1792, and remained there until May 22.

² Presumably the cove in which the *Washington*, under Gray, anchored on June 11, 1789; see page 97, above. No other trader, so far as is known, used that name.

³ For an outline of the story of the *Margaret*, see Frederic W. Howay, "The Ship *Margaret*," *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report*, Hawaiian Historical Society (Honolulu, 1930), 34-40. A space was left here for a drawing representing the two vessels, but the drawing does not appear.

Capt. Gray and Mr. Hoskins, from our owners, and letters for the other gentlemen from their friends. Capt. Magee and his officers put letters in my charge to be forwarded to Boston by the first opportunity.¹

Capt. Magee will purchase but few skins in this port and those at a very high price. Of course his stay at this port will be short. He talks of going to the northward to Cook River, but in this respect his mind will change or he will be much in the wrong.

Thursday, May 10th. Wind Calm. Finding I should purchase but few skins, on the morning of the 10th I weighed and towed out of the cove. It continued calm until the 12th when the tide came nigh drifting us on the breakers off Cape Haswell.²

On the 13th the winds were variable and we were in the mouth of the [57] straits of Admiral de Font.³

Endeavoring to get to the northward.

Monday, May 14th. Wind NW. The wind coming in to the northward and westward I thought it my best way to stand over to the main, but we soon had an alteration in the wind.

Tuesday, May 15th. Wind SSE. On the 15th we stood in nigh the land and ran along shore, and passed several deep sounds. At noon I observed in Latitude $52^{\circ}43'$ N and by 6 in the evening we were abreast of Comsuah's Village,⁴ and judging I should not be able to fetch the anchoring ground before it was dark I wore, and stood off upon a wind to the eastward.

I soon saw several canoes coming off. We hove too and waited for them to come alongside. I purchased several skins of them. The night was moderate and pleasant.

Wednesday, May 16th. Wind Variable. Early in the morning

¹ This was because the *Columbia* intended to sail for China and thence to Boston at the end of the season of 1792. As a matter of fact, the *Margaret* sailed for China in November, 1792—only a month after the *Columbia*—but returned to the coast in the early part of 1793.

² The Kerouart Isles and the reef extending beyond them.

³ The term "Strait of Admiral de Fonte" was applied by Haswell in his first log to Clarence Strait. He now uses it as meaning Hecate Strait, which separates the Queen Charlotte Islands from the mainland on the eastward.

⁴ This is Tooscondolth or Cumshewa, on Cumshewa Inlet. The *Adventure*, after rounding Cape St. James (Cape Haswell), returns northward along the eastern side of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

of the 16th we stood into Tooscondolth Sound¹ and anchored at 11 AM but finding the place not so well sheltered as a cove not far distant, I weighed, and having sounded with the boat, anchored in Hope Cove in 17 f[atho]m water,² gravel bottom, about noon. On the latter part of the day I purchased a number of good skins. [58]

The 17th was clear, cold weather with the wind from the southward. I purchased a considerable number of skins of the natives and had my people employed on necessary ship's duties.

Friday, May 18th. Wind SW. On Friday the 18th we were again thronged with a number of natives and many skins were purchased,³ but finding their stock was nearly spent, in the evening, I determined on the morrow to depart, and early on the 19th I weighed and stood out to sea with exceedingly pleasant weather.

Saturday, May 19th. Wind NNE. At noon I observed in Latitude 53° 7' N. Hope cove is in Latitude [] N and Longitude [] W. This place is not an excellent harbor, but it will, as an anchoring place to trade with the natives, answer very well.

It is situated on the North side of Tooscondolth sound, and the first cove after passing a barren island.⁴ At the entrance there is a dangerous reef, to avoid which I advise to go to the southward of it.⁵ Comsuh has at this time his town at least 4 leagues to the southward of the place where we lay.⁶ [59]

We stretched over NNE until 11 in the evening, when we hove to until daylight.

Sunday, May 20th. Wind Northwardly. Early in the morning of the 20th several canoes came off to the southward of Hatches Island

¹ This is the present Cumshewa Inlet.

² This cove was on the northern side of Cumshewa Inlet. Ingraham's MS. journal, August 12, 1791, says that he ran over to a cove on the north side of the sound, which was very secure, and there anchored in fifteen fathoms over a bottom of fine gray sand and shells.

³ On one day, August 6, 1791, Ingraham bought in Cumshewa Inlet 176 sea-otter skins, worth then between \$3,000 and \$4,000 in China.

⁴ Hope Cove, judging from this statement and from the depth of water previously mentioned, may be the cove about a mile and a half from Cumshewa Island, a small barren rock at the northern entrance of Cumshewa Inlet.

⁵ Cumshewa Rocks, which extend a distance of nearly one and one-half miles southeasterly from Cumshewa Island.

⁶ Haswell means the village of Skedans, but the distance is exaggerated. It lay at the southerly entrance to Cumshewa Inlet and about nine miles from Cumshewa (Tooscondolth), which was on the northern shore.

and I purchased of them several good skins. They were very anxious for me to go in, but there is a reef to the southward of Hatches Island which is very dangerous to pass. I therefore determined to make the best of my way to the northward of the island and there seek a harbor. In the evening the wind veered to the southward and was moderate. I lay to all night.

Monday, May 21st. Wind NW. In the morning of the 21st I stretched to the northward of Hatches Island and the same people boarded me that were off yesterday. They had been diligently employed since we parted, for they had 6 otter in their canoe, yet warm with life.

I purchased them and stood to the northward. About 3 leagues in a NNE direction from Hatches Island is a very deep sound running in to the SE¹ and there is but little doubt that it must contain good harbors, but at too great a distance for me to go at present. If I can, on my return from the northward, conveniently, I will examine this place thoroughly.

This place laying so adjacent to Hatches Island I call it by the same name. [60]

Tuesday, May 22d. Wind SE. The morning of the 22d was cloudy with rain. At 11 AM I entered Derby Sound and stood in for Allen Cove.² The wind was light but the tide in our favor, and with the assistance of the boat ahead and the sweeps, we anchored about 2 PM and moored ship. We found no natives here. I landed with Mr. Waters and we shot several geese. Latter part rain and squally.

Wednesday, May 23d. Wind Calm. The 23d our shooting party shot several geese. Mr. Waters wounded a wolf, and I had the good fortune to shoot a turkey.³ People employed preparing to take in ballast, wood and water.

Thursday, May 24th. Wind SE. On the 24th cloudy with rain. Employed ballasting, wooding and watering.

Friday, May 25th. Wind N. Early on the 25th with a light breeze

¹ Principe Channel, between Pitt and Banks islands. It is about forty-two miles in length and runs in a general east-southeast direction.

² This cove cannot at present be identified. It was somewhere near Prince Rupert.

³ See page 90, note 2, above.

off the land we weighed and stood out to sea. It was now my intention to make the best of my way up Brown's Sound,¹ but I was no sooner clear of the land than the wind became directly adverse to my intention. I stretched over for Cape Lookout and was abreast of it at 8 P.M. The wind still remained northwardly, but it thickened up in the [61] southern quarter and promised a gale in that direction, and I shaped my course into Hancock's Straits² intending to go a little way to the northward on the sea side.

Saturday, May 26th. Wind ESE. On the 26th it was thick, unpleasant weather, we ran along shore and at 6 P.M. were abreast of Tadents. It now fell calm and we had as disagreeable a sea as ever I saw. In the night we had a lively breeze at ESE and I stood to the westward and northward with reefed sails.

Sunday, May 27th. Wind E by N. At 7 A.M. on the 27th shook the reefs out and put the bonnet on the jib, and hauled in for the land with the wind at E by N and at noon I observed in Latitude $54^{\circ}59'$ N.³ At 8 P.M. the eastwardmost land in sight bore E by S and the westwardmost W by N. The night was hazy.

Monday, May 28th. Wind E by S. All the 28th was light breezes, scarce enough to give the vessel steerage way. We were abreast of Distress cove,⁴ and the land in sight was a number of large, high islands.

Tuesday, May 29th. Wind WNW. We had altered our situation on the 29th but very little, but the wind coming in to the westward and having the appearance of a lasting breeze I altered my course to the southward. Latter part cloudy with frequent showers.

Wednesday, May 30th. Wind WNW. At 8 A.M. on the 30th Douglasses Island⁵ bore ENE distance 3 leagues. At noon I observed in Lat. $54^{\circ}42'$ N. [62]

¹ Clarence Strait, Alaska.

² This would appear to be a name for Kaigahnee Strait, which lies between Dall and Prince of Wales islands, Alaska. The name does not appear in any other journal, so far as is known. "Hancock's Straits" are plainly not "Hancock's River" (Masset).

³ The sloop is now coasting along the western shore of Dall Island, Alaska, northward bound.

⁴ The cove on the Alaskan coast, in or near Bucareli Bay, in which the *Washington* was nearly wrecked on May 23, 1789. See the entry under that date in Haswell's first log.

⁵ The sloop now returns southward owing to unfavorable weather. "Douglasses" Island is now, and was originally, Forrester Island, having been so named by George Dixon in 1787. In 1788

Thursday, May 31st. Wind light breeze, WNW. Cloudy with frequent showers of rain and disagreeable weather. At 4 Douglass Isle bore NW by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N distance 3 leagues.

It was my intention now to visit Sushin¹ if possible, and with this determination I shaped my course for Murderer's Cape. My Latitude at noon was $54^{\circ}2'$ N. All the latter part of these 24 hours was nearly calm. At 8 PM Cape Lookout bore ESE and Murderer's Cape N $\frac{1}{2}$ W.

Friday, June 1st. Wind Calm. Moderate breezes inclining to calm. At noon Murderer's Cape bore N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W distance 3 leagues. The westwardmost land in sight bore W $\frac{1}{2}$ S. My Latitude $54^{\circ}27'$ N. At 5 PM we passed Murderer's Cape and advanced about 6 miles when it fell calm.

Saturday, June 2d. Wind ESE. At 3 AM on the 2d a light breeze sprung up to the eastward which soon increased to a fresh gale attended with rain and thick weather. I directly made the best of our way to Port Tempest at which place I anchored at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12, with fresh gales and squalls.

We found the natives had dug the corpse of Mr. Caswell up, and by the appearance it must have been done soon after burial.²

We must unavoidably stay in this port till a favorable opportunity serves to [63] visit Sushin. I set the seamen and carpenters on several necessary jobs in their departments. Strong gales and thick, disagreeable weather.

Sunday, June 3d. Wind ESE. Filled up the empty water casks with salt water. Several of the people fancying they saw a smoke rising from among the trees abreast of the watering place, I fired among the trees in that direction.

Monday, June 4th. Wind E by S. Constant rain and heavy gales. Filled two tanks of water.

Wednesday, June 6th. Wind WNW. On the 6th it cleared away

William Douglas, then in command of Meares's *Iphigenia*, called it after himself. Meares, *Voyages*, 327.

¹ An Indian village on Cholmondeley Sound, an arm of Clarence Strait, Alaska. Haswell intends to sail east through Dixon Entrance and, rounding Cape Chacon (Murderer's Cape), proceed up Clarence Strait to the vicinity of the cove where Caswell had been killed in August, 1791.

² For an account of Caswell's death, see above, pages 221-222.

and a light breeze sprung up to the westward, with which we weighed and towed out, but the wind being against us we fetched to leeward of the anchoring place, and we plied to the windward all the night. As we were towing out a canoe was seen to land and a native walk away along the beach. This, together with the smoke we saw frequently nigh the watering place, tempts me to think we have been watched narrowly by the natives who keep themselves secret from us in hopes to have us in their power at some unguarded moment.¹ The information of my commanding this vessel may no doubt have easily reached this place from Washington's Island, or from Legonee.

Thursday, June 7th. Wind WNW. NW by N. At 6 on the morning of the 7th we anchored in 25 f[atho]m water nigh our former place. [64] It was my intention to lay here the principal part of the day and wait the appearance of the natives. Conscious it would not do to spend more time in the sound I was determined to leave it in the afternoon. My intention was now to cruise the coast of the Continent down to Naspattee,² where I hope to arrive the last of the month. At 3 PM weighed and made sail to the southward.

Friday, June 8th. Wind WNW. At 8 Murderer's Cape bore WSW and the eastwardmost land in sight bore ESE. The night was pleasant.

Saturday, June 9th. Wind NW. Coasting along very nigh the land and seeking villages, but had the misfortune to see not one native to the northward of Hatches Island. The wind now became light and flattering, inclining to calm. We had coasted very nigh the land before we came to the Lat. $53^{\circ}15'$ N when two canoes came off and several skins were purchased of them.

Sunday, June 10th. Wind ESE. The wind came in to the southward with light moderate breezes and in the night it was foggy. Making short stretches towards the land.

Monday, June 11th. Wind Variable. On Monday the 11th I coasted to the southward without seeing any natives or any inlet that promised a harbor. In the afternoon being abreast of a large rock that looked like the haunt of sea lions I sent the [65] boat, but

¹ These Indians were an intrusion of Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands into Alaska.

² Columbia's Cove (Quin-eex) in Chickleset Sound (Nasparti Inlet).

they saw none. This rock is situated a few leagues to the westward of rocky sound. In the evening stood to the southward under easy sail.

Tuesday, June 12th. Wind NNE. In the morning of the 12th the wind was light off shore. To the SE of me lay Barron Hill bay,¹ and in it I hoped to find a good harbor, but all this day was calm and I had it not in my power to seek them. I observed at noon in Lat. $52^{\circ}59'$ N.

About 7 in the evening a canoe came off and I purchased 5 skins of them. They informed me there was a large tribe where I was endeavoring to get in. It was calm all night.

Wednesday, June 13th. Wind SSE. On the 13th it blew a stiff breeze on shore and we could not venture nigh. It was thick and cloudy all these 24 hours, and on the 14th the wind (WNW) chopped in so strong to the westward that we could not fetch within 3 leagues of the entrance.

I now resolved to seek further to the southward and bore away with a strong north gale, and at noon I observed in Lat. $52^{\circ}33'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}32'$ W.² At 3 PM the wind moderating we shook the reefs out. At 8 PM it became squally and the wind hauled to the southward. The islands off Cape Ingraham³ bore S by W distance 74 miles. Squally through the night.

Friday, June 15th. Wind WNW. The 15th we had moderate breezes and cloudy weather. At noon saw the outwardmost of Ingraham Islands bearing SE by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E. My Lat. was $51^{\circ}11'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}39'$ W. [66] On the latter part of the day the wind hauled far to the southward. At 9 I stood off, Cape Ingraham Isles bearing E by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N distance 8 miles. Disagreeable weather all night.

Saturday, June 16th. Wind SE. Strong gales and a large sea. Came under snug sail. At noon my Lat. was $50^{\circ}41'$ N and Long. $130^{\circ}24'$ W. Much wind, sea, and rain, with thick weather. At 8 PM

¹ This may be the entrance to Laredo Sound near the western end of Aristazable Island, where there is a bare range of hills with four conspicuous peaks that rise to the height of 950 feet.

² In the vicinity of Laredo Sound and Milbanke Sound, where he had been in the *Washington* early in May, 1789.

³ Scott Islands, off Cape Scott, the northwesterly point of Vancouver Island.

Woody point bore S by E distance 77 miles.¹ A lively breeze from the westward sprung up with which I stood SE. *Sunday, June 17th.* Wind WNW. At daylight on the 17th I hauled in for the point. We soon saw a ship in the NE quarter. I hauled for her and soon discovered it to be the Columbia. They were just out of Pintards Sound.² For a considerable time after we parted company they had very disagreeable weather, but latterly they had good success. To the southward they spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ship Discovery, George Vancouver Esq., Commander, and Brig Chatham, Wm. Brouton, Commander.³ They sailed from Falmouth April 1st 1791 touched at the Society, Friendly and Sandwich Islands, the latter of which they left in March, and made the coast in Lat. 39° N. They had made no discovery and wanted to be informed of any we may have made. This was cheerfully conformed with. They were bound to explore the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Admiral du Font, and to finish whatever [67] Capt. Cook left unfinished, and during the time the Columbia was in their company they entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca and proceeded up as far as the eye could reach.⁴

They discovered a harbor in Lat. 46° 53' N and Long. 122° 51' W. This is Gray's harbor. Here they were attacked by the natives and the savages had a considerable slaughter made among them.⁵

They next entered Columbia River and went up it about 30 miles and doubted not it was navigable upwards of a hundred. Besides sea otter skins they purchased a great number of land furs of very considerable value.⁶ After leaving this they came again to the northward and went into Naspahty. Here they were attacked by the na-

¹ The *Adventure* is now sailing southeasterly along the western coast of Vancouver Island.

² The *Columbia* had left Pintard's Sound (Queen Charlotte Sound) on June 13.

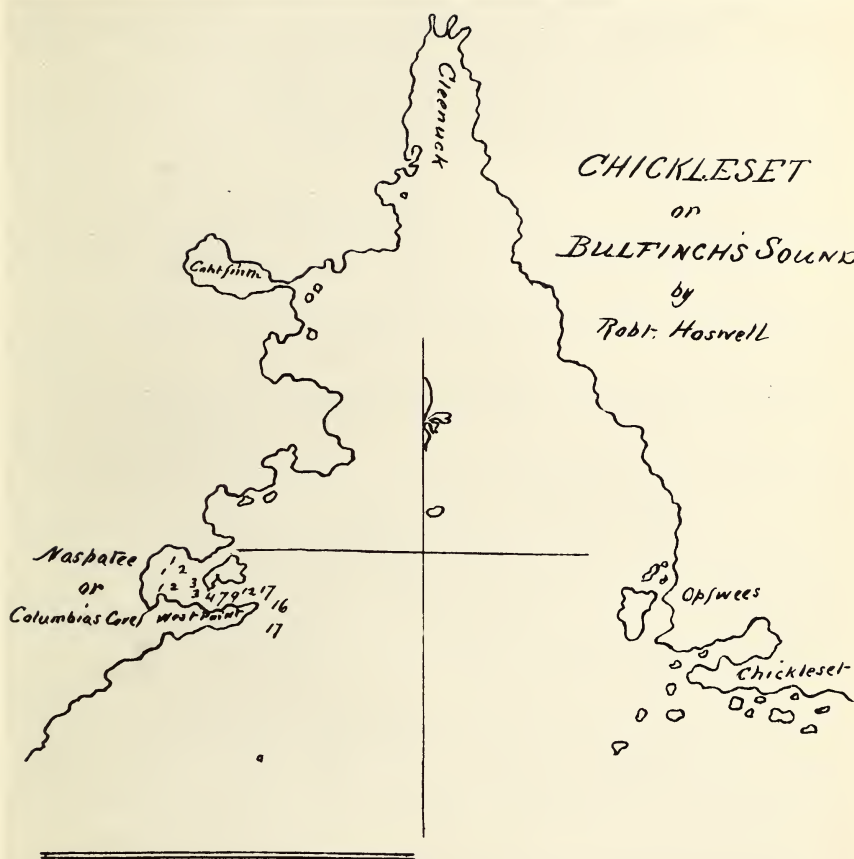
³ The meeting with Vancouver was on April 29, 1792, a short distance south of Cape Flattery. See, for full details, Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 41ff. Boit places the meeting on April 28. William Brouton is Lieutenant William Robert Broughton.

⁴ The *Columbia* followed Vancouver's ships into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the following morning was seen working out of it. This induced Menzies to believe that Gray regarded them as rivals in trade, "and this is conformable to the general practice among traders on this coast, which is always to mislead competitors as far as they can, even at the expense of truth." *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage*, C. F. Newcombe, Editor (Victoria, 1923), 17.

⁵ This harbor was discovered by Captain Gray in the *Columbia* on May 7, 1792, on the coast of the State of Washington. Boit gives its latitude as 46° 58' North. For Boit's account of the attack upon the *Columbia*, see below, page 395.

⁶ Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, discovered the Columbia River on May 12, 1792.

CHICKLESET
or
BULFINCH'S SOUND
by
Robt. Hoswell



Scale of two miles

tives and they were necessitated to kill a great number of them.¹ They next went up Pintard's Sound. Here again they were formidably attacked and a considerable fall of natives ensued.²

The ship during the cruise had collected upwards of 700 sea otter skins and 15 thousand skins of various other species.³ Both our vessels were bound to Naspatee, and anchored there early in the evening.

On the 18th all hands employed preparing to haul the sloop on the ground to grave. Delivered to Capt. Gray 238 sea otter skins 142 Tails 23 Cootsacks and 19 Peices.⁴ Latter part hazy. [68]

The 19th was such disagreeable weather that little was done.

The 20th I hauled on shore and graved one side. Fine pleasant weather.

The 21st having finished gravings⁵ we filled part of our water and had a party wooding.

Delivered to Capt. Gray 12 sheets of copper,⁶ and on the 23d received from Capt. Gray 8 great coats and 8 blankets.

Sunday, June 24th. Wind SE. Being perfectly ready for sea, in the morning of the 24th we weighed and stood out to sea. At noon we passed Woody Point. As we outsailed the ship, in the afternoon we hove to and waited her coming up. The outwardmost island off Cape Ingraham bore NW and the eastwardmost land in sight bore E by S.

Monday, June 25th. Wind NW. In the morning being ahead of the ship I altered the course from W by N to NW by N, having passed Ingraham's Isles, but the ship not following my example by

¹ The attack occurred on May 29, 1792, after the return of the *Columbia* from her trip to the southward, during which she had discovered the Columbia River. In *Viage hecho por los goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1802), 24, there is a different account received by the Spaniards from the natives. They alleged that they had been unable to agree with Captain Gray upon the price of their skins and that he had taken them by force and fired on their village.

² This attack occurred on June 7, 1792. See Boit's account, below, page 403.

³ This seems exaggerated; at this time only sea-otter were being *sought*—though others were accepted.

⁴ Observe that the number falls far short of Boit's "about 500 skins." See below, page 405.

⁵ The *Adventure* was not coppered; hence the necessity of graving less than four months after launching.

⁶ The Indians were very whimsical in their ideas of barter; but copper was steadily in demand, though fault might be found with the size or thickness of the sheets.

11 AM was quite out of sight. I had no observation. In the evening I stood to the southward and met the ship about midnight.

Tuesday, June 26th. Wind Variable. Tuesday the 26th all the first part of the day was moderate inclining to a calm. At noon the ship was about 5 miles to the northward of us. I observed in Lat. $51^{\circ}23'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}28'$ W. In the latter part of the day a light breeze sprung up at SE. We made sail and at 6 were alongside the ship. I drank tea with Capt. Gray. [69] We were now about 3 leagues from the land.

Wednesday, June 27th. Wind SSE. We hauled our wind to the SW and stood off till morning, when we made sail to the NW. At 8 AM Capt. Gray ordered me ahead. At noon my Lat. per account was $52^{\circ}8'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}43'$ W.

We are now abreast of the south entrance of Loblip Sound¹ and the coast is broken into low craggy islands and detached sunken rocks. I was surprised to find Capt. Gray standing in for the land in a place that looked to me very dangerous. However, as he had ordered me to lead off I did not follow him. He had all sail on his ship, steering sails below and aloft. I had seen as I passed several sunken reefs of rocks, and as the Columbia passed not looking out properly, she struck. I immediately made sail to windward, hoisted my boat out and set off for the ship. She fired a gun, but soon swung clear of the rock and hoisting her colors stood towards me. The ship had been going at the rate of 5 knots when she struck.² She appeared to have met with no material damage compared with what might have been expected. Much of her sheathing was bruised off, and before this unfortunate accident she was a perfectly tight vessel, but she now made 400 strokes of her pump in an hour. I advised Capt. Gray to make the best of his way to Derby Sound and there to repair his ship I keeping way with him at the same time. This he complied with and [70] making sail we stood to the windward and at 10 we hove to with her head to the SW to wait for daylight.

Thursday, June 28th. Wind NE. At 3 AM on the morning of the 28th we bore away for the northward. At 8 AM I took a number of

¹ Haswell places the latitude of this sound at $52^{\circ}50'$ North. See above, page 88, note 2.

² Hoskins and Boit disagree with Haswell as to the date of this episode. Hoskins (page 484, below) says June 25; Boit (page 406, below) says June 28.

people on board the *Columbia* to assist in pumping. The whole day was pleasant with a lively breeze, and in the evening the wind changed to the westward. Capt. Gray told me it was his intention to beat to windward on this shore until a southward wind should spring up, bidding me to make sail and he would follow. Wind WNW. I stretched off till midnight under reefed sail, when both vessels tacked together. The breeze was fresh with a tumbling sea.

Friday, June 29th. Wind WNW. At 2 AM the officer of the watch informed me the ship had suddenly disappeared, and he feared she had foundered. I immediately hove about and stood directly towards the place we saw her last, but standing $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour we could not see her, and confident that Capt. Gray would not stand far off shore I now hove about in for the land. It was perfectly daylight in an hour after we first missed her, being daybreak at the time, but she was not in sight. I stood in shore till 7 and then hove to, being of opinion that the ship would stretch in here to day if she remained above water.¹

Finding we drifted very fast I set the double reefed mainsail and head of the jib, and [71] stretched to and fro. At noon I observed in Lat. $52^{\circ}55'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}45'$ W. It was my intention to stand to and fro nigh this place the remainder of the day, and then make the best of my way to Derby Sound, and then wait a week, and if I should not see her in the course of that time, to cruise the coast and meet at the rendezvous at the time appointed, St. Tammonie's Harbor, Port Montgomery, the last of August.

I fear in the night the ship sprung a worse leak occasioned by the damage she had received on the rocks, and foundered without having time to make any signal to us, who when we saw her last were $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ahead; otherwise I cannot account for so sudden a separation in such clear, pleasant weather, when we had perfect daylight in less than an hour after she was first missed; but I hope she may still be safe.² In the evening we had a light breeze at SSE with which I

¹ The *Columbia*, however, had not foundered. She made her way to Columbia's Cove, Nasparti Inlet, and thence to Nootka Sound, where the repairs were effected. The *Adventure* met her later on the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, near Haswell's Port Montgomery. See the entry of September 3, 1792, below.

² No explanation has been given of her sudden disappearance.

stood to the westward till 10 PM when we hove to with her head to the southward.

Saturday, June 30th. Wind SE. In the morning of the 30th we made sail to the north with thick disagreeable weather, and at noon Hatches Island bore S by E distance 3 leagues. At 5 PM we entered Derby Sound and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 anchored in Allen's Cove. I had hoped the ship might have arrived here before me but I am disappointed. We moored head and stern. The night was pleasant.

Sunday, July 1st. Wind N. Sunday was attended with a northwardly wind and [72] flying clouds. Caught many fine fish. Moderate wind and hazy with drizzling rain. As I well knew if the ship should arrive here it would take a considerable number of boards to repair her sheathing, I immediately employed our sawyers.

Monday, July 2d. Wind WNW. We caught halibut, flounders, whighting, tomcod, and two species of fish that I am unacquainted with.

Tuesday, July 3d. Wind WNW. Tuesday the people were employed as usual. Cut a spar and made a topsail yard, and a tiller of wetupt. The weather was pleasant and wind strong.

Wednesday, July 4th. Wind W. Strong gales and pleasant weather. All hands necessarily employed.

Thursday, July 5th. Wind W. Early in the morning of the 5th a canoe came alongside of whom we purchased several good skins. They belong to some very distant tribe far up the sound. We found the natives had lived in this cove since our last departure, and had left the frames of several houses. The weather was pleasant. We took up one of our anchors and placed it in a more commodious situation.

Friday, July 6th. Wind Variable. SSE. The 6th was cloudy weather. I sent a party out fishing. They met with tolerably good success. At about 4 PM we fancied we heard a cannon and I caused a gun to be fired in answer, and went out myself in the boat in hopes I might see a sail, and imagining their might be a sail beyond the land, [73] I returned and got the sloop under way, and I was out to sea before dark but saw no sail and were afterwards convinced the report we heard was not a cannon, but thunder, hearing the like

several times after. At 11 PM being well out clear of the rock we hoisted in the boat. Growing squally we double reefed the mainsail and took the bonnet off the jib. The wind being southwardly I shaped our course for Cape Lookout, intending to go to Hancock's River.

Saturday, July 7th. Wind SSE. In the middle watch it grew calm and she drifted in for the sound, but about 4 AM a lively breeze sprang up to the southward, and about 9 AM we sounded in 7 f[atho]m water, on Cape Lookout Shoals.¹ We bore up and ran round them.

At noon Cape Lookout bore SSW distance 5 leagues. Hauled in upon a wind for the north side of the island. It was now so late in the day that I gave over all thoughts of going into Masheet² this night, but stretched in towards the land under snug sail, having strong gales and cloudy. At 10 PM hove to with her head to the southward.

Sunday, July 8th. Wind NNE. At daylight the 8th we made sail for Hancock's River, but finding we could not stem the tide at 11 AM we anchored, the hummock on Cape Lookout³ bearing ENE and the entrance of the harbor SSW in 7 f[atho]m water. At 2 PM the tide slacked and we weighed and stood in and anchored at 3 PM [74] abreast of the burial ground in 17 f[atho]m water. Several natives came off and I purchased a few skins and fish. Strong gale from the west (NW).

Monday, July 9th. Wind WNW. Strong gale from the westward and clear weather. Many of the natives alongside and purchased a considerable number of sea otter skins. In the evening the wind lulled and at midnight it changed to a light breeze at SE. Purchased huckleberries, raspberries, and the finest flavored strawberries I ever tasted. I find that there has been a ship here commanded by one Ugon, whom I suppose to be the French gentleman we carried

¹ The shoals (Rose Spit) project northward from Invisible (Rose) Point.

² This is the only place where Haswell uses this word to denote Masset, though on his chart he shows "Mahsheet." He usually calls it Hancock's River.

³ The *Adventure* is bound for Masset, which she reaches that afternoon. The hummock is Nag-don Hill (called Tow Hill by Dr. Dawson), a small bluff elevation about nine miles from Invisible Point.

passenger from Macao to Canton in the Columbia last voyage.¹ His chief mate it seems is Vianna, Capt. Douglass' Portuguese captain in the Ephagene.² Capt. Magee has been at Tadent's Village.

Tuesday, July 10th. Wind ESE. The 10th was moderate and cloudy. Purchased a number of skins from the natives who all the time I have been in this port, have insisted upon and I have been necessitated to give an enormous price.

The 12th in the morning a canoe arrived from Tadents with information that Adamson³ was at that place in a ship. That Rogers was there in a brig, and they also speak of Barnett and Douglas, speaking [75] highly of their generosity as is usual among them.⁴ Thus I find the northern coast is thronged with people well provided with cargoes, there is no doubt. They say Newbury and Treet are with Capt. Rogers.⁵

Wednesday, July 11th. Wind WNW. At about 10 AM the tide ebbing with the wind to the westward, we weighed and beat out and were followed by several of the natives vociferating strongly in my praise, wishing me well (for I had told them I should come there no

¹ The French ship *La Flavie*, of 600 tons. Haswell gives a *résumé* of her movements in his entry for August 3. Very little is as yet known about this vessel, but there are scattered references to her in *Viage hecho por las goletas*, 20; Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, IV. 289, VI. 399; Martin Sauer, *Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition* (London, 1802), 287, 314. Her captain was M. Magon. See *Transactions*, Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, XXIV, Section Two, 126.

² The reference is to Francis Joseph Viana, who was Portuguese supercargo on Meares's snow *Iphigenia Nubiana* when she was masquerading as a Portuguese bottom in 1788 and 1789. There is some confusion here, for either he or some person of the same name was on the coast this year in command of the *Felice*. See Haswell's later entry under date July 28, 1792, with note thereon.

³ Adamson was in charge of the *Hancock's* longboat, not of a "ship" as stated here. See page 295, note 1, above.

⁴ There is some confusion here, for William Rogers, who was on the Northwest Coast in 1791 in command of the snow *Fairy*, was at this time en route to Boston, having sailed on her from Canton in March, 1792 (Ingraham's MS. journal, March 29, 1792). William Douglas, master in 1788 and 1789 of Meares's snow *Iphigenia*, was on the coast in 1791 on the *Grace*, of which he was commander and owner; but he died on her during the voyage from the Hawaiian Islands to China. Perhaps the Indians meant that the vessels *Fairy* and *Grace*, which in 1791 were on the coast in command of Rogers and Douglas respectively, were again in the trade in 1792. This was true so far as the *Grace* was concerned. Thomas Barnett had been connected with the Meares venture in 1788 and 1789 and was on the coast in the *Gustavus* in 1791. No record, so far as is known, shows him on the coast again in 1792.

⁵ Elias Newbury (Norbery) was on the coast in 1793 as captain of the Boston schooner *Jane*; but it is not known what vessel he was on in 1792. Treat was furrier on the *Columbia* in 1787-1790; but he sailed on the *Fairy* for Boston in March, 1792.

more) saying others come, kill us, and take our property by force.¹ You came, bartered with us, and hurt not a man. You are good. Meaning to visit Tadents² I stretched off upon a wind and a thick fog ensued, in the midst of which a canoe came alongside and I purchased of them several good skins. At 7 PM tacked ship to the southward. Tacked to the north at 11. Midnight moderate and cloudy. Wind West.

The islands of Tadents bear W by S and the hummock on Cape Lookout ESE about a league distant from the nearest land, about abreast of Neden.³

Thursday, July 12th. The morning was thick, unpleasant weather. Saw a sloop to the westward. At 11 a native came off who had been off to China with Capt. Crowell.⁴ He informed me he returned with Capt. Crowell [76] and that Capt. Ingraham⁵ and Capt. Coolidge were both on the coast. I found this fellow a great prejudice to the trade and I purchased but few skins. They were very loth I should speak the sloop⁶ which was to windward.

I continued to ply to windward all night and in the morning stretched into the bay that forms the NE entrance to Tadents.⁷

Friday, July 13th. Wind Southwardly. At noon I spoke the sloop Florinda of Macao, Thomas Cole, commander.⁸

He sailed the 25th of March and arrived the 12th of July, in Lat. 55°. All well on board. The most miserable thing that ever was

¹ This indictment could be made and proved, on their own admissions, against a number of the maritime traders.

² The *Adventure* now leaves Masset and sails westerly in Dixon Entrance for that favorite trading ground, Parry Passage.

³ Naden Harbor, capacious and landlocked, on the northern coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, between Masset and Parry Passage. Haswell had been there on April 23, 1792.

⁴ The maritime traders strove to win the favor of the natives by many devices. Taking away a member of the tribe to see the great outside world was a very common one. Cf. page 323, note 3, above.

⁵ Captain Joseph Ingraham of the Boston brigantine *Hope*.

⁶ The *Florinda* of Macao, which Haswell spoke the next day. The reason that the natives did not wish him to speak to this sloop appears later. She may have been the vessel built by some of the mutineers of the *Bounty* at Tahiti.

⁷ Henslung Cove, at the easterly entrance to Parry Passage.

⁸ The *Florinda* left Macao, March 25, 1792. Ingraham, in the *Hope*, left the same place on April 26 and four days later overtook her. This seems to justify Haswell's unique characterization of her.

formed in imitation of the Ark. He had on board him no less than 40 or 50 stout natives, and alongside 12 canoes all well armed. On the sloop they had not a musket on deck nor any arm except a cutlass, and it was no doubt the intention of Cuneah to make her his prize. This he might have done without the loss of one of the natives. I gave Capt. Cole advice and caution against them and he seemed to take it kindly. In the evening we parted and I directed my course for Norfolk Sound.¹ The night was cloudy with a disagreeable sea and light winds. [77]

Wind Westwardly: The weather continued drizzling and disagreeable for several days, during which time the wind kept at SW and I found it necessary to keep a good offing. On the 15th at 2 PM Douglasses Island bore E½S distance 12 leagues.²

Tuesday, July 17th. Wind NW. On the 17th I observed in Lat. 56°6' N and Long. 135°24' W. Port Banks bearing N½E distance 8 leagues.³ I saw several spermaceti whales, the first that I have seen this voyage on the coast. The wind was so light that I gained but little to the westward.

Wednesday, July 18th. Wind NW by W. At noon observed in Lat. 56°5' N with very pleasant weather. Variation per Ampd. 24°7' E.

The 19th was calm. At noon Cape Edgcomb⁴ bore NW distance 48 miles. I observed in Lat. 56°12' N and Long. 135°45' W. Strong appearances of a southwardly wind.

Friday, July 20th. Wind Southwa[rd]ly. Early in the morning a light breeze sprung up from the southward with which we made sail in shore. At noon Mount Edgecomb bore NW by N½N distance 10 leagues.⁵

¹ Now Sitka Sound, Alaska.

² Forrester Island, near the northern approach to Dixon Entrance. The *Adventure* now sails northward along the Alaskan coast.

³ Port Banks, named in 1787 by George Dixon of the *Queen Charlotte* after Sir Joseph Banks, is the most important anchorage in Whale Bay, Baranof Island, Alaska. Its latitude is 56°39' North.

⁴ Cape Edgecumbe, named by Captain Cook in 1778, is the northerly point at the entrance of Sitka Sound, Alaska. It lies in latitude 57° North (approximately).

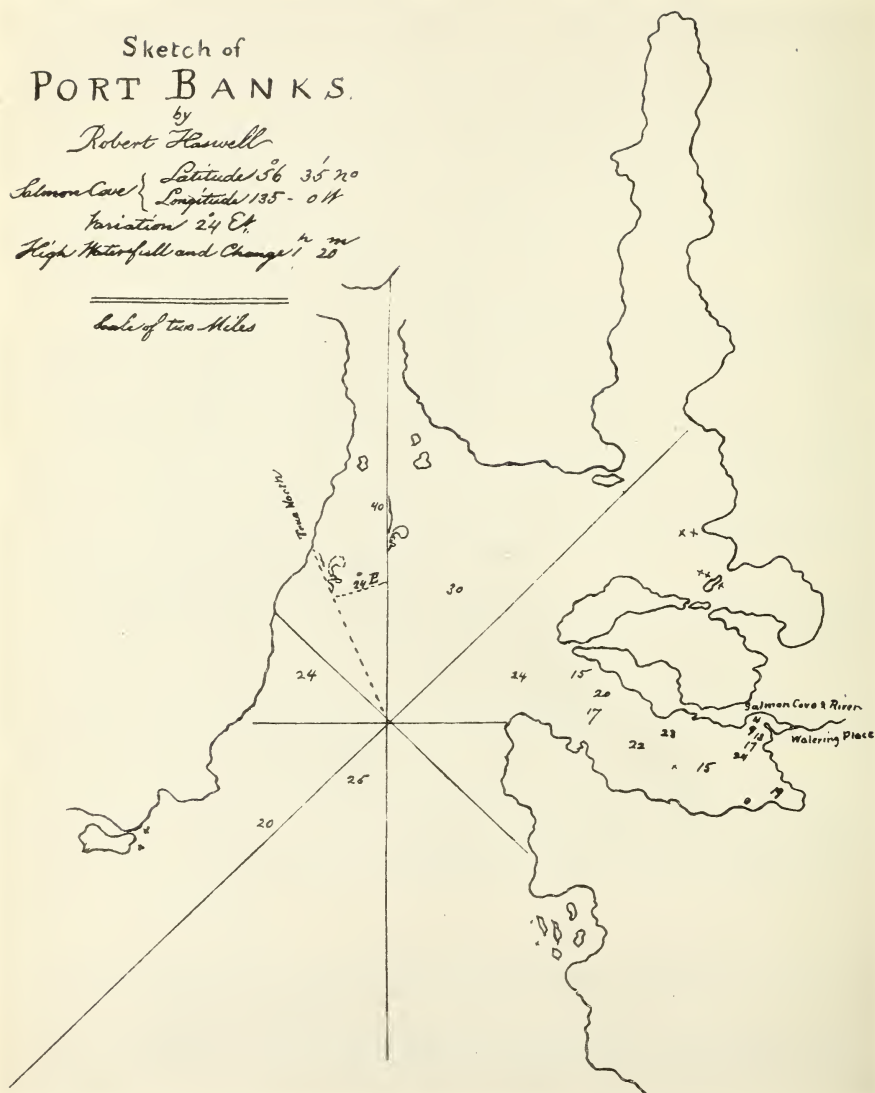
⁵ Mount Edgecumbe is only 2,885 feet in height, but it is remarkable for its appearance—a flat-topped mountain with sides sloping at a gentle inclination towards the level ground at its base. For a view of Mount Edgecumbe, see Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, 192.

Sketch of PORT BANKS.

by
Robert Haswell

Salmon Cove { Latitude $56^{\circ} 35' 20''$
Longitude $135^{\circ} - 01'$
Variation $24^{\circ} E$
High Waterfall and Change $1^m 20$

Scale of two Miles



Saturday, July 21st. Wind Westwar[dl]y. The wind was so exceedingly light that I found it impossible to get in to an anchor to-night and I hove to, to wait for morning.

Light breeze and exceedingly pleasant. At noon, I observed in Lat. $56^{\circ} 59'$ N. The anchoring place in Norfolk Sound¹ bore N by W distance 4 miles. About 2 PM finding I gained nothing towards the place I was bound, I anchored in 17 f[atho]m water. Several canoes came off. They had [78] but one skin among them and this they [] at no rate for demanding a great coat. We saw but few natives and it is probable there are but few at this place in this season of the year. A more favorable breeze sprang up (WNW) and I weighed but the wind came directly contrary. It was my intention to go further up the sound but after beating till near night I bore up and run out, convinced that all the skins they had this season were purchased by some other vessel. They told me they had been visited by some other vessel with 2 masts,² who had sold them a quantity of clothing.

Sunday, July 22d. Wind WNW. However, on the 22d I ran in close to their village, but as there was none of them came off I wore and stood to the southward, intending to go into Port Banks, but the breeze soon changed to the southward (SSE) and we plied to windward with very unpleasant weather.

Monday, July 23d. Wind Southwardly. The 23d was calm, almost throughout. We had no observation but could see the land at times.

Tuesday, July 24th. Wind Westwardly. At about midnight the wind changed to the westward and we stood in shore upon a wind. At 10 we bore away and stood for Port Banks, the entrance of which bore ENE. At noon having the Sound open [79] and the anchoring place bearing N by E I observed the Lat. $56^{\circ} 35'$ ³ and my Long. $135^{\circ} 9'$ W. I had a lively breeze up and I reached the anchoring place at

¹ The *Adventure* is now in Sitka Sound, Alaska. This was the most northerly point seen by Haswell on either the first (1787-1790) or the second (1790-1793) voyage of the *Columbia*.

² Perhaps this was the schooner *Grace*. Ingraham records in his MS. journal, July 8, 1792, that to the eastward of Rose Spit he met the *Grace* and that her captain, R. D. Coolidge, informed him of his having learned from the Indians of the presence of large vessels with many guns and men; "and his vessel having no legal papers he intended to cruize chiefly to the northward to avoid them." Again, it may have been the British brig *Halcyon*, which spent the season in Alaskan waters; or even Captain Moore's vessel, usually called the barque *Phoenix*, though at this time believed to be rigged as a snow or a brig.

³ His latitude agrees exactly with that of Dixon, determined in 1787.

4 PM. I anchored in the mouth of Salmon River in 9 f[atho]m water about a hundred yards from the shore in one of the pleasantest situations I ever saw, with plenty of good wood and water within cable's length of us.¹ I went up the river to the falls, where the salmon were incredibly numerous, many of which we caught. We found a great abundance of berries and took off a load of wood. Excessively pleasant weather but saw no natives. As there were evident signs that the natives are here frequently I determined to stop a day or two.

Wednesday, July 25th. Wind Westwardly. Light breezes and hot, pleasant weather. All hands diligently employed wooding and watering. Caught several salmon.

Thursday, July 26th. Wind Southwar[dl]y. Pleasant. Finished wooding and watering setting up rigging. Caught many salmon. In the afternoon I employed myself surveying part of the harbor.

Friday, July 27th. Wind SSE. Variable. WNW. Cloudy. At 5 AM weighed and stood down to the mouth of the harbor, but being nearly low water I anchored in 17 f[atho]m water. I now went out and finished a tolerably good survey of the Sound. Shot some gulls and caught some salmon. We saw no natives. [80]

Saturday, July 28th. Wind WNW. Early in the morning I weighed with an intention to go out, but the tide still flowing fast I was obliged to anchor again. At ½ past 11 we weighed again and beat out. At 3 PM saw a snow to the westward standing in. She fired a gun, a signal to speak us. I answered it and stood towards them. It is Capt. Mear from Bengal.² He has spoken a Portuguese snow, Capt. Viana, in distress at Washington's Islands.³ They have been far north for they have a skin canoe lashed over their stern, and I noticed Capt. Mear had a pair of Onilascian boots on. He wished

¹ See Haswell's chart of Port Banks. Here he spent three days. There were no Indian villages in Port Banks.

² The barque *Phoenix* (though here called a snow), Captain Hugh Moore, from Bengal. Haswell met her again in Parry Passage, August 21, 1792, and later in Nootka Sound, September 21, 1792. She is a mystery ship—so little is known of her and her movements. See Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska* (San Francisco, 1886), 326; Clarence L. Andrews, "Voyage of the East Indiaman *Phoenix*," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (January, 1932), 37.

³ This statement, when coupled with the lists of vessels on the coast in 1792 by Menzies and Vancouver, seems to show that the Indians were wrong or wrongly understood when they stated that Viana was on *La Flavie*. See above, the entry for July 9, 1792, and the note thereon. The snow was probably Meares's old *Felice Adventurer*, Viana in command.

me a pleasant voyage and went into Port Banks. I stood to the southward. Light breezes inclining to a calm. As it seemed to promise a westwardly wind I stood to the southward for Washington's Islands. Coasting along shore with very light winds and nothing remarkable except a large swell from the westward.

Tuesday, July 31st. Wind NW. On the 31st Douglasses Islands bore E by N distance 6 leagues and I stood in SE by E½E for Cape Coolidge. At 3 PM saw the land ahead distance 8 leagues.

Wednesday, Aug. 1st. In the morning of the 1st, it was foggy and calm. At 10 a light breeze sprung up from the SW with which we stretched [81] alongshore to the eastward on the north side of the island. In the afternoon calm, had two canoes off. Stood alongshore for Hancock's River and in the evening being nearly abreast of it we hove to for daylight.

Friday, Aug. 3d. Wind WNW. On the morning of the 3d at 3 AM made sail for the river. At 4 we observed a ship laying nigh the entrance, which we soon discovered to be French.¹ I anchored nigh her. Found her to be from Le Oriant Sound to Kamschatka, with supplies for that settlement. The supercargo, a Russian gentleman, had made this coast in his way as he meant to touch at Onilasca. On their passage to this coast they had touched at Valparaiso, where they were very politely received.

Their next port was Nootka Sound where they sold a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors and clothing for sea-otter skins. This ship was commanded by M. Magon, Mr. Peter Torckler the supercargo, and M. Dupacey, second captain and first pilot. They had passed the bar of the harbor and twice in attempting to return to sea, had run their ship on shore. I went on board and piloted them into the harbor.

The latter part of the day was attended with rain.

Saturday, August 4th. Wind Westwar[dl]y. The 4th all hands were employed in various ship's duties. In the forenoon I went on board the French ship, and while on board my [82] cloak being

¹ The vessel *La Flavie*, of which he had heard on July 9. This is the fullest statement to be found anywhere regarding the third French venture on the Northwest Coast. The first was *La Pérouse's* expedition sent out by the French government to ascertain the trade possibilities. There were two French trading voyages: Marchand's in 1791, and that of *La Flavie* in 1792-1793.

carelessly left in the boat was stolen by one of the natives, and he fled with it on shore. I hailed Mr. Waters and ordered him to keep one of the natives prisoner. This he did and one was kept also by Capt. Magon, but the natives who were detained on board the Adventure, saw me returning on board, watched a favorable opportunity to make his escape, which he did, notwithstanding he was fired at. However, the cloak was soon returned.

From these French gentlemen I received a present of several gallons of liquor, which, having been out some time, was very acceptable.

On the 6th a native we had wounded, came alongside and I gave him shirts for bandages for his wound.

The commander of the French ship was very anxious I should stay till he could get out, and offered to make me any indemnification that I should wish, for the loss of my time. However, this I declined. I gave him proper directions for sailing out and on the morning of the 7th (Wind ESE) took my leave. He sent me on board a considerable quantity of new, soft bread. The latter part of the day was calm and light airs from the ESE.

Wednesday, Aug. 8th. Wind ESE. Early in the morning of the 8th spoke the [83] brig Grace of New York, R. D. Coolidge, commander, from Macao. We stood into Tadents¹ and anchored together, it being my intention to wait a westwardly wind to join the Columbia. The cove we anchored in, is in the south side of the north island which forms Tadent's Straits, and is certainly a pretty good cove.² The wind constantly at ESE with rain and thick, disagreeable weather.

Sunday, Aug. 12th. Wind ESE. In the morning of the 12th a Portuguese brig arrived, commanded by Joseph Andrews Tobar, from Macao.³ Unpleasant weather with constant rains and southwardly winds.

Tuesday, Aug. 14th. Wind ESE. In the morning of the 14th

¹ The *Grace* had sailed after July 8, 1792, for Alaskan waters. See above, page 345, note 2.

² Probably Douglas' Beal Harbor, Ingraham's Douglas Cove (1791), and that now called Henslung Cove.

³ The *Fenis and St. Joseph*, which sailed for China on October 1, 1792, carrying Lieutenant Mudge with Vancouver's dispatches.

Capt. Coolidge¹ weighed and towed out, but the weather was so bad it forced him back at 2 p.m. No alteration of winds or weather, nor did any remarkable circumstance occur. Few natives came to us and no skins. Parties out a shooting.

Tuesday, Aug. 21st. Wind SW. Early in the morning of the 21st we saw two sails standing in. They proved to be the *Hope* of Boston, Jos. Ingraham, and the *Jackall* of London, Stewart,² commander. Wind ESE. Captain Ingraham informed me that Capt. Gray was repairing at Nootka Sound where had arrived several English ships.

The 24th was hazy. Weighed in company with the *Hope* and *Grace*, and stood out of the harbor to the eastward. Left riding here the sloop [84] *Jackall* and brig *Phinex*.³ The wind was variable. At midnight the wind was south and we hove to with our head in shore, the *Grace* and *Hope* in shore. Wind SSE.

Saturday, Aug. 25th. Wind SSE. At daylight we made sail for Hancock's River and were followed by the brigs. At 11 a.m. the tide being strong against us I came to in 3 f[athoms] water about a mile distant from the entrance of the harbor. At ½ past 2 weighed and beat into the river and anchored in 17 f[athoms] water. The *Grace* and *Hope* soon anchored but dragged their anchors. Strong gales in a contrary direction from the tide caused a large sea, and we were necessitated to ride with two anchors ahead.

Sunday, Aug. 26th. Wind ESE. The 26th I went up in my boat to seek a better anchoring place, and returned in the evening, having shot some geese, and found a very secure place. Weighed in company with the *Grace* and *Hope* and stood up the river and anchored in 6 f[athoms] water above the island.⁴

¹ In command of the schooner *Grace*.

² A full account in manuscript of the *Hope's* voyage from September, 1790, to November, 1792, is in the Library of Congress. The *Jackall* was on the Northwest Coast in 1792, 1793, and 1794. She was a schooner or cutter forming part of the so-called *Butterworth* squadron. She had, says Ingraham, "a tier of ports fore and aft, the greatest part of which was false."

³ The *Jackall* is usually styled a schooner. The *Phoenix* of Bengal is ordinarily called a barque. In the entry for July 28 she is referred to as a snow. The name "Phinex" probably refers to the brig *Fenis* and *St. Joseph*, as it appears from Ingraham that she was a "Feluca of Macao." See above, page 348, note 3.

⁴ Maast Island in Masset Sound. It is marked "Mahsheet" in Haswell's chart of Hancock's River.

Monday, Aug. 27th. Wind SSW. Monday the 27th was still contrary wind. Party out shooting. Hazy with heavy showers of rain.

Tuesday, Aug. 28th. Wind SW. At 7 AM unmoored ship. At noon weighed and was saluted by the brigs which we returned. At 2 were safely out of the harbor. With a light pleasant breeze we [85] stood towards Cape Lookout, but before night we had the misfortune to have a southwardly wind.

Wednesday, Aug. 29th. Wind SSE. I continued beating off Cape Lookout until 10 AM the 29th when the wind increased so much that I thought it advisable to bear up round Tadents.¹ This I did and made all sail to the westward. Before the day was out it blew a heavy gale and was thick weather.

Thursday, Aug. 30th. Wind WSW. In the morning of the 30th the wind chopped in to the westward and we made all sail to beat past Tadents. At noon observed in Lat. $54^{\circ}24'$ N. At 8 PM the west end of the island bore west.

Friday, Aug. 31st. Wind W by S. It was the afternoon of the 31st before we weathered the cape. At 7 PM the west end of Washington's Islands bore N by E distance 4 leagues. Fresh breeze and pleasant.

Saturday, Sept. 1st. Stood to the southward for Port Montgomery with a fine breeze and all sail set. At noon I observed in Lat. $52^{\circ}57'$ N and at 10 PM hove to. Midnight hazy and moderate.

Sunday, Sept. 2d. Wind North. The morning of the 2d inclined much towards a calm. Observed in $52^{\circ}24'$. Having very little wind we could not get in to-day. At 8 PM the entrance of Port Montgomery bore E½S 4 miles distant.² Midnight calm. [86]

Monday, Sept. 3d. Wind Southwar[dl]y. Early in the morning of the 3d we saw a sail to the windward, which by signal we found to be the Columbia. I saluted Capt. Gray with 7 guns which he returned with an equal number. Capt. Gray sent his boat and I went on board the Columbia and piloted her safely into Port Mont-

¹ Coming out of Masset Harbor, Haswell attempts to round Rose Spit in order to trade along the easterly side of the Queen Charlotte Islands (always a rich sea-otter trading ground); but the wind being unfavorable, he steers westward towards Parry Passage and the open ocean.

² The *Adventure* has rounded the northwesterly end of the Queen Charlotte Islands and traced the western coast to beyond $52^{\circ}24'$, where she finds Port Montgomery.

gomery. The wind dying the sloop was not able to get in to-day. The ship had been well repaired at Nootka but still continued to leak considerably, to remedy which it was necessary to caulk the upper streaks of her sheathing and all her upper works.

After parting with us on the 29th of June they doubled their leak. They fothered it and by that means stopped it in a great measure. They fell in with Capt. Magee and with him went to Naspatee, where they laid the ship on shore, and found the damage she had received could not be repaired without putting in a new stem and part of a new keel. This would take a considerable time. They sheathed over the wound and from thence proceeded to Cliaquot, but not finding it convenient to repair there, they sailed to Nootka Sound,¹ and were received with every mark of respect by the Spanish Governor, who rendered them every assistance in his [87] power.² As soon as the repairs of the ship were completed she made the best of her way for this port where we have been fortunate enough to fall in with her.

Tuesday, Sept. 4th. Wind NW. On the 4th in the morning early I met the sloop at the entrance of the harbor and we soon anchored alongside of the *Columbia*.³ The coopers were immediately employed preparing to salt [] the head seamen in rigging a new topmast and getting topsail and crossjack yards across. I delivered to Capt. Gray 75 sea otter skins, 29 cootsacks, 137 tails, and 25 pieces. Setting the H Lead, graving the bottom, wooding, ballasting, and watering, detained us till the morning of the 13th, during which time we had seen but few natives and but very few skins were purchased.⁴

Thursday, Sept. 13th. Wind NW. Being completely ready for sea, at 1½ past 5 AM we came to sail in company with the *Columbia* and were soon out of the harbor. It soon grew calm and we experienced very strong currents. Observed in 52° 8' N Gray's Cove bearing

¹ Gray's reason for trying to effect repairs at *Columbia's Cove* (Nasparti) and at Cliaquot before going to Nootka Sound is shown by his letter to Joseph Barrell, August 21, 1792, below, pages 479-480.

² Hoskins, in a letter to Barrell dated August 21, 1792 (below, pages 484-485), speaks of Quadra's kindness.

³ Haswell had piloted the *Columbia* into Port Montgomery on the preceding day.

⁴ Haswell was slowly learning that the trade of the Queen Charlotte Islands was on their eastern side, there being few Indian villages on their ocean coast.

NW $\frac{1}{2}$ W distance 8 miles. At 8 PM Cape Haswell¹ bore N $\frac{1}{2}$ W distance 2 leagues, in company with the ship.

Friday, Sept. 14th. Wind NW. At noon the 14th observed the Lat. $51^{\circ}48'$ N the south part of the island bearing NW by W. In the afternoon it became hazy and we [88] lost sight of the ship. The Columbia fired a cannon which we answered.

Saturday, Sept. 15th. Wind SSW. It continued very thick until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 AM the 15th when we saw the ship's light bearing east. Stood towards her and joined company at 4 AM steering SE by S. She hauled more to the southward.

At noon the outwardmost of the islands of Cape Ingraham² bore S 28° E distance 27 miles, our Lat. being $51^{\circ}17'$ N and Long. $129^{\circ}48'$ W. Wind SE by S. It was not late in the afternoon before we saw the island bearing ESE distance 7 leagues. The remainder of the day was cloudy. Wind WNW.

Sunday, Sept. 16th. Wind ESE. In the morning the breeze was moderate and hazy. We made all sail and stood to the ESE. At about 6 PM we passed Port Lincoln and it soon grew calm, and the wind came to the eastward.

Monday, Sept. 17th. Wind Eastwar[dl]y. The 17th was light airs and hazy. At noon I went on board to see Captain Gray. The land is in sight to the northward but the weather so thick and hazy we could not discern where it was.

Tuesday, Sept. 18th. Wind E by N. The winds were still eastwardly the 18th and our progress was slow though we took the advantage of every slant of wind. At 6 in the afternoon Split rock bore N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W and the eastwardmost land [89] in sight bore E $\frac{1}{2}$ S. At 9 squally, in topgallant sail. Midnight a very fresh breeze.

Wednesday, Sept. 19th. Wind SE. As the morning came on the wind increased and before 8 AM it blew a gale of wind, but it decreased at noon and we set all sail. At midnight it was moderate and cloudy.

Thursday, Sept. 20th. Wind SW. In the morning we found ourselves off Ahatset. Made all sail and at dusk in the evening North

¹ Cape St. James, the southerly extremity of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² Scott Islands, off Cape Scott, the northwesterly end of Vancouver Island.

Point¹ bore E by S. Wind WNW. At 8 PM I spoke the Columbia and we hove to, to wait for daylight. At daylight we made sail for Nootka Sound, with at first a light, but afterwards a lively breeze. We soon saw a snow² standing to the southward. She tacked and stood to the westward for us, and our ship bore away for her. As Capt. Gray had directed me to go into the sound before him I continued my course and at ½ past 1 PM anchored in Friendly Cove.³ I hauled into a snug berth and moored. The Columbia soon after anchored.

Capt. Gray informed me it was Don Quadra that was in the snow, bound to the Straits of Juan de Fuca and from thence to St. Blass. This gentleman told Capt. Gray, he should stop four days at de Fuca's Straits to purchase the sloop if we would follow him thither. This Capt. Gray complied with, and as soon as he anchored Capt. Gray informed me it was his intention to sail [90] for Juan de Fuca's Straits in the morning.

Friday, Sept. 21st. Wind W. We went on shore and paid our respects to the Spanish Commandant, who politely offered everything that lay in his power to assist us. We then went on board Capt. Vancouver's ship.⁴ He received us with every mark of respect and attention. We mutually informed each other of our discoveries. He went up the Straits of Juan de Fuca and surveyed it round and came out at Pintard's Straits,⁵ and had discovered a passage to the north east, which he had not explored.

The Discovery lay on a reef of rocks a whole tide, and the Chat-ham had been on shore several times and received considerable

¹ A name used by no other trader. Maquinna Point, the northwesterly point at the entrance of Nootka Sound, is meant.

² The Spanish man-of-war brig *Activa*, of fourteen guns.

³ Friendly Cove is just inside the westerly entrance of Nootka Sound. There the official Spanish town was located. It is today an Indian village.

⁴ Neither Vancouver nor Menzies mentions this visit. Menzies says in his *Journal* (124): "On the same day which Sr. Quadra sailed the ship Columbia of Boston commanded by Mr. Gray with a small sloop her Consort which was built on the Coast last winter called the Adventure arrived in the Cove where they remained all night and sailed early the following morning with a cargo of furs collected on the coast for China."

⁵ Captain Vancouver, in the summer of 1792, was the first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island. See C. F. Newcombe, *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island* (Victoria, 1923).

damage.¹ They finished the repairs of her bottom this day. Capt. Vancouver told me it was his intention to visit Columbia's River.

On his arrival at Friendly Cove he expected the whole of it was to be delivered up to him, and for it to become a British port, instead of which the Spanish Governor would only deliver the ground usually occupied by Mr. John Mears.² This small spot was refused by Capt. Vancouver, and the two commanders thought it best to refer the business [91] to their Royal Masters, and until the business it will remain a Spanish port.³

We found here besides His Majesty's Ships *Discovery*, *Chatham*, and *Dedalus* Store Ship, a Spanish ship, the *Margret* of Boston, the *Jackall* of London, and the *Phenex* of Macao.⁴

Saturday, Sept. 22d. Wind WNW. At daylight in the morning of the 22d I weighed and sailed out of the port in company with the *Columbia*. We were followed with a lively breeze. Passed Breakers' Point at 11 AM and Cliaquot at 5 PM and all night steered SE.⁵

Sunday, Sept. 23d. Wind NE. In the morning we saw Cape Flattery bearing ESE 8 leagues, and we saw two sail in shore. The one was the Spanish snow and the other a small sloop.⁶ At noon Cape Flattery bore ENE employed plying into the Straits. At 6 PM the entrance of Port Poverty⁷ bore NE by E. Cape Flattery SE by S

¹ For a description of the accident and a view of the *Discovery* on the rocks, see Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 299.

² The piece of ground offered was that on which Meares had built the *North West America*. See *ibid.*, II. 361ff., and a letter from Captain Vancouver to Evan Nepean, January 7, 1793, in *Report*, Archives Department of British Columbia (Victoria, 1914), 36ff. See also page 48, note 3, above.

³ The British view of the unimportance of the quantity of land may be seen in the following undated and unsigned memorandum (C.O. 5: 187—copy in the archives of British Columbia): "All that we really are anxious about . . . is the safety of our national honour, which renders a *restitution* necessary. The extent of that restitution is not of much moment."

⁴ The Spanish ship is the *Aranzazu*, just returned from her northern exploration; the *Margaret* is the ship previously mentioned by Haswell on May 7; the *Jackall* was one of the vessels in the so-called *Butterworth* squadron, which was then trading on the coast, and is referred to sometimes as a schooner and at other times as a cutter; the "Phenex of Macao" may be the *Phoenix*, Hugh Moore master, but is more probably the *Fenis* and *St. Joseph*, on which Lieutenant Mudge sailed for China about a week later.

⁵ The *Adventure*, in company with the *Columbia*, is sailing for Neeah Bay near Cape Flattery, where the Spaniards had recently established the post of Nuñez Gaona.

⁶ The brig *Activa*, which had been seen at the entrance of Nootka Sound, is the snow; the sloop is probably the *Prince Lee Boo*, of the *Butterworth* squadron.

⁷ Port San Juan. Haswell called it Poverty Cove in his first log. See above, page 72.

and Neah E by S½S. Disagreeable weather with a large sea. Inclining to a calm.

Wednesday, Sept. 26th. Wind WNW. At noon on the 26th Cape Flattery bore SSE. At 2 PM saw the shipping at anchor in Neah. At 3 the Columbia's pinnacle came off to assist [us] in. At 11 anchored with [92] the small bower in 7 f[atho]m water. Found riding here the Spanish ship Princessia, and Spanish snow Acteva, Don Quadra, the ship Columbia, and brig Hope, Jos. Ingraham.

Thursday, Sept. 27th. Wind E. At sunrise the morning of the 27th I saluted the Spanish snow with 9 guns, which she returned with an equal number. I had the honor of a visit from Don Quadra and saluted him with 9 guns coming and going.

In the afternoon Capt. Ingraham sailed in company with the Princessia, Lieut. Fidalgo, who was going to supercede Lieut. Cammannio, the present commander at Nootka Sound.¹ Light breezes and pleasant weather.

Friday, Sept. 28th. Wind ESE. In the morning Capt. Gray concluded his bargain with Commodore Quadra, for the sloop, for which he received 75 sea otter skins of a superior quality, and in the afternoon taking all the provisions out of her I delivered her up to Don Arrow, first Lieut. of the Spanish snow, and repaired on board the Columbia with all my crew.² As it was necessary to cut a large quantity of wood and a number of spars to last us to Boston, Capt. Gray [93] concluded to go over to Port Poverty where it would be much more convenient, and much less danger of the natives.

Saturday, Sept. 29th. Wind NE. Accordingly, early in the morning Capt. Gray took his leave of Don Quadra,³ and we weighed and sailed, saluting the Spanish flag with 13 guns, which was returned by both ship and sloop.

We had a very favorable passage across the straits and anchored in Poverty Cove at dusk in the evening, a little within the chops of

¹ Lieutenant Jacinto Caamaño, the commander of the *Aranzazu*.

² Cf. Boit's statement, pages 416-417, below. "Don Arrow" is Gonzalez Lopez de Haro.

³ Quadra is one of the outstanding men in the story of Spain on the Northwest Coast. Vancouver's tribute to him (*Voyage of Discovery*, III. 173) declares that he "was the main spring of a society that had produced us so much happiness, who had rendered us so many essential benefits, and whose benevolence and disinterested conduct had impressed our minds with the highest esteem and veneration."

the harbor, and early in the morning (*Sunday, Sept. 30th.* Wind SW by W) we worked up abreast of the watering place with the small bower, and moored with the kedge. Sent a strong party on shore wooding and cutting spars. Took off a boat load of wood.

Monday, Oct. 1st. Wind Variable. The 1st was pleasant with light land and sea breezes. A party wooding. Cut a maintopmast, a top-sail yard, two topgallant masts, topgallant yards, boat masts, sprits, booms, boat hooks, etc.¹

Tuesday, Oct. 2d. Wind Westward[l]y. On the 2d we filled our water, completed our wood, and cut a number of logs for plank. The natives visited us with a few fish.

Wednesday, Oct. 3rd. Wind NE. The 3d had light breezes off the land and pleasant weather. Sent a party on shore to fill the remaining empty water casks [94] which when completed consisted of 47 hogs-heads, containing 5076 gallons, and 11 gang casks containing 469. The total amount of water on board was 5545 gallons. Sent the boat to a distant beach for sand. Unmoored ship, and being completely ready for sea, at 6 AM we weighed and sailed out of Port Poverty with a lively breeze at NE and pleasant weather.² As we came out we met a canoe with a number of good salmon, which we purchased for chisels. As soon as we were clear of the harbor we hoisted in the boat and made all sail, unbent the cables, stowed the anchors, unstocked the sheet anchor and took it on board. Struck the guns below, secured the spars and stanchioned between decks. At noon I observed in Lat. 48° 25' N Tatooches Island bearing east 4 leagues. Much joy was expressed by the crew on our safe departure, appearing happy at being once more turned towards their native country, even though its distance is so great.

The NE end of Owhyhee³ bore N 41 W [*sic*] distance 2270

¹ The *Columbia* is at Poverty Cove (Port San Juan) preparing for her voyage to China. It will be observed that those preparations occupy about four days.

² Her route to China will be by way of the Hawaiian Islands. The maritime fur-traders almost invariably followed that course. Those islands could supply them with all their requirements in the way of food and ship's stores. They were also even at this early date a sort of clearing house for sailors.

³ The island of Hawaii.

Miles. Owhyhee Lat. 20° N Long. 155° W and Tatooches Island Lat. 48° 19' N 124° W. . . . [121]¹

Monday, Oct. 29th. Wind NNE. Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 3 PM hove to off NE part of the island. Purchased 11 hogs with a considerable quantity of potatoes.² At 6 PM the NW end of Owhyhee bore W by S. At 7 we hauled our wind to stand off and on the night. At midnight squally with rain.

Tuesday, Oct. 30th. Wind NE. Fresh gale and squally. At 4 AM the brig Phenex³ passed in shore of us. At 6 bore away for the westward. At 7 rounded to and purchased a few hogs, and then made sail for Tocyahyah Bay⁴ where we arrived at 11 AM but it blew exceedingly hard, and Capt. Gray supposing it would prevent us from obtaining a supply of pork, was anxious to bear away for Wahoo.⁵ This I dissuaded him from, all that lay in my power, and the ship drew into the bay the water became more smooth and the wind less violent, and we were soon thronged with a vast number of canoes plentifully stocked with hogs and potatoes. At noon the extremes of Owyhee bore from SSE to NE distance from the land about 4 miles.

We were visited by no chief of any consequence and by no person I could recollect ever to have seen before. At 2 PM having on board ninety hogs and a number of water and musk melons,⁶ squashes, plantains, bread fruit, and sugar cane with a small quantity of potatoes, we bore away for Ohehow to furnish ourselves with a stock of

¹ The entries for October 4–29 are omitted because, with one exception, they contain only sailing directions. The entry for October 27 reads: "At 4 saw a brig to the westward. It is the Phenix, Duffin, from Nootka Sound to Macao. I saw on board of her Lieut. Mudge, Capt. Vancouver's chief officer." The *Fenis* and *St. Joseph* had sailed from Nootka Sound on September 30; the *Columbia* had sailed from Port San Juan on October 3. It is difficult to distinguish this vessel from the barque *Phoenix* of Bengal, for the traders are never particular as to the spelling, nor sometimes as to the rig.

² From the earliest days of the maritime trade the Hawaiian Islands supplied the ships with not only wood and water but also rope and salt, fowls, geese, hogs, potatoes, yams, plantains, taro, sugar cane, coconuts, and fish.

³ Haswell had been on board her on the twenty-seventh, as appears from his entry for that day (quoted in note 1, above). She had taken twenty-nine days; the *Columbia* had taken twenty-six days; but the passage was usually made in about three weeks.

⁴ Kawaihae Bay, on the northwestern side of Hawaii—a favorite trading place.

⁵ Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is situated.

⁶ Captain Douglas of the *Iphigenia* is credited with having left the seeds of the watermelon. The seeds of the muskmelon are said by some to have been left by Captain Cook and by others to have been left by Captain Portlock.

yams for our sea stock.¹ [122] At 6 the west end of Taharoah bore WNW 6 leagues.² Latter part squally.

Wednesday, Oct. 31st. Wind NE by N. At 5 AM on the 31st set all sail and hauled more to the northward. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 AM in steering sails and royals. Rani bore north. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 in topgallant sails and staysails. Noon cloudy. Stretched into the leeward of Wyatittee Bay.³ The west end of Wahoo bore WNW 3 leagues. Wyatittee Bay is in Lat. [] north and Long. [] west. In the afternoon we coasted the south side of Wahoo. At 6 PM the west end bore NW by N distance 3 leagues, and shaped our course for Attoi.⁴ Very squally with rain.

Thursday, Nov. 1st. Wind Variable. At 3 AM on the 1st of November we saw the Island of Attoi bearing W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N 2 leagues distant. At 5 reefed and hove to, main topsail to the mast to wait for daylight. At 7 AM wore and made sail for Onehow.

At 3 PM we rounded the SW bluff and made an endeavor to beat up to the anchoring place but in this were disappointed, and we were necessitated to lay of and on till morning. Blowing exceedingly hard.

Friday, Nov. 2d. Wind Variable. At daylight the wind was on shore. Several canoes came off, of whom were purchased a considerable number of yams.

At noon Capt. Gray judging it not safe to anchor as the winds were so variable, we made sail for Macao, taking our Departure from Lat. $21^{\circ}59'$ N and Long. $156^{\circ}15'$ W. . . . [154]⁵

Sunday, Dec. 4th. Wind NE by N. Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. At 2 PM saw a continuation of the chain of islands, extending so far to the NE that with the wind as it now is we could not

¹ Onehow is now Niihau, one of the westerly or leeward islands of the Hawaiian group. From it large supplies of yams were obtained by the maritime traders.

² Now the island of Kahoolawe, lying to the southwestward of Maui, one of the Hawaiian group.

³ Waikiki Bay, the famous bathing beach of Honolulu. Rani is the island Lanai.

⁴ Then called Atooi, but now the island of Kauai, "the garden island" of the Hawaiian group.

⁵ The entries for November 3–December 3 have been omitted. During those days Haswell made but one entry that does not relate to sailing directions: "December 3d. . . . At 9 AM saw one of the Bashees bearing WNW 10 leagues distance and soon saw a number more. At noon Grafton Island bore SSW 4 leagues distance. Grafton Isle Lat. $20^{\circ}20'$ N. Long. $121^{\circ}40'$ E. Lat. obs. $20^{\circ}27'$ N."



MEMORIAL TO ROBERT HASWELL

weather them, and to pass between them appeared dangerous, but as the passage between Monmouth and Grafton Islands appeared the most eligible, thither we directed our course. At this time the extremes of the group of the Bashees, bore from NW to SSE. At 6 PM we passed betwixt the islands and doubled pretty nigh Grafton, and sailed close under the lee of Orringe Isle and stood to the NE under easy sail.¹ We saw many fires on the island but saw no natives, for it was dark before we passed the channel. At daylight made all sail. Saw the Island of Formosa bearing N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W. At noon the south end of Formosa bore E by N dist. 14 leagues. Lat. obs. $21^{\circ}33'$ N.²

¹ The Bashee Islands lie between Formosa and the Philippines. The course taken by the *Columbia* between Monmouth and Grafton Islands was that taken by Dampier in August, 1687. "Orringe" is Orange Island. See a map of the islands in Burney, *Chronological History*, IV. 252, where will also be found Dampier's description of them.

² The log continues through December 7 with entries that are merely sailing directions and weather comments, except for this statement under date December 7: "At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 PM we agreed with a pilot to carry the ship to Macao roads for 25 Doll[ar]s."

*John Boit's Log
of the Second Voyage of the "Columbia"*

REMARKS
*on the Ship Columbia's voyage from Boston,
(on a Voyage, round the Globe)*

BY JOHN BOIT

N.B. The dates etc. Is by Nautical Account (*Not Civill*)

THE Ship Columbia was fitted out for a four years cruize, on a trading voyage to the NW Coast of America, China etc.—about 250 tons burthen, mounted 12 Carriage Guns, and navigated with 50 men (including Officers)—own'd chiefly by Sam[ue]l Brown, Joseph Barrell and Crowell Hatch Esqrs—and Commanded by Robert Gray. Cargo consisted of Blue Cloth, Copper and Iron.

1790, *September* 28. Latt. of Boston $42^{\circ}25'$ N. Long. $70^{\circ}31'$ W. from London. Left Boston Sept. 28th 1790 with the wind from the western board, and the next day pass'd Cape Cod On the 30th the wind having chang'd to the Eastd. and blowing heavy, oblidged us to bear away, and we anchor'd the same evening in Herring Cove, on the west side Cape Cod, in 15 f[atho]m muddy bottom, but not liking our situation, we got under way the following morning, and anchor'd the same evening in Nantaskett Roads, in 7 f[atho]m. blowing weather, from the Eastern board.

October 2. Wind at SW. Weigh'd and came to sail, stood to sea On the 3d pass'd Cape Cod, at 3 leagues distance. Generally blowing hard, with squalls of rain.

8. N. Latt. $40^{\circ}30'$ W. Long. $55^{\circ}43'$ Azi. $14^{\circ}35'$ W. ☉ ☾. Ship sails dull, but is a fine seaboat, Crew appears to be a set of fine fellows. . . .¹

30. N. Latt. 20° W. Long. 23° This Day took the NE trade winds, after experiencing one day's calm, (*between the variable and trades*).

November 1. N. Latt. $17^{\circ}16'$ W. Long. $22^{\circ}30'$. In the Course of

¹ Such of Boit's entries as contain only nautical data or weather observations have been omitted. The full text of Boit's log will be found in *Proceedings*, LIII. 218–275, and in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII (December, 1921), 265–349.

this day, Saw the Island of Sal, (one of the Cape de Verd Isles) $29\frac{1}{2}$ days from Boston light house, (a long passage) Pass'd it to the Eastward and bore away to the Southd. high land. Crew are all in health, although the regulation of the Ship as respects cleanliness among them, is not strict. [2]

TOWARDS CAPE HORN

4. N. Latt. $12^{\circ}15'$ W. Long. $23^{\circ}6'$ Azi. $13^{\circ}28'$ W. This day lost the NE trade winds, and immediatly took the wind from the Southward.

7. N. Latt. $9^{\circ}16'$ W. Long. $22^{\circ}35'$ Ampd. $11^{\circ}52'$ W. Light variable winds, pleasant warm weather, attended at times with sharp lightning.

9. N. Latt. $7^{\circ}21'$ W. Long. $22^{\circ}13'$. Squally weather with rain, with sharp lightning and heavy thunder, many water spouts in different directions. experience very heavy squalls. Winds all round the compass since losing the trades. many vessells in sight.

14. N. Latt. $5^{\circ}4'$ W. Long. $22^{\circ}13'$. Winds continue very variable and squally. this day spoke two ships, one a Portuguese from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro, the other an English Whaleman from England, for the Brazill coast, The Captain (by name *Buller*) was an American.

18. N. Latt. $3^{\circ}48'$ W. Long. $23^{\circ}30'$. This day Capt. Buller left us, his ship sailing much faster than ours. Winds and weather still remains very unsettled, with hard squalls, carried away our Jib boom, and got a new one out. a constant swell from the SE. Winds harp most at SSW.

19. N. Latt. $2^{\circ}41'$ W. Long. $25^{\circ}42'$ Azi. $11^{\circ}32'$. Weather pleasant. This day took the wind at SSE which no doubt is the commencement of the SE generall winds. The weather at this time is quite settled. heretofore since leaving the NE trades, it has been very gloomy and dark. Have noticed since passing the Latt. of 12° that the winds generally have been from South to SSW. at times squalls from West.

21. N. Latt. $2^{\circ}38'$ W. Long. $24^{\circ}48'$ Azi. $10^{\circ}30'$ W. A constant Current, setting to the Northward, in these Latitudes; (two sail in sight). . . .

25. W. Long. $26^{\circ}57'$ $\odot \text{C}$. In the course of this day cross'd the Equator, Wind at SE b S and pleasent serene temperate weather, have fish of different Kinds round most of the time Ship's crew are all in health.

$54\frac{1}{2}$ days from Boston, 25 days from Isle of *Sal*, (long passages). Keep all hands through the day in good weather employ'd in the various departments of the ship; it is best to keep them moving. They are allow'd tea or coffee, each morning and in generall the ships fare is good, but proper attention to airing there beds and cloathing, and fumigating their berths is not paid. . . .

28. S. Latt. $3^{\circ}34'$ W. Long. $29^{\circ}5'$. Spoke a French India ship, from L'Orient bound to Pondicherry, reckond himself in Longitude $26^{\circ}50'$ W. of Paris. Caught a large Albacore. Wind ESE. pleasent weather. [3] . . .

30. S. Latt. $7^{\circ}24'$ W. Long. $30^{\circ}16'$ Azi. $4^{\circ}51'$ W. Fresh gales. Caught an Albacore that weigh'd 130 lb. Spoke a Portuguese ship from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro. . . .

December 3. S. Latt. $13^{\circ}30'$ W. Long. $32^{\circ}26'$ Azi. $1^{\circ}40'$ W. $\odot \text{C}$. This day lost the SE General winds and immediately took itt at NE. This Northly wind is no doubt the Monsoon prevailing at this season along the Brazill coast. Pleasent weather. . . .

11. S. Latt. $25^{\circ}0'$ W. Long. $38^{\circ}44'$ $\odot \text{C}$. This day a heavy squall struck the ship carried away the Top gall[an]t masts and yards Top-sail yards, and fore, and Mizzen, topmasts, lost the top Gall[an]t sails and damaged the topsails. . . .

31. S. Latt. $42^{\circ}46'$ W. Long. $53^{\circ}45'$ Azi. $17^{\circ}54'$ E. Fresh gales. Caught 16 Albatross's, with a hook and line from the stern, hook'd them in the bill Ships crew are all in health.

So ends the year 1790. [4] . . .

MADE THE BRAZIL COAST OR PATIGONIA

1791. *January 17.* S. Latt. $46^{\circ}48'$ W. Long. $66^{\circ}58'$. Fresh gales, under double reef'd topsails, with a high sea. At Noon 35 f[atho]m Mud. wind NE. Saw the land to the Westward of Cape Blanco on the Coast of Patigonia, bearing from SSE to SW. Very squally, haul'd our wind to the Eastward. find the ship embayed with the wind, on shore. Stood on within 2 miles of the beach, and cou'd not

weather the land on our larboard tack, we where under the nessescity of wearing ship to the Westward, at this time had 12 f[atho]m grey sand. Our situation was very Critical, as we cannot weather the land on either tack, bent Cables, and overhaul'd a range of each of them, pass'd sevrall times over very shoal water but did not sound, for fear of intimidating the Crew. Ship'd many seas, one of which stove the Binnacle and broke the Compasses. Wore ship sevrall times as the wind favour'd. This land appear'd levell, without much wood and very high grass growing. saw sevrall smokes, but none of the Natives. The shore was lined with white sand banks. fortunately at midnight the wind moderated, and haul'd more of shore. Haul'd off into 20 f[atho]m and stood along shore: given the Cape a good birth.

18. S. Latt. $47^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $66^{\circ}38'$ Azi. $21^{\circ}36'$ E. Saw Breakers a head haul'd to the Eastd. Cape Blanco bore S. 65° W., 4 leagues. Sounded and had but 5 f[atho]m water; deepened gradually, in 25 f[atho]m Pebble or Gravall stones. this shoal was not laid down in the Drafts. I judge itt to be very small. [5]

AT THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

19. S. Latt. $48^{\circ}37'$ W. Long. $66^{\circ}8'$. Winds from the SW. 56 f[atho]m water, weather pleasent, but cold. many *Albatross* and large *scholes* of Whales.

22. S. Latt. $51^{\circ}53'$ W. Long. $64^{\circ}5'$ ☉ ☾. Wind at NW and squally, Made the Islands of Sebald-De Wert,¹ (or Jasons Islands) which lye off the NW part of the Group call'd Falkland. Vast many birds and seals round, Made sail to the Southd. for States bay, in New Island (one of the Falkland). At 6 AM saw Cape *Percivall*, S b E 10 leagues. Fresh gales. At Meridian anchor'd, in New Island harbour, Mud and sand in 5 f[atho]m. Remain'd in this Harbour, 11 Days during which time we give the ship a complete overhaul, We had the winds generally from the westward, and sometimes blew so strong that we drag'd with 5 anchors a head. A tent was erected on shore, for the Tradesmen. found the watering place, very handy, and the water excellent, The ship's crew on our arrivall was all in

¹ Sebald de Weert, who circumnavigated the globe in 1598-1599 in the ship *het Geloof*, the sole surviving vessel of the fleet of five commanded by Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes.

health. Still no doubt, by being frequently indulg'd on shore, was of great service to them. The weather generally was very Cool. During our stay at these Island we shot upwards of 1000 Ducks and Geese, and 6 Hogs (*which was evidently of the Spanish breed*). The fowl was quite tame when we first arriv'd, but they soon was taught the doctrine of self-preservation. the swine was very wild.

The face of the Country does not present a very delightfull prospect, extensive heaths, mountains, and ponds of water are to be seen all over the Island. there is not a tree upon itt, but the grass is 3 feet high in most places. The turf generally of the height of 6 foot, between which the Hogs and Penguins have their habitations. The soil appear'd to me to be proper for the reception of such seeds as contribute towards the substenance of inhabitants, The wild Cellery, which is an excellent antiscorbutic, grows here in abundance.

I think these Islands are most proper to touch att, when bound round Cape Horn in preference to those in Straits La Maire¹ as the water is handy, and you may keep your People on Geese and Ducks while you remain. [6]

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN AFTER PASSING STATEN LAND
AND CAPE HORN

February 3. S. Latt. $51^{\circ}47'$ W. Long. $66^{\circ}10'$ Ampd. $25^{\circ}7'$ E. Wind from the Southward, and pleasant weather, Left the Falkland Isles last evening. This day spoke the Ship *Bedford*, Laben Coffin, Master, from Dunkirk (in France) bound to the Pacific Ocean on a whaling voyage. Took a departure from Cape Percivall at 6 PM, it being the westward extreme of the Falkland, lying in Latt. $51^{\circ}50'$ South, and Longitude 66° West of London. Light airs and a swell from the Southward. Vast many marine birds flying round.

5. S. Latt. $53^{\circ}54'$ W. Long. $69^{\circ}36'$ Ampd. $25^{\circ}1'$ E. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Saw Staten Land² bearing South 14 leagues dist[ant], a Current setting to the Eastward.

6. S. Latt. $54^{\circ}52'$ W. Long. $68^{\circ}1'$ Ampd. $25^{\circ}16'$ E. Winds light and from the Westward, a Constant Current, setting to the East-

¹ Named after Jacob Le Maire, who circumnavigated the world in 1615-1617.

² I. de los Estados.

ward. Staten Land in sight, bear[in]g WNW 20 leagues distant, very high and unequall land, with snow on the mountains. . . .

27. S. Latt. $54^{\circ}44'$ W. Long. $86^{\circ}24'$ Azi. $23^{\circ}52'$ E. Cape Horn is *doubled*, Winds light from the westd. with frequent calms. . . .

March 21. S. Latt. $37^{\circ}43'$ W. Long. $88^{\circ}7'$ Azi. $14^{\circ}44'$ E. Very pleasant weather. Some of the Crew have the Scurvy in the Gums. [7] . . .

PASSAGE FROM CAPE HORN TO THE NW COAST

April 11. S. Latt. $18^{\circ}50'$ W. Long. $100^{\circ}29'$ Ampd. $9^{\circ}12'$ E. Small winds. Wind at ESE. Ship's Crew is many of them complaining.

12. S. Latt. $17^{\circ}57'$ W. Long. $101^{\circ}24'$ Azi. $9^{\circ}16'$ E. A little Scurvy among the Crew. . . .

23. S. Latt. $4^{\circ}37'$ W. Long. $114^{\circ}39'$ ☉ ☌. Between the hours of 3 and 4 PM Departed this life our dear freind *Nancy* the *Goat* having been the *Captains* companion on a former voyage round the Globe but her spirited disposition for adventure led her to undertake a 2d voyage of Circumnavigation; But the various changes of Climate, and sudden transition from the Polar Colds to the tropical heats of the Torrid Zone, prov'd too much for a constitution naturally delicate, At 5 PM Committed her body to the deep She was lamented by those who got a share of her *Milk*!! Men of War Birds and Porpoises round. . . .

29. S. Latt. $0^{\circ}5'$ W. Long. $119^{\circ}13'$ Azi. and Ampd. $5^{\circ}18'$ E. * ☌ Gentle trades at ESE and pleasant. Four seamen laid *by*, with the Scurvey. their *Mouths* and *Legs* are very bad. . . .

May 15. N. Latt. $23^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $132^{\circ}33'$ Azi. $9^{\circ}47'$ E. Steady trade winds and very pleasant. Scurvy making progress. [8] . . .

AT ANCHOR IN COX'S HARBOUR OR CLIOQUOT ON THE NW COAST

19. N. Latt. $27^{\circ}38'$ W. Long. $134^{\circ}15'$ Azi. $10^{\circ}41'$. Fresh trade winds. 7 Men off duty with the *scurvy* their Gums is quite *numb*, (the worst of Complaints! !).

24. N. Latt. $34^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $135^{\circ}33'$ Ampd. $12^{\circ}20'$ E. This day lost the NE Trades, and immediatly took the wind from the westward.

31. N. Latt. $46^{\circ}47'$ W. Long. $125^{\circ}50'$ Azi. $17^{\circ}20'$ E. Have had *generally* fresh breezes and cool weather since 24th with the winds *generally* from SW. many birds round, among the rest some that look'd like *Plovers*. 6 People extreme bad with the scurvy.

June 4. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}10'$ W. Long. $120^{\circ}21'$. This day made the land, on the NW Coast of the American Continent between Nootka, (or King Georges sound) and Clioquot (or Coxes harbour). for these sevrall days past we had seen whales, Drift Wood, feathers, kelp, etc. All signs of its vicinity. Breakers p[oin]t bore NE b E 8 leagues, high land back, and snow perceivable on some of the mountains. wind from Southward.

5. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}5'$ Correct W. Long. $125^{\circ}26'$ \odot \odot . This day anchor in Coxes harbour and found itt very commodious. this Harbour is made remarkable by three remarkable round Hills,¹ abreast its entrance. *Hannah*, Cheif of the village *Ahhousett*, came on board and appear'd freindly; Above 300 of the Natives was along side in the Course of the day, Their canoes was made from the body of a tree, with stem and stern peices, neatly fixd on. Their models was not unlike our Nantucket whale boats, the dress of these Indians was either the Skin of some animal, or else a Blankett of their own manufactory, made of some Kind of Hair. This garment was slung over the right shoulder, They all appear'd very freindly, brought us plenty of fish and Greens. We tarry'd in this harbour till the 16th June, landed the sick immediately on our arrivall and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of the Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating Greens of various kinds. [9]

We buried sevrall of our sick, up to the Hips in the earth, and let them remain for *hours* in that situation found this method of great service. The principall village in this harbour is call'd *Opitsatah*, and is govern'd by Wickananish, a warlike Cheif. He and his family visited us often. The Indians brought sevrall *Deer*, and plenty of Rock Cod, Salmon, and other fish. Wild parsley, and a root call'd *Isau* or Isop² by the natives and much resembling a small onion, was

¹ These are well-known landmarks today. They are on Meares Island; the highest is called Lone Peak.

² Haswell calls this plant a leek.

brought us in abundance. We purchas'd many of the Sea Otter skins in exchange for Copper and blue Cloth. These Indians are of a large size, and somewhat Corpulent. The Men wear no other covering, but the garment before mentioned, and seem to have no sense of shame, as they appear in a state of Nature. The Women stand in great fear of the Males,¹ but appear to be naturally very modest, their garment is manufactor'd from the bark of a Tree, and is well executed, being so constructed as to cover them complete from the Neck to the *Ankle*. both Male and Female wear *Hats* of a conicle form made out of strong reeds.² on them is painted, (in a rude manner) their mode of Whale fishery. *Attoo*, the Captain's servant (and a native of the sandwich Isle) ran away among the Indians, A cheif coming on board, placed a guard over him, and sent his Canoe back to the village with the News. they soon return'd with *Mr. Attoo*, and ransom'd their Cheif.

17. This day weigh'd the anchors and left Coxe's harbour. Fine weather wind at SW. All hands once again on duty, make the people use Spruce Tea,³ boil'd from the Boughs we took on board for that purpose and although not very palatable, I beleive is an excellent *Antiscorbutic* bound along shore to the North and West. Saw Woody point bear[in]g ESE 3 or 4 leagues.


AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE AND JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

20. N. Latt. 50° 6' W. Long. 128° 12'. Moderate breezes. At 8 PM abrest Woody point lay'd off and on through the night. At daylight made sail for Chickleset sound. out Pinnacle and sent her ahead of the ship to C. sound. [10] At 8 AM abrest the entrance of the sound. Hove too. At 10 the pinnacle made the signall for an harbour bore away, wind at NW. At Meridian anchor'd in a small

¹ Exactly the reverse conditions prevailed in the Queen Charlotte Islands, as Ingraham and Haswell and Boit himself later on relate.

² For a complete description of these cedar bark garments, see Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 304. In the folio atlas accompanying this edition of Cook's *Voyage* will be found a picture showing these garments and also the hats.

³ This was a recognized antiscorbutic. This decoction must have been very nasty; it was originally prepared, "brewed," some of the voyagers call it, from the trees themselves. For references to it, see Meares, *Voyages*, Introduction, 4to. ed., xx; Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 273; III. 331; Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, 151; Portlock, *Voyage round the World*, 215, 217, 231, etc., and many other authorities.

Cove, (which we named *Columbias*). In this situation we was completely land lock'd, vast many natives alongside, They appear'd much the same as those at Coxes harbour and talk'd their language. We laid in this harbour till the 26th During which time, got many Sea Otter and Land furs from the Natives in exchange for Copper, Iron and Cloth, (with Beads, fish Hooks and such small stuff Kept the Ship supplied with various kinds of fish and Greens, with a few deer). These Natives was generally arm'd with Bows, arrows, and spears. like those at Clioquot they wou'd pilfer whenever an opportunity offer'd, their *Woman* where more Chaste than those we had lately left. But still they where not all *Dianas* During our tarry here I visited one of the villages in the sound found the Natives busily employ'd building Canoes and packing provisions against the ensuing *Winter*, they treated me quite freindly. They dry their fish in the Sun, and then pack itt in Neat wooden *boxes*.¹  Nessescity is the mother of *invention*.

26. This day left Columbia's Cove, and stood along shore towards the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Crew all well steer[ing] to the South and Eastd. This is an Iron bound Coast with high land back.

27. This day pass'd Clioquot, with a fine breeze from WNW and pleasant.

28. N. Latt. 48° 42' W. Long. 124° 0'. Enter'd the Straits of Juan De Fuca and Hove too abrest the Village of Nittenatt found strong tides. Vast many Natives off with Sea Otter, and other Furs which we purchas'd with the same articles as before. 'Twas evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge of mankind the Small-pox.² The Spaniards as the natives say brought it among them these Indians appear'd Freindly. [11]

N. Latt. 48° 23' W. Long. 124° 0' ☉ ☾ * ☾. Kept beating about the entrance of De fuca Straits till 3d July, on S. East part (off a small Isle) call'd Tatooch we Collected many Otters, These natives gave the preference to Copper. Fine Halibut and Salmon was pro-

¹ For a description of these boxes, see Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 316. A picture of one will be seen in the view of the interior of a house at Nootka Sound, contained in the accompanying atlas.

² Portlock, in his *Voyage round the World* (271), heard of great ravages of this disease amongst the Tlingit and believed that it was introduced by the Spaniards in 1775 and worked its way down the coast.

cured in abundance. Nails, Beads etc. serv'd for this traffic. This Cheif at Tatoonch's Isle offer'd to sell us some young Children they had taken in War.¹

July 3. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 1'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ} 20'$. Left the Straits. at 6 PM Cape *Flattery* (so named by Capt. Cook) bore SE b E 8 leagues. Standing along shore to the Westward. wind from the Eastd.

4. Took the wind from the Westward employ'd beating to windward the land about 12 leagues. Many Whales.

AT ANCHOR IN BARRELL'S SOUND, IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES

8. N. Latt. $52^{\circ} 10'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ} 12'$. This day anchor'd in Barrells sound on the SE part of the Queen Charlotte Isles 20 fathom rocky bottom. sent the Pinnace, with an officer, to seek better anchorage which was soon found, Got under way and stood up sound, and anchor'd in 15 fathom muddy bottom. A Cheif by name *Coyac*² came along side with plenty of other Indians The Natives here are much stouter than any we had before seen, and appear to be very savage. The Men go quite naked, except a skin over the shoulder. the Women are entirely cover'd with Garments of their own manufactory, from the bark of Tree.³ They appear to carry full sway over the men and have an incision cut through the under lip, which they spread out with a peice of wood about the size and shape of a Goose egg (some much larger). itt's considered as an ornament, but in my opinion looks very gastly. Some of them booms out two inches from the chin,⁴ The women appear very fond of their *ofspring*, and the Men of both. We remain'd in this sound till the 17th During which time we purchas'd a good lot of Sea Otter and other furs, chiefly for Iron and Cloth. Copper was not in demand. [12]

The boats were sent frequently after wood and water, but where always well arm'd. The Natives supplied us with plenty of Halibut and Rock Cod, for which we p[ai]d them in *Nails*. Wild fowl was

¹ Cf. Haswell's first journal under date March 31, 1789.

² Haswell calls him Coya; Hoskins calls him Coyah. The latter says that Coyah, whom Gray had met in 1789, did not come near the ship until a little after sunset, when most of the natives had left; that he told them Captain Barnard (Barnett) had got all their skins; and that he asked Gray to wait a few days for a fresh supply.

³ The cedar—the blessed tree of the Northwest Coast.

⁴ This is another reference to the labret, which is also spoken of by Haswell and Hoskins.

plenty in this sound of which we Caught and Kill'd many. I landed at one of their villages, found the Indians comfortably lodg'd, and kept large fires, although the weather was temperate, when I went into one of their houses, they was eating roast muscles and singing a warlike Song. They appear'd fond of our visit and never offer'd to molest any thing in the boat, Their Canoes are not made near so neat as those we had seen before, but I think was more commodious.

The females was not very Chaste, but their lip peices was enough to disgust any Civilized being, however some of the Crew was quite partial.

IN THE STRAITS OF ADMIRAL DEFONT¹

17. Weigh'd and left Barrells sound bound to the Straits of Admiral De Font, which is form'd by the Charlotte Isles and the *Main*.

18. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}34'$. Wind from Westward and pleasant, beating too and fro of the South p[oin]t of Charlotte Isles, endeavouring to get into the Straits.

23. N. Latt. $52^{\circ}26'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ}30'$ Azi. $20^{\circ}22'$ E. Spoke The Brig Hope Joseph Ingrahim master from Boston, on the same business with ourselves. soon parted.

24. N. Latt. $53^{\circ}6'$. A small Isle, in the Straits bore North at Meridian, which we named *Hatches*. weather is generally clear, so that the *Isles* and *Main* are distinctly seen together. found ground at 120 f[atho]m The Natives wou'd often come along side from the *Main*, or *Isles*, as we border'd on either shore, and brought furs and plenty of Halibut, which you cou'd buy for a board Nail apeice.

28. N. Latt. $53^{\circ}14'$ W. Long. $132^{\circ}0'$ Azi. $21^{\circ}35'$ E. Ship over towards the *Main*. sent an officer² in the pinnace in search of anchorage. found the land hereabouts low and barren near the shore, but rises back into high mountains. find excessive strong Currents

¹ In terms of modern geography the *Columbia* now leaves Houston Stewart Channel, sails west into the Pacific Ocean, rounds Cape St. James, the southern point of the Queen Charlotte Islands, proceeds up Hecate Strait, which lies between these islands and the mainland of British Columbia, keeping generally to the mainland side, and, turning to the westward, follows along the northern shores of Dixon Entrance, the strait separating the Queen Charlotte Islands from Alaska.

² Robert Haswell, the chief officer of the ship.

in these Straits. The Natives on the Main speak a language different¹ from those on the Islands. Boat return'd without success. [13]

30. N. Latt. $52^{\circ}47'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ} \odot \text{C}$. Fresh gales and stormy weather. At Meridian Charlotte Isles extended from S *b* W to W *b* N 8 or 10 leagues. Some Canoes full of Indians boarded us from the Isles. They inform'd us that sevrall English vessels² had visited not long since. we purchased a Good Lot of furs, cheifly for Iron and Cloth.

31. Stood towards the Islands and anchor'd in 24 f[atho]m with a Kedge. Light wind from NW A Cheif (by name *Cumswah*)³ brought us sevrall fine Sea Otter skins.

August 1. Wind from SE. Standing along the Queen Charlotte Isles through De Font straits about 3 or 4 leagues from land. soundings generally from 15 to 25 f[atho]m mud. The main land in sight to the North and Westd. at a great distance.⁴

2. Fresh gales and very thick weather. narrowly escap'd runing on a reef of Rocks, quite foggy cou'd see the land but seldom, beating too and fro. Wind from the Eastward.

3. N. Latt. $54^{\circ}43'$ W. Long. $132^{\circ}23'$. Heavy gales from SE and thick weather, found the Ship embay'd,⁵ employ'd making short hanks. At length we being too nigh the shore for to Keep off, through the night, we was alarm'd with all the horrors of a lee shore. a small opening appearing in the land to leeward, hove out the pinnace and sent an officer to examine for anchorage, At 6 in the evening she made a single for a Harbour. Bore away and anchored under a point of land, in 17 f[atho]m sandy bottom let go three Anchors, it being a wild road stead. We remain'd in this station, which we call'd Port *Tempest* till the 8th and only four Indians made their appear-

¹ The observations of the American officers in regard to language are always correct. The natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands are of the Haida tribe; while on the mainland opposite they are Tsimshian.

² So far as can be discovered there were but two English vessels in this vicinity in 1791: the *Grace*, Captain William Douglas, and the *Gustavus*, Captain Thomas Barnett.

³ The recognized form of the name is Cumshewa.

⁴ Hecate Strait in this locality is about forty miles wide; the land to the northward would be, perhaps, seventy miles distant, being that lying between Prince of Wales Island and the mainland in southern Alaska.

⁵ The *Columbia*, driven by gale and current, and in the fog, had entered Clarence Strait.

ance, and I beleive there was no villages¹ in the vicinity. Made sevrall excursions with boats, and procur'd many salmon and plenty of Berries. In one of these excursions I discover'd a small *rivulet*,² not deep enough to admit the boat. In itt we caught upwards of 100 fine salmon, cheifly with the boat hook and grainz, and shot a deer upon the banks. Crew all in health.

8. Got under way and left Port Tempest, (situated on the main land of America)³ stood over for land in sight to the Northd. and westward, and as we approach'd itt sevrall Canoes came off with furs and Halibut. [14]

10. N. Latt. 55° 0' W. Long. 133° 0'. Light winds and pleasent, standing to the NW and 6 PM came too with the Kedge 28 f[atho]m, Port Tempest bear[in]g NE δ N 12 leagues. The Natives brought us plenty of fine Otter furs. Their Canoes are the same as at Charlotte Isles, some of them capable of Carrying 30 men, they go well arm'd with Bows, Arrows and spears and appear to be a savage race. I went in the Cutter, well arm'd, to a small cove, not far distant from the Ship and soon Caught 9 large Halibutt. The Ship was conceal'd by a point of land, making out from the NE part of the Cove.

12. Still laying at anchor in same situation as on the 10th, the nearest land not above $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant, and the point of the *Cove* I was fishing in on 10 inst. about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile. Mr. Caswell, this morning, took a Boatswain Mate and one Seamen with him in the Jolly Boat, by the permission of Capt. Gray, and went to the *Cove* a fishing. A breeze springing up soon after, and wishing to leave this place, a six pounder was fir'd, a Signal for the boat to return. She not appearing, soon after two more Cannon was fir'd. Got the Ship under way and stood off and on, and sent the pinnace under charge of the 4th officer⁴ in search of the small boat. Soon after, we see the

¹ Hoskins, however, mentions two: Sushin and Cahta. Some inhabitants of the former were actually on board. The ship was striving to reach Sushin when she anchored near Massacre Cove. The villages were of the Kaigahnee Haida. Boit may be referring to villages of the Tlingit. If so, the nearest, according to Vancouver, who was there in August, 1793, was at Point Whaley, about fifty miles distant.

² Hoskins calls this "rivulet" Salmon River. See above, page 218 and note.

³ Until Vancouver circumnavigated Revillagigedo Island in August, 1793, it was thought to be a part of the mainland.

⁴ Mr. Waters, as appears by the entry of March 24, 1792 (see below, page 390).

Pinnace returning with the Jolly Boat in tow, without any person in her and soon discover'd they had the Boats Colours hoisted half mast, with this melancholy token they approach'd the Ship, when we soon discover'd our worthy freind, and brother officer, (Mr. *Joshua Caswell* 2d) lay dead in the bottom of the boat, strip'd perfectly naked and stab'd in upwards of twenty places. They saw nothing of John Folger (the boatswains mate) but Joseph Barnes (the Sailor) lay dead on the beach, and quite naked. fearing the Natives lay in *ambush*, they did not land to take of the *Corps*. It is probable they were beset upon by a great superiority of natives, prompt[t]ed by a desire to possess their cloaths and Arms. As soon as the boats return'd made sail for *Port Tempest*, and anchor'd in the evening at our former station. In Mr. Caswell I lost a firm and steady freind, he was a man of mild and gentle temper, a Complete Seamen, and in short was possest of every qualification that bespoke the gentleman. Observ'd that the day previous to this disastrous affair few Indians had visited the Ship. [15]

NW END OF CHARLOTTE ISLE¹

13. N. Latt. 54°43' W. Long. 132°23'.² Calm, and temperate weather. At 8 In the morning, the 4th Officer was dispatch'd with a party well arm'd in the Pinnace, for to dig a grave for our worthy *freind*. At 9 The pinnace return'd. At 10 Left the Ship with three boats, under charge of Mr. Hazwell, 1st Officer, with the Corps the Ship firing minute guns. At 11 Capt. Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we *inter'd* the remains of our departed, and much beloved, *freind*, with all the solemnity we was capable off.

The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak whose lofty branches hung wavering o'er the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle,

¹ After obtaining the body of Mr. Caswell, the *Columbia* returns to the western end of Revillagigedo Channel, sails thence to the north shore of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and enters Masset Harbor.

² This latitude and longitude have no relation to either Port Tempest or Massacre Cove. They are given by Haswell as the position of Murderers' Cape, which lay at the western entrance of Brown's Sound, in which Port Tempest was situated. That is Cape Chacon of today. Its latitude is the well-known 54°40'.

and the weeping of his freinds added solemnity to the scene. So *ends*.

15. Weighed, and Left Port Tempest Wind at NW At Sunsett it bore N b W 6 leagues, and (Massacree Cove) West 5 Miles. saw none of the Natives. No doubt the Rascles wou'd have destroy'd the Jolly boat after they had massacred our unfortunate countrymen, had not the Ship's Guns alarm'd them. Standing to the South and E.

16. This day Spoke the Brig Hancock of Boston, Samuell Crowell, *Master*. They was on the same business as ourselves, and had been pretty successfull.¹ Capt. Crowell inform'd that his Longboat was cruizing among the Charlotte Isles under charge of his 2nd Officer.² the Brig kept us company.

18. Pleasent weather. Came to Anchor, in a River which Capt. Crowell had named (Hancocks) situated on the NW part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, in Company with the Brig, 6 f[atho]m water mud. The Brig's Longboat we found at this place, vast many of the Natives along side the Ship, and a few furs was purchased Capt. Crowell had, upon some trifling offence, fir'd upon these Indians by which a number of them fell (such wanton cruelty throws him upon a levell with the savage), and perhaps this same fray was the means of our losing our worthy 2nd Officer as the places are not 20 leagues distant and mayhap they reck'd their Vengeance³ upon us, thinking us all of one tribe. If it was so, bad *luck to Crowell. Amen.* [16]

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOR

19. N. Latt. 54° 12' W. Long. 132° 25'. Fine weather. the Hancock sail'd on a Cruize.⁴ The land about this River is the best without exception I've yet seen, on the NW Coast, and a place well calculated for a *Factory* for to reap the advantages of the fur trade the

¹ The *Hancock* had obtained between five hundred and six hundred sea-otter skins; the *Columbia* had about as many. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. 17. Haswell says she had seven hundred sea-otter skins.

² The frame of the longboat had been brought out in the brig from Boston and put together somewhere on the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands. It had been rigged as a sloop and placed in charge of Mr. Adamson, formerly in Meares's employ on the *Iphigenia*.

³ The greater probability is that, as in the cases of Quadra, Barkley, and the *Atahualpa*, it arose from mere cupidity. The implements, clothing, and nails in the boat were sufficient temptation.

⁴ Before doing so, Captain Crowell left with the natives at Tadents in Parry Passage (Cox Strait) a man named Jones, who was to collect furs against his return; but he soon tired of the life there, went to Kaigahnee, and shipped away at the first opportunity. This expedient was frequently tried by the traders; the result was always the same.

Natives, I dare say, have always plenty of *Otters*, and there is fish in abundance. Hove up,¹ and came to sail towards evening and stood to sea light winds and very strong tides. At Sunsett Murderers Cape bore NNW at a great distance.

20. N. Latt. $53^{\circ}49'$ W. Long. $133^{\circ}24'$. Soundings from 7 to 12 f[atho]m, shoal water about these parts of Charlotte Isles. Standing to the Southward through Defont Straits, runing along the Isles in from 15 to 30 f[atho]m according to dis[tance] of shore. these Charlotte Isles are from the Latt. $51^{\circ}55'$ to $54^{\circ}24'$ N. and from Longitude $131^{\circ}0'$ to 133° W.

22. N. Latt. $53^{\circ}2'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ}31'$ Ampd. $20^{\circ}2'$ E. ☉☾. Many of Indians of this day from Cumswah village, in Charlot Isles, brought a few skins, but I think they are pretty well drain'd.² Came too, with the Kedge in 20 f[atho]m about 2 miles from shore. soon after see a Boat rowing towards us, and heard a Cannon fir'd in the sound. At 3 PM Mr. Cruft,³ 1st Officer of the American Brig Hope (which we had spoke with before) came along side, with Capt. Ingrahim's compliments, and offer'd to be the bearer of Letters, as he was shortly bound for Canton. we readily embraced the *opportunity*; At dark Mr. Cruft left us. Up Kedge and bore away to the southward and Eastd.

23. N. Latt. $52^{\circ}37'$ W. Long. $130^{\circ}22'$. The SE part of Charlotte Isles bore SE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 12 leagues light winds and variable. a Canoe boarded us at this great distance, and brought many prime furs.

28. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}20'$ W. Long. $127^{\circ}16'$. At Noon this day, Nootka (or King Georges sound) bore ENE 10 leagues. Since the 23d we have never lost sight of the Continent. 'Tis very high land. saw *whales*.

¹ The reason for the *Columbia's* sudden departure was, according to Hoskins, to forestall the *Hancock* in the trade on the eastern side of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² Ingraham, in the *Hope*, had been lying at anchor, trading continuously with these natives, for over a fortnight.

³ This officer died shortly afterwards while the *Hope* was en route to the Sandwich Islands. Ingraham gives his name as Crafts. Ingraham was returning good for evil. The owners of the *Columbia*, he tells us, being "filled with envy and malice against all who went to share with them this valuable trade, gave orders that no Letters should be borne out in their ship to any one on board the *Hope*." Thus, though Ingraham got his letters through the instrumentality of Haswell, who smuggled them through, poor Cruft's letters were refused and came out on the *Hancock*, with the result that he never received them, having died before the two vessels met at the Sandwich Islands.

29. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}5'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ}0'$. At Noon the entrance of Clioquot (or Coxes harbour) bore NE 4 leagues. Standing in for the harbour, and towards evening anchor'd in our former station. vast many of the Natives along side, and seem'd glad to see us again. found riding here the Brig Lady Washington, of Boston, John Kendrick *master*, he had made up his Voyage and was bound for Canton. He appear'd happy in meeting with his old freinds. [17]

N. Latt. $49^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. 125° ☉ ☾ * ☾. Captain Kendrick inform'd us that he had had a skirmish with the Natives at *Barrells* sound (in Queen Charlotte Isles) and was oblig'd to kill upwards of 50 of them before they wou'd desist from the attack. It appear'd to me from what I cou'd collect that the Indians was the aggressors.¹ This Brig Lady Washington was a Sloop when she left Boston, but Capt. Kendrick had alterd her rig in Canton the year before. I was sorry to find that *Kendrick* had made no remittances to the owners, since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successfull trips² from this Coast to Canton. As the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig,³ and kept himself always ready against attack.⁴ We taried in this harbour till the 8th Sept. during which time Collected many Sea Otter and other furs, and fish in abundance these Natives miss'd Mr. *Caswell*, and it was thought proper to inform them that he had died (a *natural death*).

September 8. Weighed and beat out of the harbour wind at SW. At Noon Clioquot bore NW 6 leagues standing towards Juan De-fuca straits.

¹ Ingraham gives the outlines of the story in his MS. journal, but Hoskins enters into all the details. See above, pages 240-241.

² Boit is in error here. Kendrick, in the *Washington*, did not see the Northwest Coast from his departure in the fall of 1789 until June 13, 1791.

³ Hoskins, writing to Joseph Barrell from Nootka Sound, August 21, 1792, says: "Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season [referring to this occasion] offer'd to give up to me, (if I would pay his mens wages and a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4000 dollars;) his vessel and cargo which was a thousand Sea Otter skins; I told him I had no authority to accept his offer, or to demand any payment from him; nor did I think any person in the Ship had."

⁴ This is an exaggeration. Both Hoskins' narrative and Haswell's journal show that the two ships were on the best of terms, mutual visits were exchanged, and the fullest confidence prevailed.

IN THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA

11. N. Latt. $48^{\circ}15'$ W. Long. $124^{\circ}30'$. This day abrest Cape Flattery, on the SE part of De Fuca entrance, vast many of the Natives along. Purchas'd many *Otters* These Indians told us, there was five sail of Spaniards up the straits.¹ At Midnight saw *Tatooch* Isle, bear[in]g NNE 3 miles. We thought ourselves further of shore. Almost calm, and an excessive strong tide sweeping us between some Ledges and the Isle. At daylight thick fog, saw the Rocks a head within pistol shot, with high breakers. Out all Boats, and just towed the Ship clear. our situation was truly alarming, but we had no business so near the land in thick weather. However *Good Luck* prevail'd, and a breeze springing up from offshore we stretch'd out clear in *Boats*. Foggy disagreeable weather. Cou'd observe at intervalls that the woods where on fire. [18]

12. Wind NE. Heard the roaring of Breakers, foggy haul'd more offshore. At 3 PM saw a rock about stone's throw distant, and narrowly excaped being dash'd upon itt. damn nonsense to keep beating about among rocks in foggy weather. At Midnight heard the surt roar again, which I suppose to be on the North side of the Straits, sounded and found ground at 25 f[atho]m Rocks. The Captain, at length, was frightned,² and proceeded with the Ship to a good offing (this ought to have been done long before) thick foggy weather, with a moderate breeze.

16. N. Latt. $48^{\circ}14'$ W. Long. $124^{\circ}30'$ * C. Fog clear'd off, saw Cape *Flattery* bear[in]g NNE 2 leagues, very strong tides. At Noon we where about 2 miles from *Tatooch* Isle. Came too with the Kedge, sandy bottom the Island bearing North. I think it possible there is a passage between Cape Flattery and this Isle of *Tatooch*. it appears about 2 miles wide, however cou'd see breakers between them, and currents are excessive strong, as we cou'd discern them to foam in that narrow pass. Many Natives came off, and we purchas'd

¹ Elisa was in the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1791 with the Spanish vessels *San Carlos* and *Santa Saturnina*. In the same year two other Spanish ships, probably the *Concepcion* and the *Princesa*, were also in that strait. See Navarrete, *Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos*, 113-121, and Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in Juan de Fuca's Strait*, 141ff.

² Both Haswell and Hoskins give this awful experience in somewhat greater detail and unite in blaming Captain Gray for his stubbornness in refusing to seek an offing.

a few skins and plenty *Halibut*. Weigh'd and came to sail towards evening, bound to *Clioquot*.

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOUR

18. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $125^{\circ}26'$. This day anchor'd in our Old Station¹ in Clioquot harbour. found the Brig Lady Washington still riding here. At this Harbour Captain Gray had determin'd to Winter, if he cou'd find a suitable place for to build a Sloop of 45 Tons, for to assist in collecting furs on the next season. The stem and stern post, with part of the floor timbers had been brought from Boston for this purpose.

19. On the 19th Capt. Gray went with two boats up sound, for to seek a convenient cove. In the evening the Captain return'd, having found a place to his mind, about 4 leagues² from where the Ship lay.

WINTER QUARTERS, LATT. $49^{\circ}9'$ N., LONG. $125^{\circ}30'$ W.

20. On the 20th weigh'd, with light airs, and with the Boats ahead, assisted by the Brig's Crew, we tow'd, and sail'd into (winter quarters) which we call'd Adventure Cove, and moor'd Ship for the winter. Vast many of the Natives along side, and appear'd to be highly pleas'd with the Idea of our tarrying among them through the Cold Season. [19]

The *Columbia* lay moor'd in this Cove till the 25th of March 1792. I shall endeavour to give the heads of our proceedings during that period.

Adventure Cove was situated in about the Latitude of $49^{\circ}15'$ N. and Longitude $125^{\circ}30'$ W. of London, about 17 miles from the Ocean. this Cove was form'd by an Isle and the SE shore Clioquot sound, so small that when the Ship was moor'd, you might throw a Stone upon the beach in any direction. the passages in was not to exceed 100 feet, so that we was in a complete *bason*. (At 25th inst. Capt. Kendrick sail'd for Canton.) The Adventure was set up at the back of a fine beach, the woods being previously clear'd. a Log

¹ Port Cox. The latitude given is correct; the longitude here should be $125^{\circ}58'$.

² This is an exaggeration. Hoskins is more nearly correct when he says eight miles from the anchoring place (Port Cox) and fifteen miles from the sea.

House¹ was erected near, mounted with two Cannon, with Loop holes for Musketry. Here Capt. Haswell, with a party of Seamen, and all the Mechanics was station'd. Near itt, the Blacksmiths and Boat builders Shops where placed, two Saw pitts was erected, and kept constantly at play, sawing *planks*, and was supplied with Logs from the sound by Boats constantly on that duty. So that Adventure Cove soon had the appearance of a *young ship yard*. Strip'd the Ship to a gritline, and kept a gang under the directions of the Boatswain upon the rigging.

The Natives made us frequent visits, and brought a good supply of fish and some Sea Otter Skins, and by keeping a small boat down sound with 4 of our seamen we procured a constant supply of Wild Geese, Ducks and Teal. The Geese and Teal resembled those at home, but the Ducks where exactly of the same Species, with the *tame* of our Country. we see none of any other kind. now and then we shot a wild *turkey*. The Natives appear'd to be highly pleased with the different works going on at the Cove. they sometimes brought us *Venison* and supplied us with as many *boards* as we wanted. *they* was all *caeder*, and appear'd to have been split with wedges from the Log.

October 7. An alarm was given by the *Centry* at the Block house, that there was *Canoes* in the Cove. finding they was discover'd they soon went off.²

13. The frame of the Sloop was up Complete, and this day brought the Garboard streak of Plank to her bottom. this is what I call dispatch. *Wickananish*, high Cheif, came on board, with sevrall of the Royall family. he inform'd that his winter village³ was a great way off, which occasion'd his visiting us so seldom. He went on Shore, and astonishment was conspicuous in his countenance at the work going on there. The [20] Natives was very much puzzled to know how we shou'd get the Sloop off when finish'd, as she was 75 foot back from high water mark. Wickananish is the most powerfull cheif we have yet seen on this Coast. His tribe consists of upwards of 3000 souls. they allow Polygamy, but the women are not prolific, as barrenness is very common among them. The Indians girls kept

¹ Kendrick had called his house Fort Washington; Gray named his Fort Defiance.

² See Haswell's entry for this date for a totally different version.

³ Haswell calls this village Oakaminah. Hoskins calls it Okerminna.

us well supplied with *Berries* of different kinds, which was very grateful.

14. We was inform'd this day that Capt. Crowell in the Brig Hancock was at Juan de Fuca straits.¹

27. The Natives brought us some excellent salmon. experience much rain, which hinder the work. When the weather is too bad for to work on the *Sloop*, keep the Carpenters under Shelter making a *boat* for her. Heard of three Spanish Ships² being at *Nootka*. Keep always upon our guard against surprize as we are among a powerfull sett. The boat after Game. met with some *Indians* that was a little troublsome, but by firing a musket over their heads they soon went off. These Indians was very enquisitive for to know the cause of thunder and lightning, but we cou'd not make them understand the real cause, but much surpriz'd them by saying there was a man in our Country that made both.

They suppose thunder to be occasion'd by an Eagle carrying a Whale into the air, and *Lightning*, the hissing of a *Snake*, which are exceeding large in this country. One of our Seamen, being down sound a guning, saw one of these animals, which by his discription was as big round as his thigh.³ being alone, and somewhat frightened, retir'd without firing. These Indians are very superstitious in regard to this Animal, for when they go on a whaling cruize, they always rub their face with a peice of it. We have never been able to gain much information as respects their Religion, but they certainly pay adoration to the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and beleive in Good and evil Spirits. they lash their dead on the trees, first stowing them in a box 3 or 4 feet long. The Head and Legs are cut Off to make good stowage, and little valuables that belong to the deseas'd are bury'd with them. Capt. Gray went to an Indian Village for to look at a Cheif, said to be very sick. on his arrivall he was rec[eive]d very cordially and con-

¹ This is a strange error. The *Hancock* was then at the Hawaiian Islands on her way to China. On October 6 Ingraham records that on his anchoring at Hawaii he met the *Hancock*, then lately arrived from the Northwest Coast, and spent some days in her company. She sailed at about that time for China and was there during that winter.

² The identity of these ships is uncertain. Malaspina, in the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida*, had been there but had sailed about the end of August. The *San Carlos* and the *Concepcion* were still at Nootka, but the *Santa Saturnina* was en route to Mexico.

³ See Hoskins' entry for October 16, 1791.

ducted to the sick mans house, which was full of people. In one Corner lay the Sick Cheif, and arround him (eight strong men), which kept pressing his stomach with their hands, and making a most hideous Bow-wowling, in the poor fellows ears. [21]

December 22. Upon the Captains approach, he suppos'd the Cheif to be nearly dead, and order'd this band of *Doctors* to desist,¹ having made him some *gruell* to take. the Cheif soon came too a little, and order'd two Sea Otter skins as a present. After giving a Wine toast he order'd him to be left to sleep, and visited a number of Cheifs houses, the masters of which treated him with an attention not very common among savages. (*he returned on board.*) I made an excursion to this same Village not long after. As soon as I landed, Men, Women, and Children came down to the beach to receive me, but did not offer to molest the boat. found the sick *Cheif* much better, and releived from his pressing and noisy freinds. The house was large and commodious, and wou'd hold fifty *Indians* very comfortably, all round was packages of Fish in *Boxes*, and decorated with *pearl shells*; Their furniture consisted cheifly of matts, and wooden boxes, which last serves to boil their fish in, which they easily do by applying red hot stones, till it boils they neither scale or draw the fish, but as it comes from the water, so it goes into the box, to boil, or on the Coals to broil, there was sevrall fires about the house but there being no chimnies, the smoak was too mighty for my eyes. They sleep on boards, rais'd about a foot from the ground, and Covered with Matts, rolling themselves up with furs. Over the sick mans head, there was a board cut out in the shape of a heart, and stuck full of Otter's teeth, with a long spear on each side of him. His young wife did not appear to be affected at the sight of her sick husband, but the Father and Mother was watching their Son with the most parentall affection. After boiling him some rice and leaving more with his mother, I left the village and returned safe on board.

25. This day was kept in mirth and festivity by all the *Columbia's* Crew, and the principall Cheifs of the sound by invitation din'd on board ship. The Natives took a walk around the work shops on shore, they was surpriz'd at seeing three tier of wild fowl roasting at

¹ This was Yethlan, the youngest brother of Wickananish. Hoskins also gives an account of this episode under date December 22, 1791.

one of the houses—indeed we was a little surprized at the novelty of the sight ourselves, for at least there was 20 Geese roasting at one immense fire, and the Ships Crew [22] appear'd very happy, most of them being on shore. The Indians cou'd not understand why the Ship and houses was decorated with spruce bows. At 12 Clock fir'd a federall Salute, and ended the day toasting our *sweethearts* and *wifes*.

1792. *January* 1. This day being down sound, with the Jolly boat after game, I stop't at the village. Visited *Yethlan* the sick Cheif, and found him much better. the family treated me extremely well. I receiv'd many pressing invitations from the rest of the Cheifs for to visit their houses, and complied with most of them and was particularly pleased at visiting *Wickananish's* dwelling, who this day had given an entertainment¹ to all the warriors of his Villages, with many visitors from distant Villages. As soon as the *King* saw me I was call'd towards him and seated upon his right. This house was about 80 foot Long, and 40 broad, and about 12 feet high, with a flat roof. The *King* was elevated about two feet higher than the company, with a Canopy over his head, stuck full of animals teeth. the Company consisted of about 100 men, all considerably advanced in years. The Women belonging to the house was in an apartment by themselves, busily employ'd making their Bark Garment. the Machines for that purpose is not unlike the Looms with us. They are very neat and dexterous in this business. The entertainment (which consisted of Fish Spawn mixed with Berries and train Oil,) was served up in wooden Bowls handed by the lower Orders of males. I was invited strongly to partake, but the Smell was enough, therefore pleaded indisposition. After they had done, the remains was sent to the *females*. The *King* inform'd they was going to have a dance in the evening, and wish'd me for to stay. However I declin'd and return'd on board. this Village was 3 leagues² from Adventure Cove. Capt. Hannah, a Cheif of the village, Ahhousett, sometimes came to see his old freinds (as he call'd us). He resided 9 leagues from the Cove but was under the Jurisdiction of *Wickananish*.

¹ This entertainment took place at Opitsat, the regular dwelling place of the tribe on Meares Island. Hoskins, under date December 31, 1791, goes much more fully into the details.

² Haswell gives the distance between Opitsat and Adventure Cove as three *miles*.

6. This day one of the Cheifs of Juan Defuca Straits came on board. He was upon a visit to Wickananish, and indeed had married his sister, inform'd us there was a Spanish Ship in the Straits, brought many *furs*. [23]

17. Began to caulk the Sloop *Adventure's* bottom, it being completely planked up. I this day made an excursion to the Village, having put myself under the care of Tatoochkasettle, one of the King's brothers, who conducted me in his *Canoe*. Upon my arrivall was treated as usuall very politely. I took up my residence at Tatoochkasettles house, who invited a large Company to sup with him. After supper finding I wish'd to visit some other familys he sent his servants with lighted torches for to conduct me. I return'd back about Midnight and found there was an excellent watch kept throughout the village, each one hooping at certain intervalls throughout the night. My Indian freind had made me as comfortable a berth to sleep on as was in his power, but the House being full of smoak, and the Young Children very fractious, occasion'd my sleeping but little all night. In the morning early observ'd most of the Men bathing on the Beach. On enquiring the cause, was inform'd that this day the King was going to give his Eldest son the name of Wickananish, and take another upon himself, upon which acc[oun]t, there was to be great rejoicings. about noon upwards of 100 men assembled upon the beach in front of the *Village*, with the King at their head. Their dress which was exactly uniform consisted of a *Blankett*, made fast round the *Loins* with a Girdle, and reach'd about half way down their thighs. their hair was turn'd up, and tyed with a thick bunch before, and decorated with feathers. Their faces was painted of different colours, and their bodies of a deep red. Beads and fibers of Bark where woulded round their Ancles and Knees, and at a distance they made a grand although savage appearance. They collected near the water at one end of the village in regular teirs about four deep, at each wing many women where placed with Copper Boxes,¹ in which was small Stones serving as part of the music. the prossession moved slowly along the front squatting on their hams, the others

¹ Hoskins also mentions such boxes. It is possible that they may have been manufactured from the sheets of copper purchased from the traders. It is certain that they were not manufactured from the native copper.

standing erect, with three of the King's brothers upon their shoulders, who were dancing and running from right to left in that position while those under them were on the continual move. The King kept in front, giving the word of Command. All their voices kept [24] perfect tune with the rattling of the boxes. The rest of the inhabitants were seated along the beach viewing the performance. When the[y] arrived opposite the King's house, they entered single file, and I followed to see the transactions within doors. about 30 of the principal *Actors* seated themselves in a Circle, and was presented with a pipe of board and a small stick. this they used instead of a Drum. The whole Company then began to Dance and sing, and the Musicians joining made it very pleasing.¹ But the *Smell* was too strong for my *Organs*. Therefore soon drew off. These *Natives* are mild and cheerful, with little of that savage appearance that Savages generally have. their Complexions is very light Copper, but they darken it with Oil and Paint. The Hair is coarse, long and black. 'Tis a general custom to eat their own *Vermin*, and they are so plenty that they will often make a decent repast. The Men are generally thick set with flat noses and broad faces. The women are pretty. their eyes are rather small, and though they are not very quick and piercing, they give the countenance a frank, cheerful and pleasing cast. We understood from the *Natives* that they sometimes made Human sacrifices, and shocking to relate, that they eat the flesh of such poor *victims*. however I do not believe that this Custom is very common and only happens on some very particular Occasion. A prisoner of War is the person selected for this savage feast.

18. This day several chiefs came on board, one of which we found was busily employed talking with our Sandwich Island lad. Their conversation was soon put a stop too, and the *Lad* examined, but he denied that the Chief asked him any improper questions. These Natives, always behaving so friendly,² occasioned us to place too much

¹ Hoskins accompanied Boit on this visit and enters much more fully into the description of this entertainment.

² Hoskins nevertheless records that in the preceding October a hunting party had had some difficulty with the natives, who had behaved in a very rude manner, striving to take their firearms from them and seeking to capture Captain Gray. Though Boit was of the party, he makes no allusion to the occurrence. It was thought that this action was instigated by Tootiscoosettle in revenge for his treatment already mentioned.

confidence in them, and what a pity it is, that we cou'd not leave this *port* with that opinion of them which we had heretofore held; But alas! We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to Massacre the whole of us in cold blood. The Ship had been brought some days previous to this to a bluff point of Rocks, where she lay'd as to a wharf, not even touching the ground at low water the Cannon and all the stores was landed here, as we was about hauling on the beach to grave and pay the Bottom. [25]

The situation of the Ship at this period was very favorable to their views,¹ and must have encouraged them with the hope of destroying the whole of us, without the loss of a man on their side. However in this they wou'd have been mistaken as we kept a strong watch, under the conduct of an Officer and was always guarded against surprize. But shou'd we have been over pow'd by numbers, our freinds perhaps never wou'd have known our sad fate.

But fortunately, in the evening, the Sandwich Island lad made a Confession to his Master, (as follows).² He said *Tatoochkasettle*, (*the Cheif*) told him, that Wickananish was about to take the Ship and Massacre all the Crew, and said he shou'd be a great man, if he wou'd wet our *Musketts*, and steal for him some *Bulletts*. He said they shou'd come that night or the next, and told him to come over to them when the fray first began. This news alarm'd the Ships Company exceedingly, and we immediately got in readiness to receive them. Capt. Gray call'd his officers together for to consult what was best to be done, and we was unanimously of opinion, that 'twas best to haul the Ship on the *ways*, and Grave her, as the tide then suited, and we cou'd retreat in safety to the Block House, shou'd the Natives appear, (where we had sevrall *Cannon* mounted and good *quarters*). this plan was immediatly put in execution, leaving a strong guard on the point for to guard the *Stores* with nessescary signals shou'd they want releif. By midnight one side of the Ship was finish'd, when we heard a most hideous hooping of *Indians*, and at ev'ry shout they seem'd to come nearer, every man immediately took his arms, and

¹ Hoskins opposed this move, as it had the effect of separating the crew and left the ship and the fort out of sight of each other.

² Both Haswell and Hoskins tell the same story, in the main; though their accounts are more circumstantial and more thrilling.

stood ready both on board ship and at the Log house, they kept hooping about one hour, when they ceas'd and 'tis probable re-treated, lamenting their hard luck that the Cruell plan was so completely frustrated. The guard at the *point* saw many large Canoes off the entrance of the Cove, but like brave fellows, they scorn'd to quit the Station. In the morning tide we finish'd the Ship and haul'd again to the point, and in the Course of the Day took on board all the stores and Cannon, and moor'd off in the Cove in our old berth. Scal'd the Guns, which made all rattle again, and I beleive never was more work done in so short a time. But *Men determin'd* can do most any thing. [26]

It does not appear that *Wickananish* wish'd to conquer a part of us, as he had frequent opportunitys to have accomplish'd itt for two or three times a week a boat was down at the *Village*, generally with an officer and four *sailors*, but I suppose he very prudently thought that shou'd he cut a boats Crew off, there was still enough left for to destroy his Villages. The Cheifs had been telling us for some time that they was going to war with a distant tribe and wish'd for us to lend them Musketts and Ammunition, which *some* of these fellows used as well as ourselves. We had observed of late that they did not seem so cheerfull as common, but seem'd to be deeply wrapt in thought. After this no more of the Natives visited Adventure Cove except some old women and a young girls, who brought us berries and fish, and most probable they was sent as *Spies*.

March 4. This day the Ship was completely rig'd, Hold stowed, and in every respect in readiness for sea. She look'd like a *fiddle*! The Kings Mother came along side and brought some Otter Skins which we purchas'd. She told Captain Gray that the *Moon* inform'd her Son if he come to the Ship, he wou'd be kill'd.

21. This day departed this life, after a lingering sickness, Benj. Harding (*Boatswain*), he was a smart, active, and steady man, and one that know'd, and did *his* duty in every respect, deposited his remains next morning near to the Block house, after performing divine Service. promoted a Seaman to his place.

22. Launch'd the Sloop Adventure.¹ She went off admirably. took

¹ Boit makes the date of this launching March 22; but Hoskins and Haswell both say February 23.

a Hawser and got her along side the Ship, and soon had her rig'd.

24. The Sloop Adventure is ready for sea.¹ Capt. Haswell, 1st mate of ship, went on board and took charge, taking with him Mr. Waters (4th mate) and a Crew of ten Seamen and tradesmen. I think she was one of the prettiest vessels I ever saw, of about 45 Tons, with a handsome figure head and false badges, and other ways touch'd off in high stile. Ther was not a Butt either in the Planks on deck or sides, and the plank not above nine inches wide. She was victuall'd for a four months cruize, and supplied with Articles for the Queen Charlotte Isles trade, on which route 'twas meant she shou'd go, while the Ship proceeding along the Southern Coast. [27]

25. Pleasant weather, Wind at SE. In the morning got the remainders of our affairs from the Shore, and unmoor'd. Left Adventure Cove, and stood down Sound with the Sloop in company. We left our log houses all standing. Anchor'd abreast the Village *Opitsatah*, but found itt entirely deserted.² observ'd very few Canoes moving.

During our long tarry in Adventure Cove, we all enjoy'd good health, although the Crew was at times very much exposed. The *boatswains* sickness commenced before our arrivall in the Cove. The Weather was generally very fine, and very seldom had Snow, and never Ice thicker than a Spanish Dollar, but experienced frequent heavy rains. We pick'd Whurtle and Blue Berries, throughout the winter, which was very fine, and Whurtle Berry pudings was quite common with us. We kept the Crew continually supplied with Spruce beer, and their breakfast and supper was Tea boiled from the green *Spruce* boughs sweetned with Molasses. perhaps this method kept the *Scurvey* off. However they did not eat much Salt provisions, as we was generally supplied with Poultry, Venison, and fish.

27. I am sorry to be under the nessescity of remarking that this day I was *sent* with three boats, all well man'd and arm'd, to destroy the Village of *Opitsatah* it was a Command I was no ways tenacious off, and am greived to think Capt. Gray shou'd let his passions go so

¹ This took, according to Haswell and Hoskins, about a month, and not two days, as Boit has it.

² The natives had suddenly removed to Echachis on Wakenenish Island. This village is shown on Meares's map already mentioned (Meares, *Voyages*, 202). So precipitate had been their flight that they had left many of their domestic utensils scattered about their houses and hidden in the bushes.

far.¹ This Village was about half a mile in Diameter, and Contained upwards off 200 Houses, generally well built for *Indians* ev'ry door that you enter'd was in resemblance to an human and Beasts head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the dwellings some of which was by no means *innelegant*. This fine Village, the Work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd.

CRUIZING TO THE S. AND E. OF DE FUCA STRAITS

April 2. Weigh'd in Company with the Sloop, and left Clioquot harbour, and stood to the Southd. with the Ship, while the Sloop Haul'd her wind to the Northward. parted, with loud *Huzzas*, a proper *rendevous* being appointed.

3. On the 3d passed De fuca Straits, experience blowing weather on the Coast, but generally keep sight of the Land. The Shore seems sandy and the land of a moderate height, with much clear ground fitt for Cultivation.² Lat. $45^{\circ} 15'$. There is regular soundings of this Coast, which is not the case to the Northward. [28]

7. N. Latt. $44^{\circ} 56'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ} 52'$. Very blowing weather and quite cold. beating off the Coast, waiting for to find a good harbour.³ the weather grows pleasent.

9. N. Latt. $44^{\circ} 24'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ} 17'$. Pleasent weather, wind NW. Runing along shoar to the South and Eastd. about 2 miles off the land trended N *b* E and N *b* W and look'd very pleasent. the Shore made in sandy beaches, and the land rose gradually back into the high hills, and the beautifull feilds of grass, interspersed among the wood lands, made itt delightfull.⁴

10. N. Latt. $43^{\circ} 45'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ} 11'$. Abrest a small inlett in the land, which had some the appearance of an harbour. Hove too for some canoes that where coming off these Natives talk'd a dif-

¹ Neither Haswell nor Hoskins mentions the destruction of this village Opitsat; but there is no reason to doubt the fact. Gray had made a threat to give the natives powder and shot when he reached the village. His conduct after the attempt to take the ship was that of an angry man. Hoskins records many instances of his exhibitions of passion and complains bitterly of this conduct, which was only ruining the chances of trade with these people, who were great hunters.

² The *Columbia* is cruising southward along the coast of the state of Washington, and yet this observation was taken off Cape Lookout.

³ This observation was taken a little north of Cape Foulweather on the coast of Oregon.

⁴ The *Columbia* is now off the mouth of the Alsea River and Bayview, Oregon.

ferent language from any we have before heard. their Canoes had square Stems and the blades of the paddles oval. We purchas'd of them many fine Otter Skins for Copper and Iron. they had some raw *Buffaloe* in the Canoes, which they offer'd us for sale, and greedily devour'd some of it, in that state as a recommendation. I'm fearfull these fellows are Caniballs.¹ Mr. *Smith*, 2d Officer, was sent in the Cutter to look for an harbour but was unsuccessful. bore off and made sail. Cape Gregory (so call'd by Capt. Cook) bore SE. Variation. Ampd. $15^{\circ}57'$ East.

11. N. Latt. $42^{\circ}50'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ}3'$ Ampd. $16^{\circ}42'$ E. Some Canoes came along side full of Indians and brought a few Otter and Beaver Skins. Cape Mendocin bore ESE, 2 leagues.² Haul'd again to the Northward.

17. N. Latt. $44^{\circ}54'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ}23'$ Azi. $16^{\circ}57'$ E. Sent the Boat, under charge of 2d officer, to examine an inlett, abrest the Ship, to see if there was safe anchorage, but was *unsuccessfull*. A large Canoe came along side full of the Natives. by their behaviour, the *Columbia* was the first ship *they* ever saw.³

22. N. Latt. $46^{\circ}39'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ}50'$ Azi. $17^{\circ}33'$ E. Still beating about, in pursuit of anchorage. Sent the boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour. The Natives frequently came along side and brought Otter furs and fish. their language to us was unintelligible. Experience strong currents setting to the southward. We have frequently seen many appearances of good harbours, but the Currents and squally weather hindered us from a strict examination however Capt. Gray is determin'd to persevere in the pursuit.⁴ [29]

AT ANCHOR OFF THE VILLAGE OF KENEKOMITT

27. N. Latt. $47^{\circ}52'$ W. Long. $123^{\circ}30'$ \odot \odot . This day stood in

¹ The *Columbia* is off the mouth of the Umpqua River in Oregon. There were, of course, neither buffalo nor cannibals there.

² Nearly as far south as Cape Blanco, on the Oregon coast.

³ The *Columbia* is returning northward. There is no inlet charted opposite this location. If the legendary claim that Captain Gray landed on the coast of Oregon be true, this journal does not reveal the fact.

⁴ The *Columbia* is now off Willapa Harbor on the Washington coast, and there is no mention at all of the mouth of the Columbia River in passing. The longitude cited must be disregarded as too far east, an error common to the observations noted in this journal.

shore, the weather having become more settled, and anchor'd with the Kedge in 15 f[atho]m sand, abreast a Village, call'd by the Natives *Kenekomitt*,¹ which was situate on a small Hill just back of the Beach. the Indians brought us a fine lot of *Skins*, which we got cheifly for Copper, but the weather coming again unsettled, we weigh'd towards evening and stood off making short hanks off and on shore. these Indians spoke the same language as those in De fuca straits.

28. This day spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ships Discovery and Chatham, commanded by Capt. *George Vancouver* and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery.² Left England April 1st 1791 Ditto Otaheita January '92 and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the Discovery, and we gave them all the information in our power, especially as respected the Straits of Juan De Fuca, which place they was then in search off. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English Ships.

29. Pass'd Tatooch Isle, close on board, and left a large ledge of Rocks without us, and stood into the Straits of De Fuca. Many Indians came off, and brought plenty of furs. The English Ships came too towards evening on the South entrance of the straits. in the morning they got under way and stood up. We stood in and anchor'd to the Westward of Cape Flattery in 17 f[atho]m trade not very brisk got under weigh again towards evening and stood to the S and E along shore.

May 1. N. Latt. $47^{\circ} 52'$ W. Long. $123^{\circ} 30'$ Azi. $17^{\circ} 30'$ E. Anchor'd off the Village Kenekomitt in the place we left on the 27th of April. Tatooch Isle bore W b S 2 leagues. A brisk trade for furs.³

¹ This village was close to a point now charted as Teakwhit Head, some miles southeast of the mouth of the Quillayute River on the coast of Washington. A small stream emptying there had some years ago, according to O. B. Sperlin of Tacoma, the Indian name Kenehenwhitt. Possibly this is identical with the "Queenhythe" mentioned by Barkley in 1787 and by Meares in 1788.

² Cf. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, I. 213, where it is stated that on April 28 Captain Vancouver anchored off Destruction Island but made sail at 3 A.M. on the morning of Sunday, April 29, and at 4 A.M. sighted the *Columbia* and had his officers on board of her at 7 A.M. This would have been about off the mouth of the Quillayute River. "A New Vancouver Journal" (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 133) puts the date as April 30.

³ The *Columbia* followed the ships of Captain Vancouver as far as the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca but then returned to the southward for trade and discovery.

3. Hove up and made sail for the Straits, the weather looking threatening and soon enter'd them, found smooth water. Kept beating to and fro, in preference to casting anchor. [30]

5. Stood in towards Tatooch's Isle. The Natives brought plenty of Halibut and other fish, but few *Skins*. Stretch'd out from De Fuca Straits and bore off to the S and E, runing along shore, about 2 miles from land.

6. Hove too for some Canoes to come up. they brought us fish but no *skins*. bore off. these fellows belong'd to a small Village in sight from the Ship, call'd *Goliev*.¹

AT ANCHOR IN GRAY'S HARBOUR

7. N. Latt. $46^{\circ} 58'$. Saw an inlett in the land, which had the appearance of an harbour, sent the Cutter under charge of 2d Officer to examine itt. Laying too a strong Current with squally weather. The Boat returned, and the Officer reported that he cou'd find nothing but breakers at the entrance, but farther in itt had the appearance of a good harbour. This appearance being so flattering, Capt. Gray was determin'd not to give itt up. Therefore ordering the boat a head to sound with nessescary signalls the Ship stood in for the weather bar and we soon see from the Mast head a passage in between the breakers.

Bore off and run in NE *b* E, having from 4 to 9 fathom sand, an excellent strong tide setting out. the boat having made a signall for anchorage and a good harbour we continued to stretch on till completely within the shoals when we anchor'd in 5 f[atho]m In an excellent harbour. Vast many canoes came off, full of Indians. they appear'd to be a savage sett and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest asstonishment. their language was different from any we have yet heard. The Men where entirely naked, and the Women, except a small apron before, made of *Rushes*, was also in a state of Nature. they was stout made,

¹ Our Indian name, Quillayute. The village is La Push, at the mouth of the river of that name.

and very ugly. Their Canoes was from the Logs rudely cut out, with upright ends. We purchas'd many furs and fish. [31]

8. N. Latt. $46^{\circ}58'$ W. Long. $123^{\circ}0'$. Vast many Canoes along side, full of Indians. they brought a great many furs which we purchas'd cheap for Blanketts and Iron We was fearfull to send a Boat on discovery but I've no doubt we was at the Entrance of some great river, as the water was brackish and the tide set out half the time. This evening heard the hooting of Indians, all hands was immediately under arms, sevrall canoes was seen passing near the Ship, but was dispers'd by firing a few Musketts over their heads. At Midnight we heard them again, and soon after as 'twas bright Moon light, we see the Canoes approaching to the Ship. We fir'd sevrall cannon over them, but still persisted to advance with the war Hoop.¹ At length a large Canoe with at least 20 Men in her got within $\frac{1}{2}$ pistol shot of the quarter, and with a Nine pounder, loaded with langerege and about 10 Musketts, loaded with Buck shot, we dash'd her all to peices, and no doubt kill'd every soul in her. The rest soon made a retreat. I do not think that they had aney Conception of the power of Artillery. But they was too near us for to admit of any hesitation how to proceed.

9. Very pleasant weather, many canoes came along side from down river,² and brought plenty of Skins, likewise some canoes from the tribes that first visited us, and their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they where telling the very circumstance to their Acquaintances from down River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavouring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our Coming

¹ Captain Gray, in his log, makes no mention of this attack. He had similar experiences on the coast of Vancouver Island and farther north. The circumstances suggest the presence of a war party from the south. The natives there would have been of the Chehalis or Chickales tribe of the Chinookan family. Cf. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 79-92, where is related the visit to this harbor of Lieutenant Joseph Whidbey in the *Daedalus*, who remained there October 19-November 10, 1792, and encountered very few Indians and those very peaceable. Whidbey bestowed the names Point Brown and Point New, which still remain. Captain Gray left no nomenclature here.

² Boit uses the expression "down river" here and later when referring to Indians coming to trade from *upper parts* of the Chehalis and Columbia rivers.

amongst them. I am sorry we was oblidg'd to kill the poor Divells, but it cou'd not with safety be avoided. These Natives brought us some fine Salmon and plenty of Beaver Skins, with some Otters, and I beleive had we staid longer among them we shou'd have done well. [32]

11. Weigh'd and Came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the barr.¹ Named the harbour we had Left, after our Captain, Standing to the South.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S RIVER

12. N. Latt. $46^{\circ}7'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ}47'$. This day² saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abrest the Ship, haul'd our wind for itt, observ'd two sand bars making off, with a passage between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the Ship under short sail, carried in from $\frac{1}{2}$ three to 7 f[atho]m, and when over the bar had 10 f[atho]m Water quite fresh. the River³

¹ The *Columbia* was a ship of only 212 tons, as certified by the collector of the port of Boston, and drew six to eight feet of water, which was the extreme draft of vessels entering Gray's Harbor before any dredging was done on the bar. The fact that Captain Gray left this harbor at evening and sailed directly southward all night, and the next morning "at 4 A.M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues," suggests that he had obtained from the Indians of Gray's Harbor some definite information as to the existence of a large river at Cape Disappointment. Boit mentions later on that he recognized some of these same Indians around the ship in the Columbia River, but this is doubtful.

² Cf. with log of the *Columbia*, which is printed below. For contemporaneous mention of this discovery, consult "Log of H.M.S. Chatham," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. 231ff.; Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, I and II; Ingraham's MS. journal of the *Hope*, Library of Congress.

³ This was the Columbia River (or Columbia's River, as named by Captain Gray), the existence of which had been the very positive belief of geographers, navigators, and explorers for nearly two hundred years. Its mouth had been associated with the fabled Straits of Anian, and the voyage of the Spanish navigator, Martin de Aguilar (1602). Its westward flow and watershed had been reported by Charlevoix and the French explorers in the Mississippi Valley and beyond during the first half of the eighteenth century under the broad designation River of the West. Its upper courses had been strangely confused with those of the upper Missouri by Major Robert Rogers in 1765, who then applied the name Ouragon. Its theoretical source had been blatantly placed in northern Minnesota by Jonathan Carver in 1778, who called it the Oregon; and its true source was not discovered until 1807 by David Thompson. In 1775 the Spanish navigator, Bruno Heceta, sailed up to its mouth, made an astronomical observation, and bestowed names upon the river, the bay, and the two capes, but these names did not become permanent. Thirteen years later Captain John Meares, after similar examination, declared that no such river existed, and left the name Cape Disappointment to commemorate his warped or ignorant opinion. In April, 1792, Captain George Vancouver examined the opening at longer range, recognized Cape Disappointment, and confirmed the opinion of Captain Meares. Now Captain Robert Gray confirms the discovery by Heceta and actually sails into the river long looked for.

extended to the NE as far as eye cou'd reach, and water fit to drink¹ as far down as the *Bars*, at the entrance. we directed our course up this noble *river* in search of a Village. The beach was lin'd with Natives, who ran along shore following the Ship. Soon after above 20 Canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. the furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. they appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. at length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the river about 5 leagues from the entrance, came too in 10 f[atho]m sand, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from shore.² The river at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter Skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver Skins, 2 Spikes each, and other land furs, 1 Spike each.

We lay in this place till the 20th May,³ during which time we put the Ship in good order and fill'd up all the *water* casks along side itt being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn itt. Observ'd that the Canoes that came from down river brought no Otter Skins, and I beleive the Otter constantly keeps in Salt water. they however always came well stocked with land furs and capitall Salmon. The tide sett down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees sometimes come down with the *Stream*. [33] The Indians inform'd us there was 50 Villages on the banks of this river.

15. N. Latt. $46^{\circ} 7'$ W. Long. $122^{\circ} 47'$. On the 15th took up the Anchor, and stood up River but soon found the water to be shoal

¹ This can be explained by the fact that the river was then in flood with the spring freshets. In October of the same year Lieutenant Broughton of the *Chatham* did not find this condition of fresh water, and did not find as much depth of water on the sand bars further upstream. This accounts considerably for the criticisms by Broughton and Vancouver of the chart or sketch of the river given by Captain Gray to Captain Vancouver when at Nootka. That chart has never been found.

² This anchorage was a little southeast of the railroad station now known as McGowans and a little southwest of Point Ellice on the north bank of the river.

³ This amplification discloses that the writing of Boit's journal was not diurnal. This entry was made at some later date, presumably on May 20, when the ship left the river. This fact probably explains the unimportant divergence of one day between the dates given by Captain Gray and Boit.

so that the Ship took the Ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our 1st station, however soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side,¹ and that there was a sand bank in the middle, as we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our present situation² which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the Ship with Capt. Gray to view the Country and take possession,³ leaving charge with the 2d Officer.⁴ Found much clear ground, fit for Cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from Underbrush. none of the Natives come near us.

18. Shifted the Ship's birth to her Old Station abreast the Village *Chinoak*, command'd by a cheif name *Polack*.⁵ Vast many Canoes full of Indians from different parts of the river where constantly along side. Capt. Grays named this river *Columbia's*, and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point *Adams*.⁶ This River in

¹ Captain Gray found that the deep water or ship's channel of the river then, as now, crossed the river from Harrington Point to Tongue Point and followed the south bend to Point Adams, but then crossed again into Baker's Bay behind Cape Disappointment. Sand Island was then attached to Point Adams and lay directly in what is now the deep water channel off that point. See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. 242-243.

² The latitude cited is practically correct, but the longitude is a full degree too far east. This anchorage was somewhere near Point Gray, which is the location of the speculative town site of Frankfort, now shown on commercial maps of the north bank of the river. According to the table of distances by the government engineers, this point is seventeen and a half miles from the sea. Boit does not record all the movements of the ship on May 14, 15, and 16, and for this see the log of the *Columbia*, pages 435-438, below.

³ The words "and take possession" were inserted at a later time and are in a quite different ink.

⁴ The interpolated words suggest a ceremony which is not yet known to have actually taken place, and one which would have been of great value to the United States officials during the boundary disputes prior to the treaty of 1846. During the first session of the Thirty-second Congress a bill was introduced for the relief of Martha Gray, widow of Captain Robert Gray, and of the heirs of Captain John Kendrick (S.B. Bill Number 526), and in that connection, on August 11, 1852, a report was filed which contained unsupported statements as to such an act of taking possession. In *Early Days in Old Oregon* (McClurg, 1916), there appears the positive statement of the author that such an act was performed, but no references are given to support it.

⁵ Evidently a predecessor of Comcomly, the one-eyed potentate of the Chinook Indians during so many years of the fur-trade period, whose daughters were given in marriage to some of the traders.

⁶ This name is still officially recognized, but the name given to the northern cape did not become permanent. Captain Heceta named the southern point Cabo Frondoso because of the trees and brush which then grew down to the edge of the beach. Astoria, on the southern bank fifteen miles inland, was the first trading post on the lower river, and Fort Vancouver, one hundred miles inland and on the north bank, became the first factory, meaning thereby the residence and headquarters of the chief factors, who managed the business of the district.

my opinion, wou'd be a fine place for to sett up a *Factory*. The Indians are very numerous, and appear'd very civil (not even offering to steal). during our short stay we collected 150 Otter, 300 Beaver, and twice the Number of other land furs. the river abounds with excellent *Salmon*, and most other River fish, and the Woods with plenty of Moose and Deer, the skins of which was brought us in great plenty, and the Banks produces a ground Nut, which is an excellent substitute for either bread or Potatoes, We found plenty of Oak, Ash, and Walnut trees, and clear ground in plenty, which with little labour might be made fit to raise such seeds as is nessescary for the sustenance of inhabitants, and in short a factory set up here and another at Hancock's River in the [34] Queen Charlotte Isles, wou'd engross the whole trade of the NW Coast (with the help [of] a few small coasting vessels).

20. This day¹ left Columbia's River, and stood clear of the bars, and bore off to the Northward The Men at Columbia's River are strait limb'd, fine looking fellows, and the women are very pretty. they are all in a state of Nature, except the females, who wear a leaf Apron (perhaps 'twas a fig leaf). But some of our gentlemen, that examin'd them pretty close, and *near*, both *within* and *without* reported that it was not a leaf but a nice wove mat in resemblance!! and so we go—thus, thus—and no Near!—!

21. N. Latt. $47^{\circ}55'$. Abrest the Village *Goliu*, hove too and purchas'd some Skins from the Natives, then bore off to the North and W[es]t.

22. N. Latt. $48^{\circ}20'$ W. Long. $124^{\circ}32'$. Saw Tatooch's Isle and Cape Flattery, on the Sou[th] and E entrance of Juan De Fuca straits (bound to the Northd.) for to meet the Sloop Adventure.

23. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ}0'$ ☉ ☾ * ☾. Pass'd Clioquot harbour, fine fresh gales at SE.

24. N. Latt. $50^{\circ}10'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ}10'$. Pass'd Woody point, at 2 miles distant. sevrall canoes put of from Columbia's Cove, but we did not stop.

¹ Now the two accounts, Captain Gray's and Boit's, synchronize. The dates given by Captain Gray are official and take precedence, and it is still correct to say that the Columbia River was first entered by white men on May 11, 1792. A similar divergence of one day appears in the narrative of Captain Vancouver the following October.

AT ANCHOR IN ST. PATRICK HARBOUR

25. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ} 30'$. This day the Ship being abreast a fine inlet, dispatch'd Mr. Smith, in the Cutter to examine itt. Soon after the Boat had a Signall for a harbour. Haul'd our wind and stood in shore and anchor'd 15 f[atho]m mud and sand, in a complete Snug Cove.¹ Many Canoes came along side, full of *Indians*. they was all dress'd in War *Armour*,² and completely arm'd with Bows, arrows, and Spears, and had altogether quite a savage appearance. I beleive they was fearfull we shou'd rob their village, which was at no great distance as they appear'd much agitated. however soon began a brisk trade for Otter furs. We landed with the boats and Got Wood and Broom Stuff, but the *Indians* wishing to be troublesome, soon give over this business. indeed I was obliged to knock one of them down with my Musket. [35]

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

28. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ} 30'$ ☉ ☾. Weigh'd and came to sail, and left this harbour, which we named *St. Patricks*.³ The *Indians* where much the same as the Nootka tribes. Standing towards Woody point, which was in sight. towards evening, anchor'd in Columbia's Cove, in our former birth, past many natives along side, and seem'd much pleased at our visiting them again.

29. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 6'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ} 12'$. Vast concourse of *Indians* off, among whom was *Necklar* cheif of the sound. They brought many more furs, that they did last season we visited them. found these

¹ It is difficult to identify this cove. If the latitude could be relied on, it should be in Quatsino Sound; but no such cove exists there near the ocean, as this cove manifestly was. The reference to the fine inlet and the complete snug cove would fit San Josef Bay and Sea Otter Cove, which lies just west of it. Meares gives (*Voyages*, 326) a representation of Sea Otter Cove, and fixes its latitude as $50^{\circ} 41'$. Unfortunately, however, Boit says they anchored in fifteen fathoms, and Sea Otter Cove has only five fathoms at its entrance and one to three fathoms inside.

² Captain Cook says (*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 308) this "armour" appeared to be skin of elk tanned; it covered them from the breast almost to the heels. It was not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but even spears could not pierce it. Hoskins speaks of "moose hide buff leathered which is one of their war garments." Fraser records in his journal under date July 1, 1808: "The Chief made me a present of a coat of mail to make shoes."

³ Captain Hanna had named St. Patrick's Bay in this vicinity. It is San Josef Bay on the maps of today. In it Hanna gives fifteen fathoms, but it is not a snug cove, being three miles in length and two miles in breadth at its entrance and open to all winds except from the north. There is no contemporary account to assist us here, for Hoskins's narrative ends with the departure from Clayoquot, and Haswell was at this time on the *Adventure*.

Natives so chearfull and oblidging, that we did not apprehend any danger in sending parties on shore after Wood and Water. however, they soon discover'd our Crew was diminish'd, and was very inquisitive for to know what had become of the rest of us. We thought prudent for to tell them that they was asleep below. I mistrust that the Indians did not beleive us, but probably supposed our Shipmates had been kill'd. At 10 In the evening, a number of large Canoes full of People, came into the Cove, they halted near some rocks about Pistol shot from the Ship, and there waited about ten minutes, during which time all hands was brought to arms upon deck in readiness to receive them. Soon after a large War Canoe, with above 25 *Indians*, paddled off for the Ship, We hail'd them, but they still persisted, and other Canoes was seen following, upon which Capt. Gray order'd us to fire, which we did so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the Canoe. She drifted along side, but we push'd her Clear, and she drove to the North side of the Cove, under the Shade of the trees. 'twas bright moon light and the woods *echoed* with the dying groans of these unfortunate Savages, We observ'd many Canoes passing and repassing the Cove at a small distance, in all probability they was after the poor dead Indians they soon after ceas'd groaning, and we neither see nor heard any thing of them after.¹

We always found these Natives very freindly but they soon discover'd how thin the Ships Company was now to what it was when we visited them before, and I beleive it is impossible to keep freinds with savages any longer than they [36] stand in fear of you. But I cannot think they had any intention of boarding the Ship but where after a small anchor, which they in the course of the day, see placed on some rocks (above water) for to steady the Ship, and when taken off at dusk, they had left the Ship, but still they was daring fellows

¹ On June 3, 1792, some of these Indians arrived at Nootka asking from Quadra assistance against a vessel which, said they, had attacked their village, killing seven, wounding others, and despoiling the rest of their sea-otter skins. They brought with them a wounded Indian to be treated by the Spanish doctor. The natives claimed that the Americans, being unable to agree upon the price of the furs, had used force to compel them to surrender their peltries. The account in the *Viaje* (24) proceeds as follows: "Segun se pado comprehender el buque era la Fragata Americana la Columbia, su Capitan Gray, a quien indicaban los Indios con la senal de que era tuerto; circunstancia que sabiamos recaia en dicho Capitan." In connection with the Indian account, Boit's entry for May 25 may be consulted; it will be observed that Boit believed "they was fearful we shou'd rob their village."

to think they cou'd steal the *anchor* of a moon light night within pistol shot of the Ship. Capt. Gray did not wish to fire upon them, for we cou'd easily have blown them to peices, while they was holding a conference abreast the rocks. they first stopt all by firing a *Cannon* or two among them, and the reason we suffer'd them to approach so near before firing was that we where in hopes they wou'd miss the *Anchor*, and then leave the Cove, for we wish'd much to keep freindly with these Indians, as this was the appointed *Rendezvous* for to meet the Sloop.

BOUND TO THE NORTHWARD

30. This day unmoor'd and left Columbia's Cove, bound to the Northward, having left a Board *nail'd* to a tree just back of the watering place with the following *inscription* (Ship Columbia arriv'd May 28th sail'd May 30th. BEWARE) that in case Capt. Haswell shou'd arrive before us, he might be on his guard.

June 1. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 7'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ} 30'$ Ampd. $21^{\circ} 20'$ E. Head wind at NW and squally weather. Ships Crew all well and hearty.

4. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 0'$ W. Long. $129^{\circ} 1'$. Some Canoes full of Indians came off from the Shore abreast the Ship, and many valuable skins was *purchas'd*. Iron seem'd most in demand. These fellows soon grew saucy, and threw a number of *stones* at our people, but as we did not wish (if possible) to avoid itt for to shoot the poor mistaken savages, we bore off to the Northward, keeping in sounding from 30 to 20 f[atho]m 2 miles of shore.

PINTARD'S STRAITS

5. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $129^{\circ} 30'$ Azi. $20^{\circ} 30'$ E. This day saw a large entrance in the land, between two points, above 4 leagues wide.¹ we haul'd in for the same and when between the points had no bottom with 30 f[atho]m. We directed our [course?] about $E\frac{1}{2}S$ and cou'd not see the Land to the East. the Ship went in exceeding fast with a strong tide in favour. Water was quite salt, which prov'd itt not to be a River. Observ'd many high Rocks and small Isles

¹ At its entrance Queen Charlotte Sound is twenty miles wide, though in its extent its average width is from ten to fifteen miles. It is very deep. There are only two places, Beaver Harbor and Port Alexander, where a vessel of any size can find good anchorage. The sound is only fifty miles long; the distances given in this part are much exaggerated.

scatter'd about in this famous [37] Straits, kept the Lead going, but got no bottom with 30 f[atho]m line, and saw no signs of Indians. towards dark stretch'd close in to the South Shore for anchorage, but found none. Kept working under short sail all night, making short *boards*. No ground in any direction with 120 f[atho]m line.

6. Azi. 20° 30' E. Bore away up sound, in pursuit of anchorage and Natives. At length, after advancing 15 leagues up sound, we came too, within stone's throw of the beach, in 20 f[atho]m water, sandy bottom, upon the South shore.

7. I went on shore abreast the Ship with two *boats* after wood. took the Carpenter with me for to cut a Mizen topmast. We had not been long at work in the Woods before above 200 *Indians* of a sudden rush'd out upon us. the carpenter being some way from the rest of the party, got nearly surrounded, and was oblig'd to fly, leaving his Broad Axe behind. I immediately rallied my people together, and retreated slowly, at the same time fir'd a few *Musketts* over their heads which kept them in Check. at length they advanced so near as to throw their Spears. We then discharg'd our *Musketts* and kill'd several. However they still persisted, and I beleive if we had not got to the beach (clear from the Woods) that we shou'd have been overpow'd. They heard the reports of the *Musketts* on board, but never dreamt that we [were] attack'd by Indians, as none had been seen before. Immediately as we made our appearance the Ship cover'd us with the Cannon and the Grape and round shot, must have done considerable damage to our pursuers, as they fell just into the brink of the wood, where the thickest of the Indians was. This soon dispers'd them, and we got all safe on board. Some of these fellows afterwards came down abreast the Ship and brandished their Weapons at us, biding defiance. [38]

8. N. Latt. 51° 30' W. Long. 129° 30' or *thereabouts*. Got under way, bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came too in 17 fathom close to the shore.¹ a few canoes with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language.

¹ This may be Beaver Harbor, though it is strange that he does not mention the islands that protect it. From this vicinity there is an Indian trail some eight miles in length which leads to Quatsino Sound, which may have been mistaken for a trail to Nootka Sound. As the crow flies, the distance to Nootka Sound is about eighty miles. The mountain referred to is, likely, Mount Karmutzen; but this is not visible from Nootka.

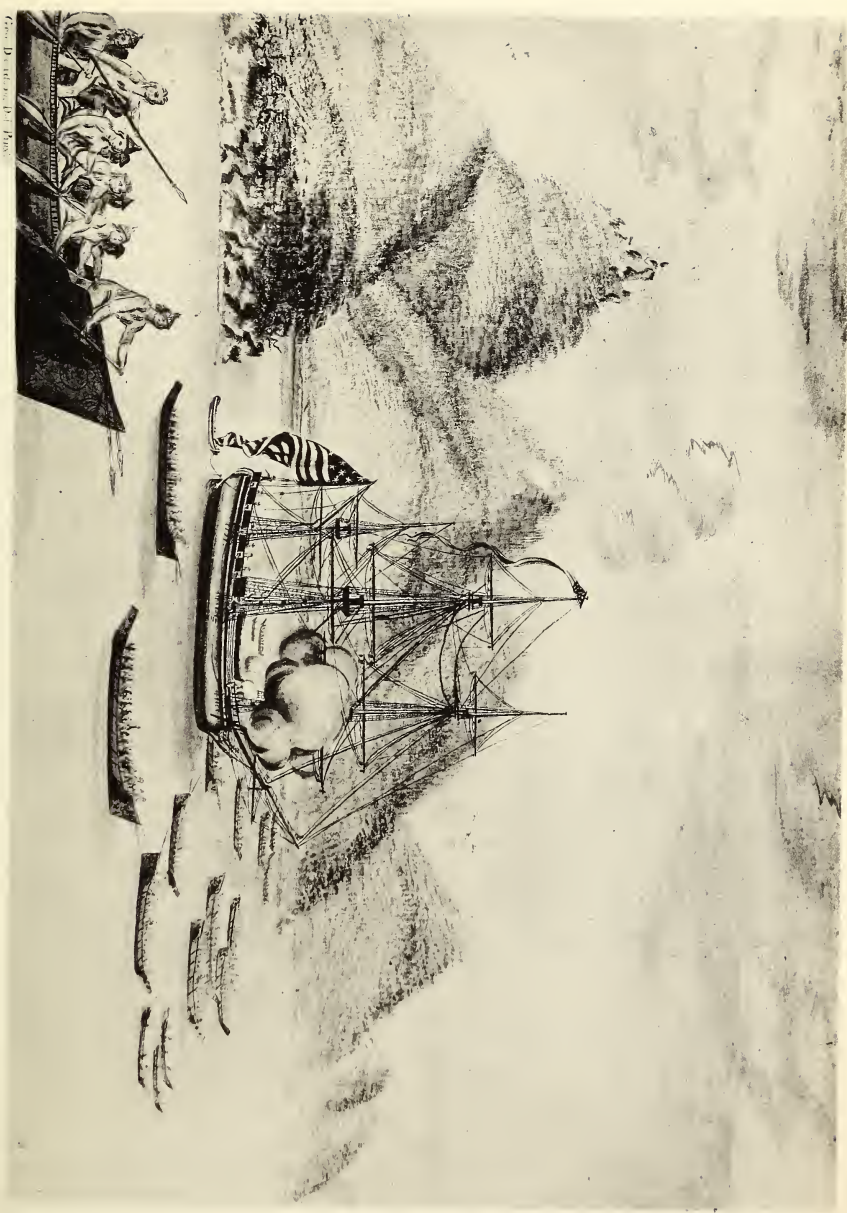
they inform'd us that in two days through the *woods* they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed the Ship was at Anchor near to a Mountain which is plainly in view at Freindly Cove (Nootka Sound).

9. Many canoes of this day, and plenty of fine Otter Skins was purchas'd. About Noon 20 large War Canoes hove in sight, with above 30 Men in each, and we soon discern'd with our Glasses that they was all arm'd with Spears and *Arrows*. the freindly Indians that was trading along side told us these people had come to fight, and belong'd to the tribe we had fir'd att two days before, when attack'd upon the beach. Capt. Gray thought itt not safe to admit them along side at once, and therefore order'd them, when within hail, for to keep off, and not but one Canoe come along side at a time. they obey'd the command, and one canoe with 42 men came alongside, but had only a skin or two. We soon discover'd that the main body of Canoes was paddling towards us singing a War Song. We fir'd a Cannon and some Musketts over their heads. At this they mov'd off about 100 yds. and again halted. A small canoe, with a Cheif, (paddled by two *Indians*) kept constantly plying between the Ship and the main body of the Canoes, counting our men and talking earnestly to the *Natives* along side, encouraging them to begin the attack. he was suffer'd to proceed in this manner some time, when Capt. Gray told him to come near the Ship no more, but he still persisted, and was shot dead for his temerity. Also the Cheif Warrior of the Canoe along side was shot for throwing his spear into the Ship. They then made a precipitate retreat, and the trading Indians, who had kept at a small distance, viewing the transactions, again recommenced their trade with us. They inform'd us these Indians, who meant to attack us, was of another tribe with them. [39] Canoes with Indians came along side, and traded away their Otter Skins, but not without Manifest signs of fear.

12. The Natives kept bringing furs, which we purchas'd for Copper and Cloth. (*Iron*) very dull sale.

FROM PINTARD'S STRAITS TO COLUMBIA'S COVE

13. Weigh'd and came to sail, standing down straits saw a number of fishing Canoes at a distance but none came near. towards eve-



Geo. D. Williams, P. M.

THE COLUMBIA ATTACKED BY INDIANS

ning came too in 16 f[atho]m at our former *anchorage*. see no Indians.

14. Fair wind and pleasant weigh'd and stood down straits, and at 9 In the evening got clear out bound to Columbia's Cove, our place of Rendezvous. Shou'd these straits join with Juan da Fuca, which perhaps it does, it must make the whole Coast between the Latitudes of $48^{\circ}15'$ and $51^{\circ}30'$ North and Longitudes $120^{\circ}57'$ and $129^{\circ}30'$ W. a vast Archipalago of Islands.¹ We named the part we had entred *Pintards*, after one of the owners, and I've no doubt we are the first *discoverers*.² It is certainly the most dangerous navigation we have experienced being full of Ledges, small Isles, no soundings and excessive strong tides. But I think it affords the most Sea Otter skins. We procured upwards of 300 hundred during our stay, and We sail'd up this straits more than 100 miles, and cou'd see no end.³ At our last anchorage, or rather the highest up the shore seem'd to trend about ESE.

15. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}17'$ Ampd. $21^{\circ}14'$ E. Head wind beating too and fro, making slow progress. The entrance of Pintards straits bore East 3 or 4 leagues 70 f[atho]m water.

17. N. Latt. $50^{\circ}6'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ}12'$ ☉ ☾ Fresh breezes. This day spoke the Sloop Adventure, Capt. Haswell sent our boat and Capt. Haswell came on board the Ship. bore of the Cove. 'tis remarkable that we both meet within 12 leagues of our rendezvous bound in. The cheif of the Sloops cruize had been about the Charlotte Isles, and had collected about 500 *Skins*, all prime. On the 24th of April Capt. Haswell fell in with the Ship Margaret of Boston,⁴

¹ This idea is not original with Boit. It was in the air at that time. In Meares's *Voyages*, prefixed to his account of his voyages in 1788 and 1789, is a map in which is shown the celebrated, and now proved to have been imaginary, track of the *Washington*, entering at the Strait of Juan de Fuca and emerging at the Queen Charlotte Islands.

² Queen Charlotte Sound was discovered in 1786 by the *Experiment*, under the command of Wedgborough (Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 308), though there may be doubt as to the exact person then actually in command. James Hanna, in the snow *Sea Otter*, was also in this sound in the summer of 1786. Duncan, in August, 1788, spent some time at its western entrance. Funter, in the *North West America*, was there in 1789; see his map of Raft Cove in Meares's *Voyages* (326), which appears to be the present Goletas Channel and Shushartie Bay.

³ This is an exaggeration: the sound is only fifty miles long. Boit's statement that the shore at the end of their examination trended ESE would indicate that they were following the Vancouver Island shore and at this point were looking down Johnstone Strait.

⁴ The *Adventure*, under Haswell, met this ship at Barrell's Sound (Houston Stewart Channel) on May 7.

James Magee Master, they was on the same business as ourselves. [40]

At 5 PM past Woody point, and at 7 anchored in Company with the Sloop, in Columbia's Cove.¹ A few Natives ventured along side after much coaxing. (found the Inscription at the wating place unmolested.) took the Skins from (*Sloop*) on board ship, sent parties on shore well arm'd after wood and water, purchas'd some furs.

20. Haul'd the Sloop on shore, and graved her. Capt. Haswell says she is an excellent sea boat, and sails very well.² the Indians among whom we traded never offer'd insult.

21. Got the Sloop off the *ways*, and fited her for another Cruize.

24. Weigh'd and sail'd from the Cove, in Company with the *Adventure* bound to Queen Charlotte Isles.

25. N. Latt. $50^{\circ}37'$ W. Long. $129^{\circ}55'$. Fair wind and moderate breezes. Sloop in company. The coast about 8 leagues distance.

28. N. Latt. $52^{\circ}18'$ W. Long. $129^{\circ}15'$. Fresh winds, all sail out runing along shore, about 3 leagues dis[tant], with smooth sea. Sloop about 2 miles a head. At 2 PM The Ship struck a Rock,³ which lay about 7 feet under water and did not break. hove all aback, and she came off clear. try'd the pump, and found she leaked 1000 smart strokes per Hour. sounded along the Rock, and found no ground at 70 f[atho]m. hoisted a signal for the Sloop, and she immediately haul'd her wind for us. Stood off, both Pumps just keeps the leak under. in the morning bore off to the Northward.

29. N. Latt. $53^{\circ}1'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ}41'$. Came on a hard gale of wind, and although we kept firing Cannon through the night the Sloop parted from us, as 'twas very thick in the morning. The leaks

¹ This entry shows that Columbia's Cove was very close to Woody Point (Cape Cook). In rounding that point, owing to the rocks which extend from it, the ship would probably give it a berth of at least two miles; and within two hours she is at anchor.

² Hoskins, writing to Barrell on September 28, 1792, makes a different statement. He says "she sails very dull"; but Haswell states twice in his second journal that she outsailed the *Columbia*.

³ Vancouver (*Voyage of Discovery*, iv. 287) says that Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, struck and received some material damage upon a sunken rock, which he represented as lying much farther than a league from Cape St. James in an almost southeast direction. But the latitude and longitude given by both Haswell and Boit place it very much farther east. Haswell, indeed, says it was abreast of the south entrance of Loblip Sound, which may be Milbanke Sound or Laredo Sound.

rather increas'd, and our feelings was not the most agreeable on the occasion.¹

OFF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES (SOUTH PART)

30. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}27'$ W. Long. $131^{\circ}10'$. This day see the Queen Charlotte Isles, stood in pretty close to the South p[oin]t and fother'd the Ship with a topsail which we had previously prepared for that purpose. this fortunately for us stop'd the leak one half.

July 1. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}48'$. Close in off the South p[oin]t of Queen Charlotte Isles from which lay many detach'd rocks We pass'd the p[oin]t within two or three miles and left many breakers without us in the Offing. we wish to get into Barrells sound. [41]

2. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}49'$ W. Long. $130^{\circ}30'$. Saw the entrance of Barrells sound, bear[in]g NW, the wind direct in our teeth. Employ'd turning to windwards, with all the Elements against us. Crew all in brave health.

3. Employ'd beating to windward through the night, in the morning spoke the Ship Margaret, James Magee, Master. Capt. Gray went on board the Margaret and found Capt. Magee very sick.² This Ship stopt a few days at the Cape De Verds, and made her passage in 6 months, they had not been very fortunate in trade. bore away to the Southward, in Company with Capt. Magee. bound to Columbia's Cove for the purpose of examining the Columbia's bottom. fair Wind at NW.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

5. N. Latt. $50^{\circ}6'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ}0'$. This day came too in Columbia's Cove in company with the Margaret. Sevrall Canoes came along side, and the Natives appear'd quite chearfull.

6. Hoisted all our Cannon in the longboats of both Ships. made a raft of our spare spars on which we put every thing possible that wou'd not damage. Struck yards and topmasts. So ends.

¹ For Haswell's version, see his entries for June 29 and August 21, 1792. See also Hoskins' letter to Barrell, August 21, 1792, below.

² The *Margaret* was owned by the same people as the *Hope*. Ingraham met her about a month later near Nootka Sound when Mr. Lamb, the chief officer, came aboard to report to him that Captain Magee was very ill. Later Ingraham states that Captain Magee was so ill that it was agreed that he should return to China in the *Hope* as a passenger.

7. Took up the Anchor, and haul'd the Ship on shore on a fine beach at high tide. when the tide ebb'd, 'twas discover'd that the Ship's Keel was split, and the lower part of the Stem was entirely gone. within 2 inches of the Wood ends a great deal of Sheathing was off, and three of the plank next to Garboard Streak was stove on the larboard side. The Carpenters went to work, and put in new peices of plank but it was found impracticable to pretend to repair the bows without heaving down, or some such method, and this cou'd not be done in our present situation Nootka Sound, where we knew there was a Spanish settlement, Capt. Gray tho't the most proper place, and we all concur'd in the opinion.¹

8. haul'd the Ship off, and soon got redly to leave the Cove. [42]

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

10. N. Latt. $50^{\circ}6'$ W. Long. $128^{\circ}0'$. This day weigh'd and again Left the Cove, in Company with the Margaret,² standing towards Nootka, but overshot itt in the Night, which is a misfortune.

11. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}9'$ W. Long. $125^{\circ}26'$. Abrest Clioquot harbour, and as it's in vain to beat to Nootka with a strong breeze a head, we bore up, and towards evening, in company with the Margaret, anchor'd in Clioquot harbor. the Natives were at first shy, but we prevail'd on some of them to come on board.

12. Capt. Gray, having met with *Wickananish* on board the Margaret, prevail'd on him to visit the Columbia, but he did not appear happy. However twas the means of geting more *Skins* than we otherways should have done. Employ'd wooding and watering (abrest the Ship) and under cover of her Guns.

15. This day arriv'd in the Harbour the English Brig Venus,³ Henry Sheppard Master 6 months from Bengall in *India*. I went off to him in the offing, and piloted his Brig to the harbour. he in-

¹ Hoskins' letter to Barrell, August 21, 1792, shows that the owners' orders very positively forbade the ship's entering a Spanish port except in case of distress.

² Ingraham states that this vessel carried a Mr. Howel, who was charged with the duty of writing an account of the voyage. So far as is known, this record is not extant at the present time.

³ A brig of one hundred and ten tons commanded by a Captain Shepherd. Finding the price of furs too high on the seacoast, she sailed from Nootka to try the trade in Queen Charlotte Sound, and, much to Vancouver's surprise, was met by him near Calvert Island on August 17, 1792. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 319-320.

form'd us that at a small harbour In De fuca straits where he was at anchor a few days since, there was a Spanish settlement, where lay a Spanish 64, the master of which while amusing himself in shooting back in the woods, was kill'd by the Indians, in consequence of which the Spaniards seized a canoe full of Natives and massacred them all (in *cool blood*) not even sparing Children. Shocking to relate!¹

17. Weigh'd with a fair wind, and left Clioquot bound to Nootka sound to repair the Ship under the protection of the Spaniards. Left the Ship and Brig behind the wind soon came a head, and we began turning to windward, without making much progress. however we shall reach itt by perseverance. [43]

19. N. Latt. 49° 0' W. Long. 125° 0'. Bad weather and the wind direct ahead. this day stood in and anchor'd in Clioquot harbour, found the Ship made a poor hand beating to the windward, without a Stem. found the Brig Venus here, but Capt. Magee had sail'd.² No canoes off.

20. Wind favourable, weather more settled. Weigh'd at Daylight, in company with the Venus and stood to sea. Wind soon haul'd in its old quarter. employ'd beating to windward towards Nootka Sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 17' W. Long. 126° 0'. Wind still at WNW, and fair weather. Saw Breakers point NW 4 leagues. making short hanks.

22. Weather'd away Breakers point and stood towards Nootka Sound. observ'd the Spanish Colours flying at the Entrance of Freindly Cove, but the tide swept us so strong towards some breakers on the East shore, and the wind being light oblidg'd us to Anchor in 16 f[atho]m rocky bottom. Hoisted our Ensign in a Wiff and fired a Gun for assistance which was answered by the *Spaniards* Soon after see sevrall Boats rowing towards us. quite calm.

23. The Boats got along side. they was sent by the Spanish Admirall to our assistance (except one, from an English *Store Ship*,³

¹ The atrocities were not always on the Indians' side. Ingraham gives much the same account; he says the Spaniards killed eight of the natives on this occasion. See "New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vi. 57.

² For Nootka, as appears later.

³ The *Daedalus* of Vancouver's squadron, commanded by Captain New, whom Ingraham describes as "a very clever old gentleman."

under charge of Mr. *Neal*, the 1st Officer). This *Ship* was sent out by the British Government, with Stores for Capt. *Vancouver*, who had not yet arriv'd at the Sound. The Spanish boats was under the Charge of a Pilot, who had order to Get the Ship to the Cove and lend every assistance.

AT ANCHOR IN NOOTKA SOUND

24. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ} 30'$. Light breeze from the Southd. and Eastd. Weigh'd and came to sail, our Conduct of the Spanish Pilot, who well knew his business, and was perfectly acquainted with the soundings and tides. Upon passing the Spanish fort,¹ at the Entrance of the Cove we saluted with 7 Guns, which was return'd. Towards evening came too, in Freindly Cove (Nootka sound), found riding here the Store Ship, a Spanish Sloop of War, and the Brig *Venus*. The Spaniards treated us nobly, and offer'd freely evry assistance in their power. We lay in this place till the 23d August. Shall give the *Minutes* of our transactions [44] during that period.

25. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ} 30'$. Dischar[g]'d the Ship's Cargo and Stores, and stored them in a house on shore which the Spaniards had lent us for that purpose. Strip'd the Ship to a Girtline, and got the riging all on shore to repair. The Spanish governor seem'd highly pleas'd with the dispatch that took place, indeed ev'ry Man in the *Columbia* was anxious to get the Ship in readiness to pursue her Voyage, well knowing that the time drew nigh when we shou'd again be sailing towards our freinds in America, and our sweet anticipation of the Joys that await us there made us use ev'ry effort. This Spanish settlement at *Nootka*, contained about 50 Houses² indifferently built (*except* the Governors, which was rather *grand* than otherways). there was about 200 Inhabitants, Consist-

¹ This fort was on Hog Island, but it was not the one which had been erected by Martinez in 1789. That fort had been dismantled when the settlement returned to Mexico in the fall of 1789. This was a new one erected on the same site by Elisa in 1790. It is described in the entry of the following day as a poor affair, barely sufficient to carry the weight of the guns.

² This seems exaggerated. Ingraham's statement, "the village consists of 16 houses," corresponds reasonably closely with the pictures still extant. Furthermore, it agrees fairly well with the diagram of that most interesting village which is appended to Elisa's map of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. A copy of this map will be found numbered "K" in the *Berlin Arbitration Papers* (Washington, 1872).

ing of Spaniards and Peru Indians, but no females. their fort was no great thing, mounted with 6 Twenty four and Thirty six pounders. the platforms would not bear the weight of metal. There was two Botanists resided with the Governor.¹ Capt. Gray took up his lodgings at the governors request at his house.

29. Don Van Francisco De La Vondego,² which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was *solid silver*, was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. the Dishes, Knifes and forks, and indeed evry thing else, was of Silver³ and always replaced with spare ones. There could be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined (as *I thought*, on purpose to let us see the quantity of plate used by Spaniards in South America).

31. This day Got all ready to heave down by the Spanish Sloop of war, the Governor having granted us his permission.

August 1. Haul'd along side the Spanish Ship,⁴ fix'd our purchases too her, and soon had the Columbia Keel out. But was oblidg'd to right her again, as she made too much water, her upper works being quite weak, Capt. Gray determin'd to give over the Idea of heaving her out, and accordingly gave orders to prepare to lay her ashore on blocks. [45]

¹ This is the only reference to the presence of botanists in this unique settlement. Much research is still necessary before any adequate conception of the Spanish village at Nootka Sound can be obtained, or any knowledge gathered of the incidents in its short existence (1790-1795). In the "New Vancouver Journal" (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 306), it is noted that the *Aranzazu*, on her return to Nootka in September, 1792, "had a Botanist on board her."

² Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, one of the most interesting figures in the Spanish régime on this coast. His entrance into our history is gripping. No reader can forget his courageous voyage in the little *Sonora* in 1775. He was a fit representative of the courtly Spaniard; and while he was commandant at Nootka all visitors, of every nationality and of every kind of vessel, united in bearing testimony to his constant courtesy and unflinching kindness.

³ Ingraham records that when he dined with Governor Quadra a few days later, he had an excellent dinner, and everything was served on silver. He adds that it was Quadra's custom to invite to dinner all commanders of vessels, regardless of rank or nationality. Even when Vancouver and Quadra visited Maquinna at Tasis, the Spaniard took care to have the dinner served on plate. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 354; *Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 304.

⁴ Of necessity this must be the *Activa*, for the *Aranzazu*, under Caamaño, was then engaged on the survey of the Queen Charlotte Islands and vicinity, while the *Princesa* lay at anchor guarding Fidalgo and his men at Neeah Bay.

2. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 30'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ} 30'$. This day haul'd the Ship upon the beach at high water, and placed a long round log *along* her keel fore and aft, endeavouring to trip her over itt but the Bottom being so *flat*, she wou'd [not] turn, keel out. Other logs was laid and moor'd with *Cannon* on the Beach, with an intention of laying the Ship's *Fore foot* on them, which we accordingly did at high water, the logs laying as far aft as the fore *Chains*. this method answered our most sanguine *expectations*. at low water, or half ebb, the ship's bows lay'd four feet above the beach. in this situation we scuttled her Aft, so as to keep her steady in her birth, at high water. In three days, by the assistance of the Spanish and English Carpenters, a New Stem and part of the Cutwater was put to the Ship. Stopt the Scuttle, grav'd the Ship and Haul'd off to our Moorings.

8. The Spaniards view'd us with astonishment, and the Governor obser[v]'d that he beleived we cou'd build a ship in a month.

9. The Brig Hope, Joseph Ingrahim, arriv'd here, on the 1st from Canton,¹ and sail'd this day on a *Cruise*.

10. On the 10th arrived here the ship Buttersworth,² from London, Wm. Brown Commander, Ship Margaret, James Magee, and Brig Hope, Joseph Ingrahim.

11. And on the 11th arriv'd The Sloop Prince La Boo,³ Capt. Gordon from London. these Vessells where all in the fur trade. the Laboo was a tender to the Buttersworth.

¹ The *Hope* left Macao on April 1, 1792, and arrived at Cox Strait (Parry Passage), Queen Charlotte Islands, on July 2. She had spent the interval in cruising and trading around those islands.

² The ship *Butterworth* had been a French frigate of thirty guns. Under Captain William Brown she was on the coast in 1792-1793 as the "mother ship," having as tenders the *Prince Lee Boo* and the *Jackal*. At Clayoquot, a few days before this arrival at Nootka, she had an encounter with the natives, in which one seaman was killed and two severely wounded. Captain Brown represented it as an unprovoked attack upon his boats. Ingraham, however, learned from the *Margaret* a totally different version in which the seamen were said to have robbed and attempted to rob the Indians of their furs, and in the resultant struggle and retaliation the losses occurred. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. 26. This expedition was quite unsuccessful in obtaining furs during the season of 1792. *Ibid.*, VI. 58. At the end of the following season the *Butterworth* was dispatched to England with instructions to engage in whaling and sealing in the South Seas and at Staten Land, where her commander had formed a temporary establishment. Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, v. 354.

³ The small sloop *Prince Lee Boo*, named after a young chief who had been taken to England by Captain Wilson. This vessel was on the coast in 1792, 1793, and 1794 as one of the vessels of the *Butterworth* squadron. At the end of the season of 1793, she, in company with the *Jackal*, sailed to China, returning again in June, 1794. *Ibid.*, 354-355.

16. The Ship Margarett put to sea, under charge of Mr. Lamb, 1st Officer, Capt. Magee residing with the Spanish governor for the benefit of his health.¹

22. This Day the Columbia was ready for sea, and in fine order. have painted her complete.

23. Arriv'd the English brig Three B's,² Lieutenant Alder, Commander, from London on a trading Voyage.

BOUND TO CHARLOTTE ISLES

24. Weigh'd and Came to sail, bound for Queen Charlotte Isles, Barrells sound, those Isles being the appointed rendezvous, for to meet the Adventure, Capt. Haswell. It is but doing Justice to the Spaniards at Nootka Sound to observe that during our tarry among them we was treated with the greatest hospitality, and in fact they seem'd to exert themselves and to feel interested in our behalf. May such fine fellows Never be in want of the like assistance shou'd they ever stand in need of itt from the hands of any American. The Governor wou'd Not allow Capt. Gray for to pay one farthing. [46]

25. N. Latt. $49^{\circ}30'$ W. Long. $126^{\circ}30'$. Nootka sound is as remarkable a place to know from seaward as any I know off. At most times *Tashee* peak³ (a mountain) in the form of a sugar loaf can be seen, and there is none other that at all resembles itt, on this part of the Coast. A long low point, with high Breakers off itt, makes the SE part of the Bay.⁴ The Western entrance of the sound runs down to a low point, with a small round Hill, just back of Freindly cove.

28. N. Latt. $51^{\circ}45'$ W. Long. $130^{\circ}30'$. This day made the SE part of the group of Charlotte Isles. A thick fog⁵ came on so that

¹ According to the "New Vancouver Journal" (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 224), Captain Magee was utilizing his sick leave in selling intoxicating liquor.

² The full name was *Three Brothers*, though the *Viaje* refers to her as "El Bergantin Ingles Tresbes." This vessel was one of the few British ships that utterly ignored the monopoly of the South Sea Company. Soon after her arrival, following Meares's and the Americans' custom, she set up the frame of a small sloop at Nootka. For further information, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 301; vi. 59, 85.

³ Conuma Peak, a remarkable steeple-shaped mountain, 4,889 feet high, twenty miles from the entrance. It is a most conspicuous feature.

⁴ Escalante Point, low and rocky, marks the eastern entrance of Nootka Sound. The name is by association with Escalante Reef. It signifies in Spanish "climbing" or "scaling."

⁵ All navigators, from the time of Juan Perez in 1774, complain of the thick fogs of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

we cou'd not reach the sound. Employ'd beating off and on, waiting for fair weather.

30. This day the weather Clear'd and the Sloop Adventure hove in sight standing for Barr[e]l sound. This is the second time we have met off the place of *Rendezvous*, Saluted each other with 7 Guns. found Capt. Haswell and Crew all well, and had made a successful *cruise*. We stood into Port Mongommery, a small harbour to the Northd. of *Barrells* Sound, which the Adventure had *visited* before, and her Captain named itt after our famous American Generall, who fell before Quebec while gloriously fighting in the defence of our liberties. *Graved* the Sloop in this place, and otherways put her in fine order to attract the eyes of the *Spaniards* at *Nootka*, as Capt. Gray meant to sell her to *them* if possible. Cut some spare spars at this place, and wooded and waterd the Ship for her passage to Canton. Many Natives visited us, and brought plenty of fish but few furs. Took out the *Skins* from the Sloop¹ and stow'd them away on board the Ship.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

September 13. Weigh'd and stood to sea in co[mpany] with the Adventure, bound to Nootka sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 30' W. Long. 126° 30'. Abrest the Entrance of the Sound, a Spanish Brig in sight to leeward, which hove too and fir'd a Gun. We immediately bore off for her. She was the *Acteva* of 14 Guns, with the Spanish Governor of Nootka² on board, bound to *Peru*. he told Capt. Gray that he wou'd wait 10 Days at a small *Spanish* settlement in Juan De Fuca straits, where he was then going for to leave some orders previous to his leaving the Coast He appear'd anxious to have the Sloop and Haswell was not backward in displaying her to the best advantage. towards evening we anchor'd in Freindly Cove having saluted the Spanish governor with 13 Guns when we parted. found riding in the Cove His Majesty's Ships Discovery and Chatham,³ The Dedalus, Store Ship, Capt. [Thomas]

¹ Cf. Haswell's entry, September 12, 1792.

² Quadra was returning, not to Peru, but to San Blas in Mexico.

³ Vancouver's vessels, which had arrived in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, August 28, 1792, after circumnavigating Vancouver Island.

New, [47] Ship Margaret,¹ of Boston, Capt. Magee, English Brig *Fens*,² Capt. Diffin, English Sloop Jackhall,³ Capt. Steward, and a Spanish Line of Battle Ship of 74 Guns. Spanish Colours still flying at the fort, The Governor having refused to give up the Sound to Capt. *Vancouver* who was authoriz'd by his Government for to take possession of itt. However the Spaniards told *Vancouver* that he might have that particular place where Capt. *Mears* made his small settlement and built a Sloop, which was very inconsiderable. Capt. *Vancouver* insisted upon having the whole or none, However they both agreed to let the business remain (in statu quo) to remain freinds, and write home to their respective Courts on the subject of dispute.

JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

22. Weighed in Co[mpany] with the Sloop, and left Nootka bound to Port Ne-ar⁴ in Juan de Fuca straits. fair wind and pleasant weather.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9' W. Long. 125° 26' ☉ ☾. Close in with Cliaquot harbour. In the morning saw two Sail in the NW. At Meridian Tatooch's Isle on the SE entrance of the Straits bore E½S 8 or 9 leagues.

24. N. Latt. 48° 30' W. Long. 123° 45'. Spoke the Spanish Brig *Acteva*, with the Governor on board. They was much surpriz'd at our being in the Straits as soon as they was. At dark the Spanish Brig hove too under her tops[ai]ls we kept plying all night for our

¹ This ship had just reached Nootka, arriving on September 19, 1792. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI. 54.

² The *Fenis and St. Joseph*. Vancouver says (*Voyage of Discovery*, II. 367) she was a Portuguese brig, commanded by John de Barros Andrede, with Mr. Duffin as supercargo. See also *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI. 50, to same effect. Perhaps Duffin, who had been with Meares in the *Felice*, may have taken his cue from his former employer. Duffin on this occasion gave Vancouver a written account of the seizures of 1789. The gist of the letter will be found in Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 370ff.; the complete text is in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, VI. 52ff. She had arrived on September 15, 1792.

³ The *Jackal* of the *Butterworth* squadron. Vancouver calls her a schooner, but all others speak of her as a sloop. Ingraham had met her near the southern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands on July 17, 1792, and had at first thought her to be the *Adventure*. But she showed British colors, and on her nearer approach he saw that she had a tier of ports fore and aft, the greatest part of which were "false or only painted, yet they made a good appearance at a distance that for some time we concluded she was a Kings Cutter or tender to some of the men of war on the coast."

⁴ Neeah Bay.

Port, and in the Morning got safe to anchor in Co[mpany] with the Sloop Adventure. Found riding here the Spanish Ship *Princessa* of 64 Guns, and Brig Hope, Capt. Ingrahim. this was a small, good harbour¹ situate about 5 leagues from Cape Flattery within the straits of De fuca. the Spaniards had erected a Cross upon the beach, and had about 10 Houses and sevrall good *Gardens*.² Sevrall Natives along side, and a few prime Skins was purchas'd (*with plenty of fine Halibut*). I went with the Pinnacle to the Assistance of the Acteva, she having been oblidg'd to anchor near Cape Flattery, in a dangerous situation when I came on board, instead of using evry effort to get clear of the threatning Danger, they was performing Mass. However soon got under way and stood for Port Ne-ar.³ [48]

25. N. Latt. 48° 35' W. Long. 123° 30'. The Acteva anchor'd in Company. saluted the Governor with 13 Guns, which was return'd. Employ'd filling up our Water and geting ready for our passage across the Pacific Ocean.

26. Spanish Officers from both ships, together with Capt. Ingraham, dined on board the Columbia. Fired, on their coming and Going away, two Foederall salutes.

27. Sail'd the *Princessa* for Nootka sound.⁴ Ships crew are all in prime health. Natives constantly visit us, but they do not like the Spaniards.

28. This day sold the Sloop Adventure to the Spanish Governor for 72 Prime Sea Otter Skins worth 55 Dollars each in Canton

¹ Ingraham had a contrary opinion. In his journal, under date September 28, 1792, he writes: "It is 5 points of the compass open to the sea from WNW to N b W so that it is almost as bad as being in the centre of the straights and I much wonder how the *Princessa* road out 7 months in safety in such a place especially as the bottom is very rocky in forming a new settlement I should suppose a good Harbour was the first and most materiall thing to be sought for."

² Ingraham describes it thus: "The settlement consisted only of a few Huts and a tollerable good garden."

³ Ingraham states that when he and Hoskins visited Quadra, the latter was much vexed that the Americans had not sent their boats to his assistance on the preceding evening. Satisfactory explanations were made, however, and, with the assistance of the Americans, the *Activa* was towed into safe anchorage. He expresses in his journal great sorrow that anything having even the semblance of inattention or neglect to one who had been so kind to them should have happened.

⁴ The Spaniards were now, on instructions from Quadra, abandoning Nuñez Gaona, as they called the settlement at Neeah Bay. It had only been established in the preceding March. Fidalgo, who was its commandant, was sailing to Nootka to take over the command at that place, superseding Caamaño, who had been left in charge.

which is equall too 4960\$, which at 50 per Cent advance home is 7440 Spanish Piasters, a good price. He wanted her as a present to the Viceroy of *Mexico*. before delivery we took out all her provisions and stores, with a New Cable and Anchor.

29. Sail'd this day the Brig Acteva and Sloop Adventure, under Spanish Colours, bound to *Acapulco*. we saluted on their departure with 9 Guns which was return'd.

30. Weigh'd and sail'd from Port Néar, bound across the Straits for a Cove call'd by us *Poverty*. same evening anchor'd in 7 fathom. found this harbour much snuger for our business. The Indians brought a few Skins and plenty of fish and some train oil which last article we much wanted.

October 1. Employ'd wooding and watering and geting the Ship in order. Cut many spare spars.

3. Weigh'd for the last time on the NW Coast, and Left Poverty Cove bound for Canton in China via Sandwich Islands. Our feelings on this occasion are easier *felt* than described. Our freinds at Home and ev'ry endearing *Idea* rush'd so full upon us and made us so happy, that 'twas impossible, for a while to get the Ship in readiness for bad weather and full allowance of Grog being serv'd on the occasion, made our worthy Tars join in the *generall* Mirth—and so we go. [49]

N. Latt. $48^{\circ}25'$ W. Long. $123^{\circ}30'$. At noon Cape Flattery bore East 7 leagues. Steering SW, Wind NE. Soon lost sight of the Mountains of North *America*. . . .

28. N. Latt. $20^{\circ}5'$ W. Long. $154^{\circ}52'$ * C. Spoke the Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffan,¹ bound to Canton. The first lieutenant of the *Discovery*, Capt. *Vancouver*, was a passenger on board this Vessell, bound home with dispatches for Goverment.

SANDWICH ISLES. PACIFIC OCEAN

29. N. Latt. $20^{\circ}14'$ W. Long. $154^{\circ}20'$. Made the Isle of Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Isles where the famous Circumnavigator,

¹ The ostensible commander was a Portuguese, John de Barros Andrede, Duffin being but supercargo. Further investigation may show that, like Meares's vessels, she was merely masquerading under the Portuguese flag. The passenger referred to was Lieutenant Mudge of the *Discovery*, who was carrying to England an account of the abortive negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra. See Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, II. 377–378, and page 357, note 1.

Capt. James Cook was kill'd by the Natives. Standing towards the Isles, it having been seen at 15 leagues distant.

30. Hove too, for some Canoes and purchased 11 Hogs from the Natives and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro etc. These Canoes was very neatly made, but quite narrow. the Outriggers kept them steady, or else I think they wou'd too easily upsett in the Sea. The Men where fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They where all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the Middle Not many of the Columbia's Crew prov'd to be *Josephs*. run along very near the Isles and hove too off Karakakoa Bay. Some double Canoes came along side, These was suspended apart by large rafters well supported. the Masts where rig'd between the Canoes, and they carried their mat sails a long time, sailing very fast. the Shore was lined with people. [50]

31. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 14'$ W. Long. $154^{\circ} 50'$. Stood round the Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay,¹ and hove too. Vast many canoes sailing in Co[mpany] with us. The Shore made a delightfull appearance, and appeared in the highest state of Cultivation. Many Canoes along side containing beautiful *Women* Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance, great quantities of Water and Musk *Mellons*, Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes, smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzell, and fruit cheaper still.

November 1. This day, having on board 93 Hogs and great quantities of Fruits and Vegetables, we bore away from this enchanting Island bound to *Onehow*,² after more Yams and to put a Native on shore, which the Capt[ain] had taken from that Isle on his former voyage. pass'd the Isles of Tahousa,³ Rainai,⁴ *Mower*,⁵ and Whahow,⁶ left them to the Northd. of us.

2. N. Latt. $21^{\circ} 59'$ W. Long. $160^{\circ} 0'$. Pass'd Atooi, and steer'd for Yam bay in Onehow. In the morning was well into the bay. Vast many canoes off, in one of which was the Father and other relations of our Sandwich Island Lad. they came on board and the meeting was very affectionate, but still our Lad refused to go on shore and

¹ Kawaihae Bay.

² Niihau.

³ Kahoolawe.

⁴ Lanai.

⁵ Maui.

⁶ Oahu.

Capt. Gray did not think proper for to force him. However made his freinds many presents. purchas'd some Hogs here and great quantities of Cocoa Nuts, with a good lot of Nice line for rising, etc.

3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautifull Isles, The Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearfull that you cou'd not help feeling preposses'd in their favour.¹ [51]

4. N. Latt. $19^{\circ}56'$ W. Long. $163^{\circ}58'$. Pleasent NE trade winds, with smooth sea. Crew all in health. Kill'd and salted 17 large Hogs. We followed Capt. Cook's plan² by taking out the Bones, and laying the Meat (after salting) between two Hatches with a heavy W[eigh]t on them through the Night and in the morning early after a good examination, pack'd it away in Barrells, using strong pickle this method answered ev'ry purpose.

13. N. Latt. $15^{\circ}49'$ W. Long. $185^{\circ}25'$ E. Long. $174^{\circ}35'$ Ampd. $13^{\circ}23'$ E. Keep the people employ'd cleaning furs.

24. N. Latt. $15^{\circ}50'$ W. Long. $212^{\circ}29'$ E. Long. $147^{\circ}31'$ Azi. $9^{\circ}56'$ E. This is pleasent sailing, have not experienced a squall since leaving the Islands, and the sea quite smooth, although a fresh NE trade. Crew all well.

29. N. Latt. $18^{\circ}24'$ W. Long. $226^{\circ}15'$ E. Long. $133^{\circ}45'$ Azi. and Ampd. $7^{\circ}12'$ E. Sea grows more rough and the weather a little squally.

BASHEE ISLES AND COAST OF CHINA. PACIFIC OCEAN

December 3. N. Latt. $20^{\circ}30'$ W. Long. $232^{\circ}28'$ E. Long. $127^{\circ}32'$ \odot (. This day, contrary to our expectation we made the Bashee Isles at 10 leagues dis[tance] to the Westward Have experienced strong Currents in our favour since leaving the Sandwich Isles. As we cou'd not weather with the wind at NE 'twas thought best to run between Grafton and Monmouth Isles bore off accordingly.

4. Fresh breeze. At 6 PM we where between the Islands, doubled

¹ Boit changed his opinion some three years later; see the entries from the log of the *Union* in Samuel E. Morison, "Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII. 168-169.

² See its details in Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 135.

pretty near Grafton, and luff'd close under the Lee of Orange Isle. Saw a Number of fires on the shore, but it was too dark to make any observations. When clear of the group haul'd close on a wind for the coast of China.

5. N. Latt. $21^{\circ}48'$ Correct W. Long. $239^{\circ}29'$ Correct E. Long. $120^{\circ}31'$ Azi. and Ampd. $2^{\circ}41'$ W. Saw the Island of Formosa, bearing E $\frac{1}{2}$ N at Meridian, 12 leagues. Fair NE Monsoon.

6. N. Latt. $22^{\circ}20'$ W. Long. $243^{\circ}38'$ E. Long. $116^{\circ}22'$. Saw the Main land of China bea[rin]g NW 8 leagues, at Meridian above 100 sail of fishing boats in sight. Soundings 23 fathom sand and ouze. [52]

7. N. Latt. $22^{\circ}7'$ W. Long. $244^{\circ}57'$ E. Long. $115^{\circ}3'$. Pass'd the Island or rather Rock of Pedro Branca (or *Blanco*),¹ at Day light,² it was of a Conical Shape and appear'd perfectly white. At Noon the Grand Lema Island bore WSW 5 leagues. Hundred of fishing boats in sight. At 3 PM pass'd the *Lema*, leaving itt on our larboard hand. At 6 Got a Pilot on board, who agreed to carry us to Macao roads, for 25 Dollars. Stood between the Lema Islands all night, with a light breeze.

MACAO ROADS. COAST OF CHINA

8. This morning early anchor'd in Macao roads, 14 f[atho]m muddy bottom. Not liking our situation weigh'd and shifted our Berth nigher to Macao, and anchor'd in $4\frac{1}{2}$ f[atho]m *Mud*. The Fort at Macao bear[in]g S $8^{\circ}8'$ W 4 miles, and the outermost of the Nine Isles N 8° E. Capt. Gray went to *Macao* in the pinnace. A Black fellow came on board and inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick in the *Lady Washington* lay in Lark's Bay,³ and that the Brig had been dismasted in the Chinese seas about two months before, in a *Tuffoon*, being again bound for the NW Coast. Kendrick was refitting his vessell again.

¹ Pedra Blanca.

² The *Columbia* is following the usual route from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to China. Meares says (*Voyages*, 57): "The land generally made on the coast of China is about Pedro Blanco or White Rock."

³ Lark's Bay—sometimes called Dirty Butter Bay—a small harbor lying three or four leagues southwest of Macao, the Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the Canton River. The object of lying there was to save the payment of duty on the cargo, as the bay was out of the reach of Chinese authority at that time. See Delano, *Narrative of Voyages*, 43.

9. Capt. Gray return'd on board, he inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick sail'd for the NW in September last, in company with a small tender he had fitted in Macao. He was out four days when the Tuffoon overtook him. the Brig laid on her Beam ends for some time before they cut away the Masts. She then righted, and the gale abating ster'd for Macao. The whole surface of the sea was cover'd with the Wrecks of Chinese *Boats*, and many of the poor fishermen was still hanging to peices of the Boats. Capt. Kendrick pick'd up above thirty of the poor fellows, and was oblidg'd to pass a great many that he cou'd not assist. He arriv'd in Larks Bay the 7th day after the Gale.¹ A Macao Boat came along side with two European gentleman, and purchas'd of us 21 piclall of Iron at 7\$ per piclal.² A River pilot took charge for 40\$ to take the Ship to Whampoa. [53]

10. Weigh'd, with the wind at NE early in the morning making slow progress. in the evening anchor'd below Lintin bar in 5 fathom. next morning weigh'd and beat up to the Boca Tigris, and anchor'd in 17 f[atho]m.

CANTON RIVER, CHINA

12. This day arriv'd to our Moorings at Whampoa, having been oblidged to beat the whole way from Macao roads. Found riding here 47 Sail of European Ships, and six American D[itt]o. Capt. Gray went to Canton in the pinnace. We lay'd at this place till the 2d of February, during which time we give the Ship a complete overhaul from her keel to the truck. We haul'd the Ship a shore on Dutch Island beach and *graved*. this business cost 150\$ (paid to the Propri[e]tors of the beach). The Whole expence accruing to the Columbia at Canton amounted to the enormous sum of 7000 Spanish \$. The otter Furs where landed at Canton and D[e]l[ivere]d to the Hong Merchants for 90,000\$, average 45 Dollars each. the Land furs sold quite low in proportion.

¹ It is from such scattered references as this that, by degrees, the intensely interesting story of Kendrick is being pieced together.

² A picul, a common weight in the Orient and of $133\frac{1}{3}$ pounds. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XII. 170. Captain Cook called it a pecul and says it contains one hundred catty and that each catty is eighteen ounces. His pecul would thus be $112\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

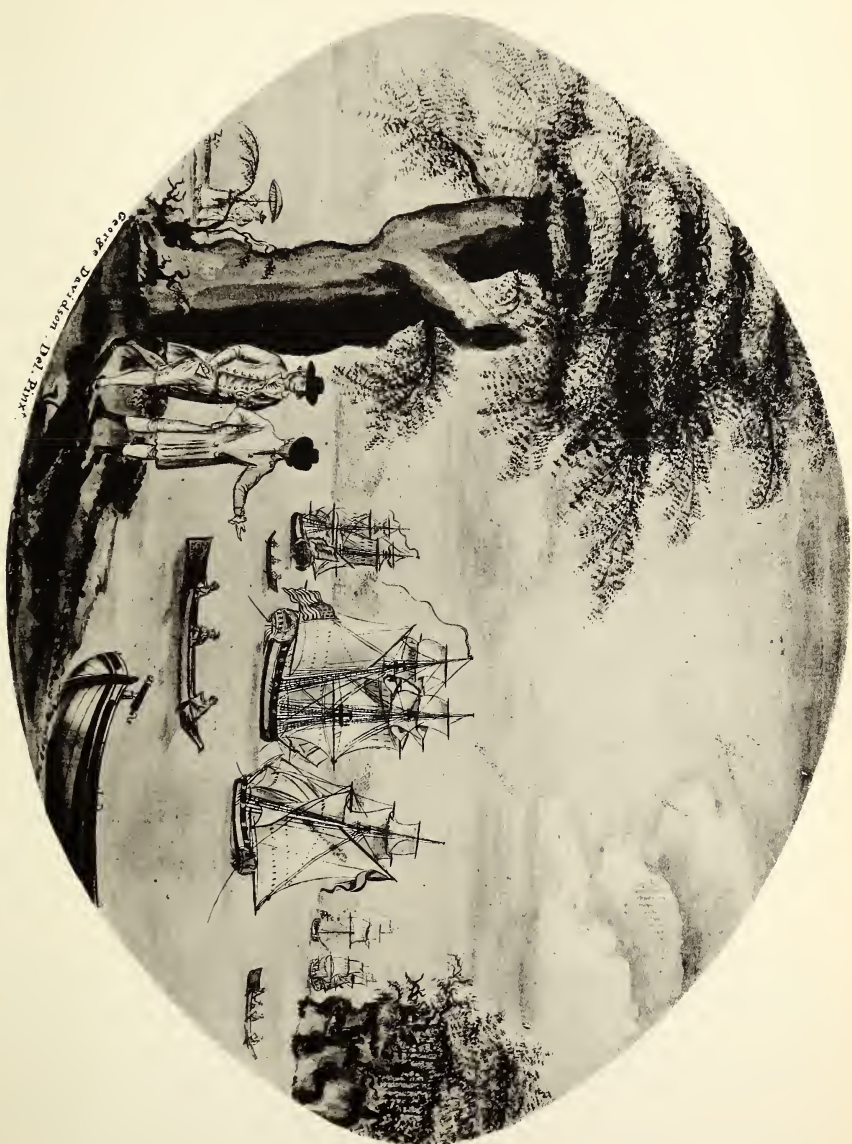
The Ship was laden with a full Cargo of Teas and Nanken with a small proportion of Sugar and China Porcelain. 'Tis the Custom in this place to engage with a Contractor to supply the Ship with provisions and other stores. they call themselves *Compadores*. You must give them a certain Sum, generally 150\$ before they'll undertake. The first of these fellows that was engag'd run away with 250\$ in our debt. this Money was advanced him previous to our having a Security Merchant, otherways it wou'd have been recover'd. These security *Merchants* ev'ry ship must have before they can transact business, as the goverment looks to *them* for the Amount of *Duties*. Capt. Gray generally staid at Canton and the Officers by *turns*, and ev'ry man on board had two Days liberty allowed him.

We had a building made of Bamboo and Cover'd with Matts nearly abrest the Ship on the Banks of the River. This was found by the Compadore and answer'd very well for to put the Ships Stores in while careening and loading. An Officer and gang of hands was station'd at this place as a guard. [54] There was two large boats station'd along side the Ship with Customs house officers on board (the whole time we lay'd in the river). a family resided in each boat (they being completely shelter'd). The Manderine had an apartment by himself.

1793, *January* 1. Rec[eive]d a letter from Capt. Kendrick, who inform'd us of the death of Messrs. Wood and Stodderd, two young men of Boston. I believe they liv'd too fast for the Climate.

When we arriv'd at Whampoa there was upwards of a dozen fine Hogs on deck, which we had reserv'd for the Passage home. the *Rasscles* of the Chinese found means to throw them some poisonous stuff, which kill'd the whole of them. But we took notice as soon as they was thrown *overboard*, they was eagerly seiz'd, and no doubt was feasted upon by the poor of the *River*, indeed nothing escap'd their *clutches*. the Entrails of Poultry, or Dead rats serv'd equally alike to appease these half starv'd wretches that constantly surrounds the shiping. However I always remark'd that they was very nice in their Cookery, and Rice was always a part of ev'ry Mess. No Indians we had ever visited during the Voyage was more complete in the Art of theiving than the Chinese of the lower order on this River. And in

CAPTAIN GRAY ASHORE AT WHAMPOA



fact they appear'd to me to be the greatest Villains in the *Universe*. (These remarks are only as respects the Common people.) the Chinese Gentleman is of a very different *character*, and indeed I was highly pleas'd with the polite attention shewn to strangers at Canton by the Mandarines and Merchants at that place, indeed among themselves they appear to stand upon the nicest *Etiquette*. The Chinese *merchant* is very particular in his business, and very nice in his Calculations, and no part of his affairs appear to be unnotic'd by him. In making a bargain they are very *shrewd*, when closed they are *faithfull* as to quantity, but for quality you must be constantly on your guard or else 'tis certain the Goods will not turn out as expected, and the only satisfaction you will get from them Is that you ought to have looked sharper, and at the same [time] will try to Console you by this remark, that on another Voyage you will be better acquainted with the mode of doing business at Canton. [55] Upon the whole, the Candour that is about the Chinese merchant makes some amends for the generall complaint against them, (that they *will* cheat you, if they can) therefore your business is to see (*that they shall not*).

'Tis surprizing to observe the business that is going on in the Suburbs of Canton, the streets are generally thronged with people, all busily engag'd in their sevrall avocations, the Shops well stock'd with Goods, and appear to meet with encouragements. Few *Women* are to be seen. *these* (if Chinese) have the small crippled feet, the ancle looking like an Horse's hoof. If *Tarter*, the feet is of the naturall growth. So much has been said about Canton and the Manners and Customs of the Chinese, that 'tis needless for me to make any further remarks on the subject.

FROM CANTON TOWARDS THE STRAITS OF BANCA

February 2. This day the Pilot came on board and took charge. Unmoor'd and stood down the river. Left but 7 Ships behind, all English and *Swedes*.

4. Anchored this day below the Bars, wind gradually in our teeth, work along with the tides.

6. Anchor'd just above the Boca *Tigris*; in the Night the Chinese rasscles cut the Cable, although we kept a good watch. Lett go an-

other, and brought up. in the morning, the Buoy being taken away, cou'd not recover the Anchor, therefore left it with 9 f[atho]m Cable.

7. Pass'd the Boca Tigris and stood for Macao roads.

8. Ran through *Macao roads* and stood to sea. The Pilot left us. Took a departure from the Macao Fort, it lying in Latitude $22^{\circ} 13'$ North, and Longitude $113^{\circ} 52'$ East of *London*. Some Chinese junks in Company Find the Ship *requires* one Pump pretty steady to keep her free, however as it has been a steady leak for some time, it is not look'd upon as a serious *affair*. The Wind prevails from the Eastern board and is very squally.

The Ships Crew are all well and Hearty, and looking forward with anxious solicitude to a happy meeting of *Sweethearts* and *Wives*. How can we be otherways than happy when anticipating the joys that *awaits* us there!!¹ [56] . . .

18. N. Latt. $9^{\circ} 44'$ W. Long. $250^{\circ} 48'$ E. Long. $109^{\circ} 12'$. At Midnight, saw a small Isle bear[in]g SW b S 1 leagues, and soon after see Pulo Supata, bear[in]g S b E 2 leagues to the Northd. At 6 AM bore off and made sail wind ENE Cou'd not weather *Pulo Sapata*. Pass'd two miles to the Westward of itt. When the Isle bore East, a large White Rock or Isle bore NNW 6 or 7 leagues dis[tant]. At 9 was clear of Supata,² and see no dangers in the track we pursued although I beleive 'twas quite an unfrequented one. This Sapata Isle is very properly named, as it has every appearance of a Shoe, after which it is *Called* in Malay. Bore off to the westd. with an intention of striking soundings off Pulo *Condore*. Pulo Supata Latitude is $10^{\circ} 4'$, and $109^{\circ} 10'$ E. . . .

22. N. Latt. $3^{\circ} 0'$ W. Long. $255^{\circ} 5'$ E. Long. $104^{\circ} 55'$. The Islands of Pulo Timon, Aore, and Tissang³ in sight to the Southward. At Noon Pulo Aore bore S b W $\frac{1}{2}$ 10 leagues. Soundings 35 fathom. . . .

24. S. Latt. $0^{\circ} 44'$ W. Long. $254^{\circ} 46'$ E. Long. $105^{\circ} 14'$. This day saw Pulo Taya to the westward. At Noon Pulo Taya⁴ bore WNW

¹ The course of the *Columbia* from Canton to and through the Straits of Sunda is that followed by the vessels of the day. Anyone wishing details can find them readily in Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, and Portlock, *Voyage round the World*, and even in Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*.

² See Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, III. 447. See also Dixon, *Voyage round the World*, 323.

³ These are evidently the islands mentioned by Captain King as Pulo Timoan, Pulo Puisang and Pulo Aor. See Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, III. 463ff.

⁴ Saya.

6 leagues, the Seven Islands, S *b* E. Experience a Current to the Southward this 24 hours, the Monsoon moderate.

25. S. Latt. $1^{\circ}43'$ W. Long. $255^{\circ}9'$ E. Long. $104^{\circ}51'$. Pass'd between Taya and the 7 Isles, distance from 7 Isles about 4 leagues. More Islands hove in sight to the SE. At Sunsett saw land which we took for Monopin Hill. laid off and on through the Night under short sail, soundings from 8 to 16 fathom. At daylight Monopin Hill bore S *b* E, 7 leagues. Bore off. [57] At Meridian Monopin Hill bore $E\frac{1}{2}N$ and the Sumatra shore WSW, the ship nearest the Banca Shore,¹ strong Currents to the Southward. Soundings 18 fathom.

STRAITS OF BANCA

26. S. Latt. $2^{\circ}43'$. Enter'd the Straits of Banca, and stood to the SE. At 5 PM Monopin hill bearing NNW, the Ship being $\frac{1}{3}$ nearest to the Banca shore from Sumatra on. We shoal'd the water very sudden from 10 to 3 fathoms, rocks, bore off to the South and West and soon deep'd itt again. this must have been on the Fredrick Hendrik Shoal.

In the evening came too on the Sumatra shore, 9 f[atho]m Mud, strong tides, 3d point bore E *b* S 2 leagues.

At daylight got under way, and stood down straits. At 10 abrest the *Nanka Isles*, a number of Malay proas in sight. At 11 AM a dangerous shoal bore West 1 league, high breakers. At Noon *observ'd* as above. 1st p[oin]t bore S *b* E 4 leagues.

27. S. Latt. $4^{\circ}21'$ W. Long. $253^{\circ}43'$ E. Long. $106^{\circ}17'$ ☉ ☾. Winds from NW and pleasant. At 2 PM Pass'd a *Moorish* Sloop, (*at anchor*). She was strongly man'd and arm'd. I believe she was a *Pirate*. many Proas about. At Sunsett the Isle of Lucepara bore SE *b* E 3 leagues, and 1st point on Sumatra, SW *b* S. Pass'd nearest to the Sumatra Shore, the shoalest water $4\frac{1}{2}$ f[atho]m and when through deep'd itt to 12 and 14 f[atho]m, a strong tide in favour. At Noon *observ'd* as above.

28. S. Latt. $4^{\circ}39'$ W. Long. $253^{\circ}50'$ E. Long. $106^{\circ}10'$ * ☾. Depth of Water, from 10 to 14 f[atho]m throughout these 24 hours.

¹ In Marchand's *Voyage round the World* (II. 1), among the plans and sketches will be found one showing the tracks of some eight ships through the straits between Banka and Billiton.

Wind from the Westd. and very dark weather. Bound towards the Straits of *Sunda*.

March 1. S. Latt. $5^{\circ}9'$. At Sunsett see the Two Sister¹ Isles to the *Southward*, wind to the SW and very light. Soundings from 12 to 14 f[atho]m. At dark came too off the *Sumatra* shore, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues dist[ant], $9\frac{1}{2}$ f[atho]m Mud. In the morning got under way. At Noon observ'd Latt. as above, the Sisters bear[in]g SSE 2 miles.

2. S. Latt. $5^{\circ}25'$. Wind at West, soundings throughout the 24 hours from 12 to 15 f[atho]m. found these Isles of Sisters to be surround'd with Dangerous Reefs. In the evening came too in 12 f[atho]m Muddy bottom. Hogs point on Sumatra in sight bearing South 11 leagues, and North Island SW b S $\frac{1}{2}$ W. In the morning weigh'd and stood towards North Isle. At Noon observ'd as above. [58]

AT NORTH ISLE AND STRAITS OF SUNDA

3. Winds moderate and Cloudy, working towards *North Isles* Roads. At sunsett came too in the Roads, 15 f[atho]m muddy bottom. pass'd sevrall Turtle and Water Snakes between the *Sisters* and our anchorage. the Two Ships shew English Colours. In the morning early shifted our berth nearer the watering place, and at 7 AM anchor'd in 15 f[atho]m. Hoisted out *all* the *Boats*, and dispatch'd them for water. The Ships that lay in the road was an English 64, Capt. Gore² and the *Indostan* India Companies Ship, Capt. *Mackintosh*. The *Lion* had on board Mr. Macartney,³ a Minister from the British Goverment to the Court of Pekin. We took *Dispatches* for them to leave at *St. Helena*. Towards evening these ships sail'd for Batavia. *Two* Dutch *Guard* of Coasters anchor'd in Co[mpany] with us. By night we had fill'd up all our water and purchas'd a good quan[tity] of Poultry and Fruit of the Malays at the Beach. I *landed* with the Charge of our boats, found above 200 Malays round the watring place. they was completly *arm'd*, with *Creases* (or *Daggers*), but was quite *freindly*. However I did not allow *the Boats* to touch the beach and only let 6 men beside myself land, and swam the water casks off to the boats, *when fill'd*. this method I

¹ Two Brothers?

² Erasmus Gower.

³ George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737-1806).

thought but prudent, as the *Malays* had *kill'd* one of the *Lions* crew, while washing cloaths at the brook. I cannot say that I experienced the most agreeable sensations while on this duty.

4. Employ'd variously. Got a good quantity of Wood from North Isle. The watering place being on Sumatra, we see no Natives on North Isle.

5. Weigh'd and sail'd from North Island roads, bound through Sunda Straits pass'd the *Qepthan Isles* and Stroon rock upon which was high *breakers*. Pass'd itt on the larboard hand. At Meridian Crackatoa Isle bore SSW 4 miles, sounding 20 f[atho]m St. Tam-anies Isle NNE Wind SSW [59]

6. S. Latt. $6^{\circ}2'$. Wind from SW to NW and very squally weather with heavy rain. Turning to windward between Princes Island and *Crokatore* and in the Night came very near depositing the Ship upon the Qu Klip rocks, however good luck prevail'd. Crew all in health.

7. S. Latt. $6^{\circ}39'$. A[t] Meridian Princes Isle bore East and Java Head ESE 5 leagues. Wind from NW, stood to the southward. . . .

SAW THE ISLE OF RODERIGUE AND MAURITIUS. SOUTHERN OCEAN

April 4. S. Latt. $19^{\circ}37'$ W. Long. *Corrected* $297^{\circ}10'$ E. Long. $62^{\circ}50'$ ☉ ☾. This Day made the *Isle of Roderigue* bearing SW The Ship having experienced a Current to the Westd. since leaving the Straits of Sunda. found this Island to be surround'd with dangerous Reefs, the one on itt's NW extends many miles into the Sea. . . .

7. S. Latt. $20^{\circ}36'$ W. Long. $302^{\circ}19'$ E. Long. $57^{\circ}41'$. Saw the Isle of France at Daylight. At Noon the South p[oin]t of Mauritius bore WNW 8 leagues very high uneven land. [60]

8. S. Latt. $21^{\circ}36'$ W. Long. $303^{\circ}38'$ E. Long. $56^{\circ}22'$. Pleasant trade winds. Saw the Isle of *Bourbon*. At noon it bore NW 10 or 12 leagues. Exceeding mountainous. . . .

28. S. Latt. $33^{\circ}58'$ W. Long. $336^{\circ}13'$ E. Long. $23^{\circ}47'$ Ampd. $28^{\circ}28'$ W. Have had much blowing weather for some time. this day saw the land about Muscle Bay,¹ at 11 leagues dist[ance]. At Noon Cape Talhado bore NW. The Current has changed, and now sets strong to the SW. Wind from the Westward.

¹ Mossel Bay.

OFF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

29. S. Latt. $34^{\circ}12'$ W. Long. $337^{\circ}6'$ E. Long. $22^{\circ}54'$. Soundings 45 f[atho]m Black sand, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from land, many smoakes on shore. At Noon the land in sight bore from North to ENE, a strong current in favour, wind right a head.

30. S. Latt. $34^{\circ}22'$ W. Long. $338^{\circ}3'$ E. Long. $21^{\circ}57'$ \odot \odot . Many Gannetts and some seals round. Pass'd Cape St. Brass, saw the 7 Hills and a number of Fires on the shore through the Night. Generally keep about 5 leagues from the Coast. Wind a head. So Ends. . .

May 4. S. Latt. $35^{\circ}1'$ W. Long. $340^{\circ}0'$ E. Long. $20^{\circ}0'$ \odot \odot . At length, thank God, the wind chang'd to the Eastward, made all sail, haul'd more to the Southward to clear Cape Lagullas.¹ [61]

5. S. Latt. $34^{\circ}40'$ W. Long. $340^{\circ}30'$ E. Long. $19^{\circ}30'$ \odot \odot . Saw the Table land and Gunners Quoin to the E of False Bay. At Noon Cape Point Bore NW 10 leagues. Wind SE. Bore off to the Northd. and Westd. . . .

ST. HELENA ISLAND

25. S. Latt. $15^{\circ}54'$ W. Long. $5^{\circ}46'$. Saw the Island of St. Helena at Sunsett. hove too for the night. Early in the morning sent a Boat in to ask permission of the Governor to anchor in the Bay. At 9 the Boat return'd, and the officer reported favourably. Bore off, and at 10 anchor'd in Chapell Vally bay, in 14 f[atho]m mud and sand, the Church bearing SE found riding here sevrall English India and Whale Ships waiting for convoy. at this place we first heard of the War and troubles in Europe, and that poor Louis was a head shorter. Capt. Gray landed to visit the Governor, Employ'd watering. The Lieutenant Governor (by name *Robinson*) paid us a visit. he appear'd to be an excellent Man and was anxious to obtain Curiositys from us, to put in his Museum he appear'd gratify'd with the Collection that was present'd him. I must confess that I was agreeably surpriz'd on landing at James Town, for from the appearance it has from the Ship at Anchor you feel preposses'd against itt, but to me, when on shore, 'twas quite a pleasant place, and the sight of an English Lady made my heart feel all in an *uproar*, and alas! the

¹ Agulhas.

poor Sandwich Isle Girls where entirely forgot. So it is, and we cannot help itt. [62]

26. S. Latt. $15^{\circ}54'$ W. Long. $5^{\circ}46'$. Finish'd watering, and Got ready for sea. I made an excursion in company with a Brother Officer to view the Company's Garden, and was amply rewarded for my trouble, 'twas kept in fine order. St. Helena had been visited by a famine not long since, which carried off the greatest part of their stock and greatly distress'd the inhabitants. Consequently cou'd not procure much refreshments for the Ship.

The Island to the windward makes a most rugged appearance, and indeed in the Bay 'tis not much mended but to Leeward 'tis quite pleasant, and the roads, though the work of Art Cheifly, are far from being bad. The Inhabitants are very polite to strangers, and in short no Man after a long voyage ought to pass this pleasant and agreeable place without stoping; you get the water with great ease, as it's convey'd to the Port by pipes under ground. You fill with a Hose, and are not oblig'd to take the Casks from the Boat but in case you do, there is a Crane on the *pier* to load with. Shou'd have sail'd this evening but 'tis against the rules of the Port to sail after sunsett. . . .

BOUND FOR BOSTON

June 3. S. Latt. $8^{\circ}32'$ W. Long. $15^{\circ}9'$ Azi. and Ampd. $11^{\circ}2'$ W., $10^{\circ}50'$ W. ☉ ☾ * ☾. Pass'd the Isle of Assencion about midnight, at 2 miles dist[ance]. . . .

9. N. Latt. $1^{\circ}10'$ W. Long. $22^{\circ}33'$ Ampd. $7^{\circ}41'$ W. * ☾. This is the fourth time the Equator has been cross'd during the Voyage. . . . [63]

July 2. N. Latt. $24^{\circ}29'$ W. Long. $53^{\circ}11'$ Azi. $2^{\circ}46'$ W. ☉ ☾. Spoke an English Brig, under American colours, from New London, bound to Grenada, loaded with stock. Was oblig'd to fire sevrall shot a head of him before he wou'd stop purchas'd out of her many Sheep and Hogs etc., with two tierces Bread this was quite a seasonable Supply, as we had been eating Maggoty bread for this some time.

5. N. Latt. $25^{\circ}33'$ W. Long. $56^{\circ}13'$. Spoke two Sloops from Portland for Guadal[oupe]. . . .

18. N. Latt. $40^{\circ} 17'$ W. Long. $65^{\circ} 15'$ Variation $14^{\circ} 55'$ W. ☉ ☾ * ☾. Spoke the Brig Betsey from New York Wm. Williams Master, bound to Amsterdam. have experienc'd much blowing weather from the North and West since leaving the Trades, and generally squalls of rain. Ships Crew are all in health, but anxious to get home as the Ship's provisions have grown quite bad and but little of it left. . . .

21. N. Latt. $40^{\circ} 29'$ W. Long. $68^{\circ} 35'$ Azi. $7^{\circ} 16'$ W. Dull times for men in a hurry. The Columbia is in fine order, having giv[en] the Rigging a complete overhaul since leaving St. Helena, rounded too and got soundings 67 f[atho]m fine black and white sand.


22. N. Latt. $42^{\circ} 11'$ W. Long. $68^{\circ} 45'$. At Sunsett sounded, in 38 f[atho]m gray sand Spoke a Sloop from Newbury port, bound to the West Indies, told us Cape Cod bore NW 30 leagues. At Midnight shoal'd our water pretty sudden from 20 to 15, 12, 10 and 8 f[atho]m fine white sand on Georges Shoal, haul'd to the East and soon deep'd it again to 30 f[atho]m. At Noon Latt. as above, sound[ing]s in 40 fathom. Wind from the WSW. Hard luck. [64]

24. Lower'd the yawl and sent her on board a fishing Schooner in sight to the westd., it being nearly calm. At Sunsett the boat return'd and Officer reported that the Skipper of the Schooner cou'd not spare any salt provisions, but sold us 3 Bar[re]l Salt Mackarell and about 300 Ship Biscuit. these last where very gratefull. divided them fore and aft among the Crew. a breeze sprang up from the Eastward, set all sail, and at daylight saw Cape Cod b[earin]g SW at 6 leagues, and the Gurnett W b S, the land abrest us on the South Shore, 4 leagues dist[ant]. sevrall sail in sight. Employ'd turning to Windward, the wind having shifted to the NW.

ARRIVED AT BOSTON

25. Light breezes and pleasent weather. At 1 PM nearly abrest of Cohasset rocks, almost Calm. At Sunsett we had got too near to Hassett Ledges by reason of the tide, however a small breeze sprang up and we san'd off. At daylight Boston Light bore W b N 3 leagues distant. At 8 AM A pilot came on board and took charge to take the Ship to *Boston*. At Meridian pass'd the Light house with a light air from the Eastward. At 6 we Pass'd Castle *William*, and gave

a federal salute, which was return'd. A fine Breeze at SE. At 7 anchored off the Long Wharfe in the Stream and saluted the town with 11 Guns which was return'd from the Wharfes with three welcome *Huzzas*.

 At making Boston Light, from which place we took our departure from, we have just made 360 degrees of Longitude West, which is the Circumference of our Globe. of course we have lost one complete day. It was Friday at Boston, and Thursday with us. 'Tis impossible to express our feelings at again meeting with our freinds. But the loss of an affectionate and much lov'd Sister during my absence, was a great obstacle to the happiness I shou'd otherways have enjoy'd.

So Ends the remarks on Columbia's Voyage.

JOHN BOIT

*Remnant of the
Official Log of the "Columbia"*

REMNANT OF *the Official Log of the "Columbia"*

*Extract from the Second Volume of the Log-Book of the Ship Columbia, of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into the Columbia River, in May, 1792.*¹

May 7th, 1792, A.M.

BEING within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one, P.M., the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety;² made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five, P.M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10th. Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon all the canoes left us. At one, P.M., began to un-moor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half past four, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.³

¹ The text of this extract is that given in Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California* (Boston, 1844), 434-436. "The original extract was made in 1816 by Mr. [Charles] Bulfinch of Boston, one of the owners of the *Columbia*, from the second volume of the log-book, which was then in the possession of Captain Gray's heirs but has since disappeared." The footnotes, prepared by T. C. Elliott and used here by the kind permission of the Oregon Historical Society, accompanied a reprint of the extract in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXII. 352-356.

² This log makes no mention of the sending of a small boat ahead of the ship, either here or at the mouth of the Columbia River, a precaution which is mentioned by Boit in his journal. Neither does Gray mention any observations for longitude, as Boit does. For more extensive comments see the Boit journal.

³ This entry indicates that Gray's anchorage was not far inside the entrance, but any attempt to designate it would be mere speculation. The presumption is in favor of the bay behind one of the capes.

May 11th. At half past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore.¹ At eight, P.M., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main-top-gallant-yard and set all sail. At four, A.M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight, A.M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one, P.M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand.² The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12th. Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

May 13th. Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14th. Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four, P.M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having

¹ This entry, written at evening on the eleventh, clearly states that the ship left Gray's Harbor on the evening of the tenth. Boit erroneously puts the date as the eleventh. See, however, page 397, note 3, above.

² This anchorage, one half mile off shore between Point Ellice and McGowans Station, was exposed to the wind and current, a fact which partly explains the use of more than one anchor and the determination to move further up the river two days later.

from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half past four, the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends,¹ with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

May 15th. Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At ten, A.M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16th. Light airs and cloudy. At four, A.M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb-tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten, A.M., a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down river. At one, (from its being very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinouk*), which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.²

May 17th. Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnacle; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18th. Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half past, came to sail, standing down river with the ebb-tide; at seven, (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point of the harbor bore north-west, distant two miles; the south bore

¹ This day Gray proceeded around Point Ellice and past Cliff Point and Knappton as far as some sand bar in the shallow waters off the wide entrance to Gray's Bay, presumably more than half the distance across the entrance to that bay. By soundings from his small boats he then discovered that the deep water channel crossed the river above him, from Harrington Point to Tongue Point, and that his ship was not in a safe place. He therefore dropped down the following morning to a better anchorage off Point Gray (Frankfort).

² Today the ship again dropped down stream, first opposite Knappton and later to the upper or lee side of Point Ellice, where she remained until the eighteenth.

south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze came up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one, came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.¹

May 19th. Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock*, the south, *Adams's Point*.

May 20th. Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one, P.M., (being full sea,) took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down river. At two, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five, P.M., we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore south-east, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21st. At six, A.M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-sails and light stay-sails. At eleven, set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

¹ This day Gray sailed down stream with the intention of crossing out, but, because of unfavorable conditions, returned up river to anchorage off Chinook Point (Fort Columbia), which was a very favorable spot for observing the capes and the entrance.

*Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the Second
Voyage of the "Columbia"*

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

*Relating to the Second Voyage of the "Columbia"*¹

SEA LETTER FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ROBERT GRAY

To all emperors, kings, sovereign princes, states, and regents, and to their respective officers, civil and military, and to all others whom it may concern.

I GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States of America, do make known that Robert Gray, captain of the ship called the *Columbia*, of the burden of about two hundred and thirty tons, is a citizen of the said United States; and that the said ship which he commands belongs to citizens of the said United States; and, as I wish that the said Robert Gray may prosper in his lawful affairs, I do request of all the before mentioned, and of each of them, separately, where the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness and treat him in a becoming manner; permitting him, on the usual tolls and expenses in passing and repassing, to navigate, pass, and frequent their ports, passes, and territories, to the end that he may transact his business where and in what manner he shall judge proper; and thereby I shall consider myself obliged.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and have hereunto set my hand, at the city of New York, the sixteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

G^o. WASHINGTON

By the President:

TH. JEFFERSON

¹ The first four documents in this section are from *House of Representatives Report Number 456* (29th Congress, 1st Session); they may also be found in *House of Representatives Report Number 502* (30th Congress, 1st Session). The originals of the documents printed on pages 447-489 are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The originals of the Kendrick and Howel correspondence are in the archives of the Department of State, Washington, D. C. The text given here is, by the kind permission of the Oregon Historical Society, that printed in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, xxx (June, 1929), 96-104.

SEA LETTER

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS TO ROBERT GRAY

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN HANCOCK, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.*To all who shall see these presents—greeting:*

IT is hereby made known that leave and permission has been given by the naval officers to Captain Robert Gray, master and commander of the ship *Columbia*, now lying at Boston, within this State, to depart from thence and proceed with his ship and cargo on a voyage to the northwest coast of America; and that the said ship and cargo belong to Joseph Barrell, esquire, and others, gentlemen of character and reputation, citizens of this Commonwealth—being one of the thirteen United States of America.

Now, in order that the said master may prosper in his lawful affairs, it is earnestly requested and recommended to all who may see these presents, at whatever port and place said master, with his vessel and cargo, may arrive, that they would please to receive him, the said master, with goodness; afford him all such aid and assistance as he may need; and to treat him in a becoming manner, permitting him, upon paying the usual expenses in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the ports, passes, and territories wherever he may be, to the end that he may transact his business where and in what manner he shall judge proper, he keeping, and causing to be kept by his crew on board, the marine ordinances and regulations of the place where he is trading.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Commonwealth aforesaid, this twenty fourth day of September, A.D. 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the independence of the United States of America.

JOHN HANCOCK

*By his excellency's command:*JOHN AVERY, JR., *Secretary*

CERTIFICATE OF THE COLUMBIA'S CARGO

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DISTRICT OF BOSTON AND CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS

THESE certify all whom it may concern, that Robert Gray, master and commander of the ship *Columbia*, burden two hundred and twelve 95th tons or thereabouts, navigated with thirty men, mounted with ten guns, has permission to depart from this port with the following articles, viz: Two thousand bricks, six chaldrons sea coal, one hundred and thirty-five barrels beef, sixty barrels pork, three hogsheads N. E. rum, two hogsheads W. I. rum, five hogsheads molasses, five barrels sugar, ten boxes chocolate, two hundred and twenty-eight pounds coffee, seventy-two pounds Bohea tea, six casks rice, twenty barrels flour, twenty-seven thousand pounds ship bread, six firkins butter, five hundred pounds cheese, thirty barrels tar, thirteen barrels pitch, thirty packages of merchandise, six tons bar iron, twenty hundred bar lead, fifteen hundred pounds gunpowder, three hundred pounds small shot.

Given under our hands and seals at Boston aforesaid, the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

B. LINCOLN, *Collector*
JAMES LOVELL, *Naval Officer*

JOSEPH BARRELL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ROBERT GRAY

SIR:

Boston, September 25, 1790

THE ship *Columbia* being completely equipped for a voyage to the northwest coast of America, China, and elsewhere, we place such confidence in you as to give you the command.

In all matters of traffic on the northwest coast of America, China, or elsewhere, you will consult with Mr. John Hoskins, who is with you, in whose industry, integrity, and honor we place the utmost confidence; we therefore expect the most perfect harmony to subsist between you, your officers, and him.

It is of importance, and we therefore enjoin it upon you, that the most friendly intercourse be observed in all your traffic with the natives, and no unjust advantage taken of them in trade, but endeavor, by your honorable conduct, to impress them with a respect for Americans.

You will touch at the several ports on the coast, as you shall think best; but you must bear in mind that there are several American vessels on the trade, and you will therefore make such despatch on your voyage as shall prevent your being overtaken by any of them; and to reach the coast before the brig, which has already sailed, as it must be of great importance.

At any time, at the close of a season, when you have furs sufficient, you may despatch the sloop (which we call the *Nootka*)¹ with them to market, if you should think it best under all circumstances; but you will bear in mind, if the sloop should be lost, the injury would be irreparable, and, if you should send her, be sure you give such orders, that whoever goes may avoid the excessive charges of going up to Canton; and, from the experience we have had, it appears plainly a much higher price may be obtained at the mouth of the river of Canton than in the city; we would therefore advise your selling at the mouth of the river.

If you should send the sloop at any time, we would have Mr. Hoskins go with her, and he will apply to such persons as will assist him in disposing of the furs to the best advantage for the interest of the concerned.

We depend that the ship remains on the coast until your provisions are consumed, and longer if you find the trade advantageous, and can get the supplies you want.

When you leave the coast in the ship, we advise to your trying what can be done on the coast of Japan and Pekin, where, if you find safety in anchoring, and can dispose of your furs to advantage, we would advise you by all means to do it.

You are strictly enjoined not to touch at any port of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven there by unavoidable accident, in which case you will stay no longer than

¹ The sloop which Gray built at Clayoquot Sound in the winter of 1791-1792 and which he called the *Adventure*.

is necessary, and while there, be careful to give no offence to any of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, nor on any pretence whatever trade for a single farthing, unless for the supplies you may want, and let that be done under the immediate eye and sanction of authority.

Your sea-letters, and letters from this State, you will produce upon all proper occasions, and treat the subjects of every nation you meet with civility and respect, offering no insult to any, nor receiving any without showing the becoming spirit of a free, independent American.

You will give orders to whoever may command the sloop, should you send her with furs, to call upon Mr. McIntire, at Macao, for orders from the owners, with whom they will be lodged, or with some American at Canton; and any orders you or they may find there from them, you are to follow. You can send an officer to Canton from the sloop at a little expense. You will write us by all possible opportunities, any letters by way of Macao, to the care of Mr. John McIntire; by way of France, to Messrs. Le Couteaula & Co., at Paris; by way of Portugal, to Messrs. Paseley, Little, & Co., Lisbon; by way of London, to Messrs. Lane, Son, & Frazer.

In case of sickness or death, (which God forbid!) your successor is hereby enjoined to consult with Mr. Hoskins, in the same manner as though these orders were originally to himself.

You will constantly bear in mind the absolute prohibition against every sort of traffic, or receiving any presents on this voyage; for, be assured, the owners will treat every breach of the contract in this particular with the utmost severity.

We hope it is needless to remind you that you are now accountable for the conduct of the present voyage. You have seen and heard the pointed manner in which every one condemns the conduct of the last;¹ and if you have a spirit proper for this enterprise, or any regard for your own honor and rising reputation, or have respect to the sea-letters with which the President of the United States has honored and indulged you, we trust you will doubly exert yourself to prevent such reflections in future.

¹ Captain Kendrick's character is summed up in "John Kendrick and His Sons," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXIII. 295. He certainly lacked energy in his command of the first voyage of the *Columbia*, and his subsequent conduct leaves much to be explained.

When you leave the coast, and arrive at Macao, Canton, or elsewhere, and can dispose of your ship to your mind, if you can provide for your people without too much cost, you are at liberty to do it, and remit the proceeds in bills on the Dutch Company, payable in London, if it can be done at a rate which we are informed is common—say five shillings and sixpence sterling for a dollar. Remit the bills to Lane, Son, & Frazer, merchants in London, for account of the owners of the *Columbia*.

In case you sell your ship, you are on no terms to hold any part yourself, as we are willing to go hand in hand in this concern, and sink or swim together; and, as we wish no advantage ourselves, but what you share with us, so we mean to avoid any partial disadvantage.

We think it important, as the voyage proposed is of very long duration, to enjoin system, good order, prudence, and economy, which, with a tender treatment of the men under your command, will show you to be a father to your crew, and cannot fail to secure their love and obedience, and to remove all those ill conveniences which forever attend a contrary conduct.

For your encouragement, and that of your officers, we engage to allow you five per cent.; to the first mate, one and one-half per cent.; to the second mate, one per cent.; to the third mate, one-half per cent. upon the sales of the cargo in Boston. But you, neither as owner, or on account of your commissions as master, nor any officer on board, on account of their commissions or per cent. on the cargo, shall, upon any consideration, take anything from the stock in China, or elsewhere, unless what may be needful to furnish clothes or other necessaries, but the whole interest shall continue on joint account of all concerned, and be divided in Boston at the close of the voyage.

We expect you do not stop until you reach the Falkland islands; nor then, a moment longer than is absolutely necessary. And we think it advisable that you sweep the northwest coast before you stop to set up the sloop.

We think it best you should form no connexion with foreigners, or Americans, on the northwest coast, unless absolutely necessary; nor then, but with the greatest caution.

If the wind is fair on the morrow, we desire and expect you will



GEORGE DAVIDSON

embrace it and proceed on the voyage. And may God prosper you!

I am, for myself and the owners, your friend and employer,

JOSEPH BARRELL

OFFICERS AND CREW OF THE COLUMBIA

Ship Collumbia ofisers and Crew

Capt gray Comand[er]

M[r] Haswell C Mate

Mr Caswell 2d Mate kild

Owing Smith 3d mate

Abraham Wartis 4d mate

John Boit 5d mate

John Hoskins Clark

Saml Homer and Jack atoe Cab[i]n Boys

Bengaman Harden Botswain

Saml Yendell Carpentar

Nathan Dweley mate

John Emes Blacksmith

Popkins Arm[or]er

Bart peas Coop[p]e[r]

Tom Cook of Ship

Seman Joseph Barns

John Butler

Bryant Winle

anteny Lows

Joseph Folger

Andrew Newhil

Elsworth and Weks

obediar weston Sail Maker

green Hands Isack

ginnings

Sheperd

gorg Daiveson¹ painter

Nickels Tailor

Nathanl Wooward Coker

¹ George Davidson (1768-1800) of Charlestown, several of whose drawings and paintings of the *Columbia* are reproduced in this volume and whose portrait appears opposite this page.

EXPENDITURES FOR THE COLUMBIA'S OUTFIT AND CARGO

Ship Columbia, for Outfitts, Cargo, etc. etc.

Dr.

Joseph Clarke			
caulking, and sheathing the Ship etc.		£149	14 10
Thos. Fracker			
for the frame and plank for the Sloop	£95	7	6
a new yawl 14 feet at 14s		9	16
repairing long boat	4	16	4
		109	19 10
John Andrews			
107 pieces of American Duck		328	15 5
Wm. Deblois			
ship Chandlery furnished as per Bill		37	16 7
John Derby			
20 Barrs. Tarr	£22	10	
1 pair of 4 pounders		9	
1 pair of 3 pounders		9	
4 pair of swivels		4	16
an Iron Cabouse		10	16
carting gunns etc.		6	4
		56	8 4
Heath and Hayman			
working 7 Bolts 29½ yds. Duck etc. at 9s		3	13 10
N. G. Moody			
working 52 Bolts Duck at 9s and rep[airin]g sails		30	17 10
Servis and Leishman			
working 38½ Bolts Duck at 9s		19	3 6
Robt. Partridge			
rigging ship etc.		16	10
John Newell			
for a whale Boat		3	
Robt. Robinson			
21 sides of Leather	£12	12	
3 ditto pump Leather		3	18
8 ditto for the rigging		4	16
12 ox horns		4	
		21	10
D. Harthorne			
freight of gunns from Salem		8	

Thos. Smith			
12 dozen points			1 10
S. and S. Salisbury			
60 lb. of twine	1s 10d	£ 5 10	
2 dozen lead pencils	1s 4d	<u>2 8</u>	5 12 8
Thos. Amory Junr. and Company			
1 Baril of Turpentine		£ 1 1	
13 Ditto of Pitch		<u>11 1</u>	12 2
Thos. Stevenson			
Rum supplied Ship as per Bill			2 14 10½
Robt. Gray			
his Bill of Disbursements for Ship			4 5 6
John Joy			
for medecine Chest			10 2 3
James and Thos. Lamb			
6 Anchors 2190 lb. at 5d			45 12 6
John Lambert			
Carpenters work			12 14 8
Saml. Burrill			
Blacksmiths work			54 3½
Solomon Cotton			
Blacksmiths work			1 8 6
Shippie Townsend			
Blocks etc. for the Ship		£16 7 3	
Spare Blocks for ditto		28 19 5	
Blocks etc. for the Sloop		<u>5 7 10</u>	50 14 6
Jotham Horton			
Blacksmiths work			56 13 2½
Wm. Hagers			
repairing Compasses			9 2
N. Brewer			
for window Glass etc.			1 3 6
J. Hooton			
10 whale Boats oars			2 8 5
Thos. K. Jones			
2 Keggs of spanish Brown			18

E. Homer

3 Barils Rozin

5 8

Jos. Callender Senr.

135 lb. Shot at 3*d* and 1 Cartridge Box

1 14 11

Robt. and Joshua Davis

4 Hhdds. of Clay

£1 1 10

3 doz. Handspikes

15

876 feet of oars

4 17 4

24 squares of Glass and putty

12

200 Hhdds. hoops

16

200 Baril Ditto

6 8

2½ dozen Ax handles

5

6 Sheep Skins

1 4

9 17 10

John Andrews

500 10*d* nails 3*s* 2*d* 250 6*d* nails 1*s* 4*d* £ 4 6500 2*d* ditto 1*s* 3*d* 1 spring padlock 2*s* 3*d* 3 61 pair Chest hinges 2*s* 6*d* 1 pair markingIrons 1*s* 3*d*

3 9

6 lb. of 24*d* nails 4*s* 2 lb. 10*d* nails 1*s* 6*d*

5 6

500 3*d* and 500 4*d* nails

3

100 clout nails

8

1M 10*d* nails 6*s* 4*d* 500 3*d* 1*s* 6*d*

7 10

500 4*d* Brads 2*s* 500 5*d* 2*s* 6*d*

4 6

1 Chest Lock and hinges

5

3M brads assorted

13

12 pewter plates 4 Dishes 23¼ lb. 1*s* 7*d* 1 16 9

2 doz. Knives and forks

10

500 large Mackerell Hooks

1

1½ doz. log Lines 15*s*

1 2 6

2 doz. palms 2*s*

4

800 large sails needles 7*s* 6*d*

3

4 padlocks 5*s* 4*d* 200 2*d* head nails 1*s* 4*d* 6 8

1 7 feet whip saw

1 18

3 ¾ round files for ditto

4

108 lb. of milld sheet Lead 6*d*

2 14

26½ lb. milld sheet Lead 6*d*

13 3

200 round head nails

1 4

100 6d nails	9		
3 padlocks and 1 pair Steelyards	5	7	
1 Gro. stamp awl blades	6		
2 dozen hafts for ditto	2	8	
1 pair large Bellows	6		
6 lb. sheet Lead 3s 1 Lock 1s 6d	4	6	17 7 3
J. Bradlee			
1 Large trumpet 6s 3 hand ditto 10s 6d	£	16	6
2 large tin Kettles		12	
3 horn Lanterns 18s 3d Tin ditto 9s	1	7	
2 tinder Boxes		2	8
1 Gallon Coffee Pot 4s 1 3 quart ditto 3s		7	
3 Gallon pans 9s 1 3 quart ditto 2s 6d		11	6
1 ½ Gallon funnell		1	6
1 quart ditto 1s 1 sett measures 7s		8	
1 pair of Shears	1	10	5 16 2
Enoch James			
1 Anchor 187 lb. 5½d	£	4	5 8½
4 whale Irons 16s 3 pair Grains 9s	1	5	
2 pickaxes 10s 1 Boathook 2s		12	
4 worms 8s 6 handcuffs 12s	1		
1 Shark hook and Chain		5	
4 fore Locks 8d 1 pump scraper 3s		3	8
Saml. Armstrong			7 11 4½
paints etc. for Ship			33 4 5
Thos. C. Vernon			
wharfage of Ship			11 13 2½
Wm. Whall			
4 Hatch Barrs 64½ lb. 6d	£	1	12
5 Hooks and Staples		2	8
Giles Alexander			1 14 8
4 Hhdds. and 3 Bushels Salt at 12s		2	12 9½
Benja. Cushing			
Masts, yards etc. for Ship and Sloop		30	
Wm. Rice			
Blacksmiths work for the mastmaker		1	16 9

Thos. Lewis

15 Cord of wood 13s 9 15

John Dyer

17 Cartridge Boxes 4s 6d 3 16 6

Lewis Hayt

12 Jarrs of Oil 6s

£3 12

1 dozen Shovels

1 16

3 Spades

4 6

5 12 6

Saml. Whitwell

1 lb. sewing twine

£ 2

44 lb. ditto

4 8

1 Box coffee mill

6

4 16

Isaac Davis

1 Cask raisins

£ 3

1 Stove

10 10

13 10

Samuel Dashwood

painting water Casks etc.

1 3 9

J. Lovering and Sons

27 lb. tallow

13 6

Wm. Dodd

Sugar and Chocolate supplied Ship

2 6 3½

J. Tisdale

1 Cabouse etc.

7 6

M. M. Hays

4½ Barrils with 65 Galls. Spermacety Oil

7 14 9

I. White

5 Boxes Candles

6 16 11

E. Morse

5470 Bricks

3 5 7

Bossenger Foster

20 3 pound Shott

15

B. and P. Jarvis

88 lb. of Shott

1 2

David West

Stationary

4 11 2

Elisha Sigourney

71 lb. of grape Shot

17 9

J. L. and B. Austin			
½ coil of Cordage		2	5
Jos. Coolidge			
31 Bullet Moulds		10	4
J. and T. Lamb			
4 Ash plank		16	1
David Spear			
wharfage of 30 Barrils Tarr		3	9
Winter Calef			
13 Hhdds. water	£	6	6
Alex. MacKey			
24 Hhdds. water		12	
— Page			
15 Hhdds. water		7	6
Wentworth and Trask			
Truckages		20	
McNeil			
cordage d[e]l[ivere]d Ship thro T. Browne		566	15 9
Cash paid			
6½ galls. oil £2 2s 6d sawing wood £1	£	3	2 6
Labourers on board		16	9 4
15 lb. cotton wick 2s 5d Thrums 10s 7d		2	15 7
Certificate of S. Cooper Jus. Pacis		1	6
500 Spruce Boards		13	6
Hhdds. Staves of E. Davis		18	9
6 Chaldron of Sea Coal		15	6
1 Cask and 19 Iron Hoops		1	5
1 Spy Glass £3 10s palms for Sailmaker			
4s 10d		3	14 10
advanced wages to Seamen		141	14 4
idem to John Hoskins		6	
idem to Owen Smith for which have order			
on his father		7	10
Iron funnell for Cabouse		1	
2 Teirces of Tobacco		18	2½
Sea Letters from the Secretary		12	8
bringing a Sailors Chest		2	

Boarding Seamen	6	15		
filling water Casks	11	6		
S. W. Hunt Excise fees	10	3		
Clearance of Ship	1	10		
Postage of Letters	1			
Wm. Minns pilotage of Ship	1	18	6	
Horse Hire to Providence	1	8	6	
			<u>215</u>	<u>17 11½</u>
			£2059	16
Comm[ission] on £2059 16s outfitts on Ship				
Columbia at 5 per Cent.			102	19 9
am[oun]t of Outfitts			£2162	15 9
<i>Provisions</i>				
Benja. Greene Junr.				
60 Barils of pork			£	216
Jona. Winship				
110 Barils of Beef 46s	£253			
25 Ditto 40s	50			
1070 lb. fresh Beef 2½d	11	2	11	
170 lb. suet 4½d	3	3	9	
vegetables 12s 8d 2 half Barrils and pack- ing 7s		19	8	318 6 4
Edward Tuckerman				
21 Hhdds. Bread w[eigh]t 59 3 16 at 30s	£89	16	6	
Saml. Dowse				
Hhdds. Bread w[eigh]t 33 2 14 at 28s	47	1	6	
Cooperage and Truckage		4		
Saml. Smith				
Hhdds. bread w[eigh]t 111 3 27 at 30s	167	19	8	
1 Hhdd. for ditto		10		
David Wood				
Hhdds. Bread w[eigh]t 70 0 0 at 30s	105			
Cooperage and Truckage	1	13	5	412 5 1
Mungo MacKey				
3 Hhdds. N. E. Rum 311 Galls. at 2s 1d			32	7 11

Lewis Hayt

2 Hhdds. W. I. Rum 225 Galls. 3s 5d	£38	1	11	
1 Iron Bound Cask		12		
20 Barils of Flour 42s	42			
3 Kegs Essence of Spruce	1	16		
4 Cask of rice w[eigh]t 21 1 19 at 20s	21	8	4	103 18 3

S. and W. Gray

5 Barils of Sugar 10 3 21 at 48s				26 5
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Robt. and Jos. Davis

3 Hhdds. vinegar 354 Galls. 8d	£11	16		
2 Barils peppers	4	16		
10 Bushells malt 3s 4d	1	13	4	
3 Barils 3s ½ Bushell mustard 14s		17		
Keg for mustard 9d 48½ Bushels				
Corn 9 1 10½	9	2	7½	
4 Cask for Corn 12s 100 Bunches				
Onions 16s 8d	1	8	8	
Cask for Onions 3s 1 Hhdd. 10s		13		
9 Iron bound Cask 12s	5	8		
6 Hhdds. 7s £2 2s 2 Hhdds. at 9s 18s	3			
1 ditto 8s 3 ditto 7s 6d £1 2s 6d	1	10	6	
150 lb. Coffee 11d	6	17	6	
6 Kegs of Butter 368 lb. 6½	9	19	4	
25 lb. of pepper £3 2s 6d Keg for ditto 1s	3	3	6	
10 Boxes of Chocolate and Boxes 500 lb. 10d	21	6	8	
4 quintal of fish 16s £3 4s 20 Barils of				
Cyder £7 10s	10	14		
502 lb. Cheese 3½d and Cask 3s	7	9	5	
2 Barrills of Barberries and Casks	1	3	6	
32 Galls. of Vinegar for ditto 9d	1	4		
6 Bushells Craneberries 12s 2 Cask 8s	1			
6 Bushells Barley 16s 2 Cask 2s		18		
50 Bushells Potatoes £3 15s 9¼ doz.				
Cabbages 15s 5d	4	10	5	
17 Bushells Turnips 14s 2d 3 Bushells				
pease £1 7s	2	1	2	
15¼ Bushells pease and Beans 6s 8d	5	1	8	

5 Cask for ditto 4s 10d 3 Hhds. vinegar			
£1 12s	1 16 10		
4 Cask of rice 18 3 16 19s	17 19		
10 Piggs 645 lb. 3d	8 1 3		
Truckage and Comm[ission]s	<u>10 4 7</u>	153 15 11½	
John Bray			
Coopering 60 Barrils of Pork		1	
Charles Miller			
13 Iron bound Cask 9s	£5 17		
Alexr. MacKey			
3 Iron bound Cask 10s	1 10		
Cotting and Wood			
3 Iron bound Cask 11s	1 13		
Wm. Boardman Junr.			
3 Iron bound Cask 11s	1 13		
Jona. Merry			
4 Iron bound Cask 9s	1 16		
David Bradlee			
3 Iron bound Cask 10s	1 10		
Wm. Dodd			
3 Iron bound Cask 10s	1 10		
Winship and Bradlee			
4 Cask	2 5		
Thos. Wells			
3 Iron bound Cask 12s	1 16		
Wm. Stackpole			
5 Iron bound Cask 12s	3		
M. Marston			
8 dry Hhdds. 6s	2 8		
6 Teirces 5s	1 10		
Saml. Sloane			
18 Cask 1s 8d	<u>1 10</u>	27 18	
James Barry			
Coopering 21 Hhdds. Bread		18 2	
Joseph Foster			
6⅞ Bushels Beans	£2 11 7½		

Mathew Parke

5 Bushell and $3\frac{1}{2}$ peck Beans	2	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4	14	9
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Eben. Woodward

Cooperage and 25 new water Casks	39	12	$8\frac{1}{2}$
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John Lambord

Cooperage	7	8	9	47	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$
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J. Lord

$1\frac{5}{8}$ Bushell pease 4s 9d 1 Hhdd. 9s				13	9
---	--	--	--	----	---

5 Hhdds. Molassess by Sam. Browne	56	6	$10\frac{1}{2}$
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Benja. Bronson

10 dozen fowls	5	2
----------------	---	---

Cash paid

nails for coopering Beef	£	2	3
--------------------------	---	---	---

1 Baril of Coffee 128 lb. at 9d	4	16	
---------------------------------	---	----	--

2 Hhdds. for Salt 3s 4d 3 Casks £1 11s	1	14	4
--	---	----	---

1 q[uarte]r Chest Bohea Tea 77 lb.	7	14	
------------------------------------	---	----	--

	14	6	7
£3583	15	$10\frac{1}{2}$	

Comm[ission]s on £1421 $1\frac{1}{2}$ d provisions for the Ship Columbia at 5 per Cent.

71	1
----	---

Tools

Enoch James

1 Beak Iron 34 lb. at 8d £1 2s 8d

4 punches 6s

£1	8	8
----	---	---

4 Cold Chissells 6s 8d 4 drivers 10s

16	8
----	---

1 Bolster 2s 3 Trushoops 7s 6d

9	6
---	---

1 Howell Shave 3s 6d 1 Large Shave 6s 8d

10	2
----	---

24 wood axes 5s 6d £6 12s 12 Hatchets

1s 18d

8	10	11	15
---	----	----	----

Richard Faxon

2 Broad axes £1 4s 2 Adzes 16s

£2

2 Chissels 2s 9d

5	6	2	5	6
---	---	---	---	---

Job Wheelwright

1 Cooper Ax 1 Adze and 1 Shave

1	4
---	---

John Andrews

500 10d nails 3s 2d 500 20d nails 5s

£	8	2
---	---	---

1 Smiths anvil 166 lb. at $8\frac{1}{2}$ d

5	17	7
---	----	---

1 Smiths vice 31 lb. at 1s	I	I I
1 Bench vice 10s 1 Hand vice 3s		13
2 Smith hand hammers		7 8
2 Sledges 31½ lb. at 1s	I	I I 6
1 Iron square 2s 1 doz. flatt files 8s		10
1 doz. 3 square files 7s 1 pair marking Iron 1s 6d		8 6
1 doz. 13 Inch flatt files 16s 1 doz. 12 Inch 12s	I	8
16⅔ doz. Sail needles assorted	I	I 0
4⅓ doz. large bott. rope ditto 3s		13
1 best 7 feet pit saw	I	18
1 5 feet tenant ditto	I	2
1 common Handsaw 5s 1 drawing Knife		7 8
2 best steele plate saws	I	
1 long Jointure with 3 Irons		6
1 fore plane 3 ditto		4 8
2 smoothing planes 3 ditto		8
1 Iron square 2s 1 sliding gunter 4s		6
3 solid Joint Carpenters rule		4
3 Nail Hammers 4s 6d 1 Carpenters adze 4s 6d		9
5 socket chissells and gouges assorted		7 1
3 Carpenters Compasses		3 4
6 Cotton Chalk Lines 4s 6d 4 pitsaw files 5s 4d		9 I 0
12 handsaw and 6 X cutsaw files		7 2
1 large flatt file and 3 rasps		6
3 doz. box handle Gimblets 2s		6
8 box handle spike ditto assorted		8 8
1 doz. common Spike ditto		8
15 Caulkers Irons assorted	I	
2 Caulkers mallets 6s 6d		13
1 M pump and 1 M clapper nails		5 4
13 bright augurs sorted from ½ to 1¾ Inch	I	I 0
1 pair 20 Inch Chest hinges		3
1 Bent Hasp with 2 Staples	I	8

1 best double bolt padlock for Tool Chest	5		
1 large Nova Scotia Grindstone	16		
1½ dozen 14 Inch flatt files	1 10		
½ doz. large ½ round rasps	7	6	
8 11 Inches round files 10s 8d 4 smaller ditto 3s 4d	14		
1 pair 20 Inches Chest Hinges	3		
1 double spring Chest Lock	2	6	
1 Coopers vice 1s 3d 1 Handsaw 5s	6	3	
1 Cross Stock with 2 Irons	8		
1 double mouth Jointer with 2 Irons	18		
1 pair Coopers Steele Compasses	8		
1 M Coopers rivets 18s 3 Caulking Irons 4s	1	2	
1 spring Bitt Stock with 12 sorted Bitts	1	6	
1 Bung borer with Handle	8		
1 Caulking mallet 6s 6d 2 Compass saws 4s 6d	11		
1 Steel fine back saw 12s	12		
6 long firmers sorted 1s 4d	8		
5 saw setts for X Cutt saws	5		
4 pitt saw files 5s 4d 2 pair pincers 3s	8	4	
4 Joiners mouldering planes	16		
4 Hanks binding wire	3		
8 ounces Borax	5	4	
2½ lb. sheet Brass	5		
1 scale Beam with tin scale	13	4	
1 pair Steelyards	9		40 13 11
Samuel Whitwell			
1 pair Blacksmiths Bellows	£5	8	
18 lb. german Steel	10	6	
½ M 4d nails 6 plyers 7s	8	6	
2 screwplates 14s 1 Bick Iron 31½ lb.	1 15	8	2
Samuel Yendell			
1 Broad Ax and Adze		18	
		£37 19 15	3½
Comm[ission] on £64 18s 5d Tools for the Ship Columbia at 5 per Cent		3	4 11
		£37 23	2½

Cargo

Herman Brimmer

143 Sheets Copper 2293¼ lb. 1s 10d 210 4 3½

John Pintard

124 Sheets of Copper 1202 lb. 104 7¼

Perrin May

1011 of Barr Iron £25 £25 6 6

Wm. Little

19325 of Barr Iron £25 10s 38 4 4

Benja. Cobb and Sons

31000 of Barr Iron 88 151 10 10

Danl. Hubbard

20 q[uarte]r Cask powder 500 lb. 1s 2d £29 3 4

David Sears

25 q[uarte]r and 6½ Barrils powder 999 lb. 13d 54 2 3

0321 lb. of Iron Hoops 48 2 5 85 10 7

Sol. Cotton

4261¼ lb. Chissells 5½ 97 13 ½

Enoch James

2494 lb. Chissells 5½d 57 3 1

Asa Hammond

120 pair Shoes 4s 6d £27

30 pair ditto 5s 7 10

12 pair Boots 16s 6d 9 18 44 8

Herman Brimmer

6 pieces blue duffill 131¼ 3 pieces red

ditto 57¼ 188½ yd. 2s 8d £25 2 8

5 pieces green ditto 96¾ 2s 9d 13 6 ¾

4 pieces Scarlet coating 92¾ 4s 2d 19 6 5½

1 Bale Blue and green duffils 50 15

£108 10 2¼

60 per Cent Advance

65 2 1¾

£173 12 4

Deduct for damage

12 4 173

Benja. Greene Junr.

113 lb. Steel 6d £2 16 6

20 0 1 Lead 40s	40	4	
30M 4d nails 2s 5d	3	12	6
1 Chest		6	4
2 doz. blue duffill Trowsers	£5	8	46 15 8
2 doz. ditto cloth ditto	5	2	
1 doz. Knapt lin'd Jacketts	4	1	
1 doz. pea Jacketts	6	9	
1 doz. flushing Coats	9	6	
1 flushing great Coat		13	6
9 large Blue watch Coats	4	12	3
2 pair large flannel Drawers		3	9
22 Blue Cloth Trowsers	4	13	6
5 pair Dark Trowsers		15	
11 ditto fearnought	2	7	8
	£43	11	8
20 per Cent advance	8	14	4
Exchange 33 1/3	17	8	8
	£69	14	8
Deduct deliv'd John Hoskins	6	8	9
	£63	5	11
2 Cases		13	4
Samuel Parkman			63 19 3
6 Gro. Gimblets 18s	£5	8	
4 doz. Spike Gimblets	1	4	
1 doz. Tapborers		12	
12 Gro. Buttons	3	12	10 16
George Deblois			
2 lb. of colour'd Thread 3s 9d	£	7	6
4		16	
14	3	8	
1M needles		5	10
3 [?] goose Shot 42s	6	6	
3 1 1/2 lb. Iron wire 1s	1	11	6
Baker and Brewer			
1 piece Strip'd duffill Blankett	£2	16	
1 piece ditto ditto	3	5	
1 piece ditto ditto	3	16	

1 piece 8/4 fine	4	12	
7 pieces Baize 40s	14		
	<u>£28</u>	9	
25 per Cent Advance	7	2	3
	<u>£35</u>	11	3
Exchange 33 1/3	11	17	1
John Andrews			47 8 4
2 Cask Spikes 10 0 14 at 54s	£27	6	9
4 gro. large Brass Thimbles	1	12	
1 Bullet mould	10		
2 Shott moulds	4		
2 1/2 Gro. common Gimblets 9s	1	2	6
3M Flynts 28s	4	4	
8 doz. Cuttoe Knives 5s	2		
8 doz. ditto 4s 6d	1	16	
4 doz. ditto 4s	16		
			39 11 3
Mason and Winslow			
1 Gro. Buffelo Handle Cuttoes	£ 2	8	
1 Gro. Buck handle Cuttoes	2	14	
			5 2
James Cutter			
280 1/4 yds. Tow Cloth 10d	£11	13	6 1/2
163 ditto ditto 11 1/2d	7	16	2 1/2
			19 9 9
David Cobb			
2 large Bear Traps			6
S. Fales			
14M of 20d nails			6 6
Robt. and Jos. Davis			
66 pair yarn hose 2s 2d	£7	3	
24 pair ditto 2s 8d	3	4	
12 pair ditto 3s	1	16	
10 Grindstones	2	7	
28 pair Yarn hose 2s 2d	2	5	6
1 Cask for ditto	1	6	
			16 17
Josiah Bradlee			
6 doz. tin Kettles 24s	£7	4	
26 1/3 doz. quart poles 10s	13	3	4
88 Sheets of Tin	2	4	
			22 11 4

Thos. K. Jones

2 Gro. Buttons

£1 7

6 hund[red] Codhooks

1 2

6 doz. mild Caps

3 18

6 7

Lewis Hayt

4 Boxes of Soap 183½ lb. at 5d

£3 16 5½

4 Boxes 1s

4

600 quills

12

74 lb. Tobacco 5d

1 10 10

1 Muskett

13

6 16 3½

T. Newell

1 Cask 10d Nails 21¾ 6s

£6 10 6

8 Musketts 26s 6d

10 12

17 2 6

Moses Wallack

4 Musketts

3 12

Robt. Molineux

4 Musketts

£3 4

3 Reams of Paper

1 16

5

J. Eaton

19 Gro. Buttons 12s

11 8

Wm. Whall

5 Musketts

£4 10

Cleaning 50 Musketts 3s

7 10

12

David Seward

Cleaning 48 Muskets 3s

7 4

John Merritt

3 Musketts 15s

£2 5

Cleaning 28 Musketts 3s

4 4

6 9

Government

100 Musketts 12s

£60

8 Blunderbusses

4 16

64 16

A. Hammond

4 Musketts

3 1 6

E. Perry

3 Musketts

2 7 10

Cash paid

2 lb. white thread

£ 12

25 Boxes for Chissels and 16 Boxes for

Copper and musketts

5 1 3

114 Shirts

37 1 1

6 pieces Cotton Cloth

18 18

61 12 4

£5170 3 2¹/₄

Comm[ission] on £1447 2s 10³/₄d Amount
of Cargo on board the Ship Columbia at

5 per Cent

72 7 1³/₄

£5242 10 4

£5242 10s 4d Am[oun]t of outfitts, Provisions, Tools and Cargo of the Ship Columbia for her second voyage to the N. W. Coast of America exclusive of the Ship which was valued at £1000 as she came from Sea as may be seen on the other page.¹

¹ See page 465.

SHIP COLUMBIA second Voyage to the N. W. Coast of America

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>Cr.</i>
To Ship Columbia as she came from Sea	£1000	Saml. Browne 3/14ths £1340 2 9
" Outfits, Provisions, Tools and Cargo		Thos. Bulfinch 2/14ths 893 8 6
as per the Acc[oun]t annexed	5242 10 4	Crowell Hatch 2/14ths 893 8 6
" Cash paid Discounts at the Bank for		R. Gray, Davenport and
money on Pintard's 1/7th	11 9 8	McLean 2/14ths 893 8 6
	£6254	2233 11 9
		<u>£6254</u>

JOHN HOSKINS AND ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

*On board Ship Columbia**Nantasket road Thursday 30 Sept. 1790*

SIR:

NO doubt you will be surprised to hear from me at this place but I suppos'd you w[oul]d be glad to hear the ship was safe when I inform'd you by the Pilot we had a free wind and should go to Sea as fast as possible all that day and the next day we saild with the winds variable from ESE to E in hopes to get clear of the Land before the gale but in the night we were becalm'd and in the morning the wind sprang up briskly from the NE and blew a heavy gale we were then of Truro in Cape Cod it was then thought best for the safety of the Ship to run into Cape Cod which we did and came to Anchor about 7 o'Clock at night in Barnstable Bay—as we then lay 'twas impossible to put to Sea should the wind come fair it was again thought best to weigh anchor and stand out of the Bay and should the wind come fair we could go to Sea and should it not we could run for Boston accordingly about 9 o'Clock we weigh'd with a heavy gale all day from NE to SE and about 10 o'Clock at night we came to Anchor in the Light house Channel this morning we again weigh'd and run into this place w[h]ere we are safe at Anchor impatiently awaiting for a fair wind—all on Board are well and hearty Capt. Grays best respects to you and the Gentlemen.

Will you be pleased to make my best respects to all your family—to the Gentlemen of the Concern'd and accept the same yourself and be assur'd Sir that I am with the most unfeigned Gratitude

Your and their most

Devoted and much Obligated

Humble Servant

JOHN HOSKINS for
self and ROBERT GRAY

P.S. I inclose a Letter for my mother which you would oblige me by sending to her.

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

*On board the Ship Columbia at Sea
in Latitude 5° No. Longitude 24° West,
November 13th 1790*

SIR

WE sail'd from Nantasket road the morning after we left you with a fair wind. Mr. Woodward did not arrive before we sailed and we thought it not worth while to wait for him consequently we did not get the Beans and other things you sent. Capt. Gray wishes you Sir to call at the Custom House for the Ship Columbia's *Grand Chop*¹ or China clearance which he left there when he enter'd the Ship (Capt. Magee² or Mr. Perkins³ can tell it) and send it out to Canton by the first good safe hand as he expects should he go to Canton to save at least half the duties by having it. We are all pretty well the Gentlemen join us in best respects to you and the owners.

We are your most humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

*On board Ship Columbia at Sea
November 14, 1790*

SIR

THE foregoing is a Copy of what we wrote you yesterday by a portuguese Ship bound to the Coast of Brazil, we avail'd ourselves of the first opportunity not knowing when we should have another, but well convinc'd it would be a long time before you receiv'd it yet we thought that news from us though a long time coming

¹ The grand chop or red chop was the Chinese port clearance. All vessels complained of these whimsical Chinese restrictions; see, for instance, Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (Dublin, 1784), III. 427ff.

² Of the ship *Margaret*, which left Boston October 24, 1791, and was on the coast in 1792.

³ Thomas Handasyd Perkins of Boston, member of the great Chinese house of Perkins & Co.

would be agreeable to you and the owners and the necessity of our having the *Grand Chop* to save duties at China.

We are with all respect

Sir your most humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS¹

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia of Cape Percival
Falkland Islands Feby. 2d 1791

SIR

WE this day came out of New Island Harbor,² where we arrived 10 days since, after a long, tedious passage of 113 days, we have been wind bound four days, all hearty and well on board—we still hope to get safe round Cape Horn and be early on the Coast; depend on it every thing will be done to give us as short a passage as possible.

We have already wrote you by two opportunitys, the one via Lisbon, the other Bristol, requesting you, to send the Ship Columbia's Grand Chop to Canton, as soon as possible, because it will be a saving of a great part of the duties, which are very high there.

The Gentlemen Officers are well, and desire there best respects to you and the other Gentlemen, with whom join, Sir, your and their most devoted

and much obliged,

Humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

Sir, will you be so good as to let my mother know I am hearty and well Yours J. HOSKINS

¹ This letter was sent by Captain Butler of the *Aurora* of Bristol, a whaler then bound around Cape Horn. See above, Hoskins' narrative, November 14, 1790.

² This was on one of the small islands lying to the westward of the main Falkland Islands. The *Columbia* anchored here on January 23, 1791.

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia NW Coast of America
Latitude 55° 0' North, 15th August

1791

SIR

WE arrived safe on this Coast the 4th June last, we have done every thing that was possible for the Concern'd. This night at 12 oClock we spoke the Brig Hancock Capt. Crowell from Boston and were much disappointed at receiving no letters from you: Mr. Hatch the chief mate has promis'd to deliver this. We three days ago met with an unfortunate accident, our second mate Joshua Caswell of Malden, and two of our seamen were massacred by the natives of this place; (the seamen's names were Jo. Barns and John Folger) at a short distance from the Ship in the Jollyboat, we got the boat and the body of Mr. Caswell which we decently interr'd. Capt. Ingraham has arriv'd safe on the Coast, about the same time we did. The Officers requests their particular respects to you and the Gentlemen of the concern'd.

We are Sir with all respects

Your most humble servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

P.S. sir, you'l please to let my mama know that I am well. Mr. Boit also requests you'l let his parent know he is in health.

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia Washington's Islands

Latitude 53° 5' North, 22d August 1791

SIR

WE wrote you a few days since by Capt. Adamson, and now embrace this by Capt. Ingraham. we arrived safe on this Coast about three months ago, and have done everything possible for the concern'd. in the Latitude of 55° 30' North we were so unfortunate as to loose our second mate Joshua Caswell and two of our

men, who were massacred by the natives. as yet we have not built the sloop,¹ nor do we intend it 'till we go into winter quarters; we expect to start early with her in the spring and will endeavour to shorten our voyage as much as possible. depend nothing will be wanting on our part to do every thing in our power for the concern'd. the Gentlemen requests their respects to you and the gentlemen of the concern'd, with whom join your and their

Most obliged and very Humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

please to inform my mama I am well. Yours J. H.

JOHN KENDRICK TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Macao, in China, Mar. 28, 1792

JOSEPH BARRELL, ESQUIRE

DEAR SIR:

THIS will be handed you by Mr. Ebenezer Dorr, who goes to America in the Brig Fairy, Captain Wm. Rogers, and does serve to inform you that I arrived again at Macoa on the 7th of December last, from the North West Coast of America with a Cargo of one thousand Sea Otter Skins,² which I have but just sold for the sum of twenty one thousand Spanish head dollars, on account of a total prohibition having taken place among the Chinese with regard to the Fur Trade. However, I am now fitting out the Brig for another voyage to the North West Coast, where it is my intention to winter, consequently shall not be in China again until the month of November, 1793.³ It is very expensive in fitting out a vessel from this place, and the Chinese would not permit me to go to Canton with my Cargo this season on account of the prohibition.

¹ The *Adventure*.

² Kendrick left Clayoquot Sound on September 25, 1791, according to Boit; on September 29, according to Hoskins. He had therefore shown most unusual celerity, for him. The ordinary time from the Northwest Coast to China, via the Hawaiian Islands, was about nine or ten weeks.

³ Kendrick did not sail for the Northwest Coast until September, 1792. Being dismasted in a typhoon, he returned to Lark's Bay to refit, and did not leave for the coast again until about March, 1793.

I have often attempted to send letters to you, but have as often been disappointed, through the many difficulties attendant; being greatly embarrassed when at Macoa, the Portuguese Government would not suffer me to enter their Port with my Vessel to refit. I also found it very difficult to get provisions, sails, riggings, etc., and thus situated I unfortunately lost the season; by which means it brought the Vessel near ten thousand dollars in debt—Therefore I was obliged to make use of Martineses Moneys,¹ and also to borrow three thousand dollars more to enable me to proceed the voyage. I was prepared to have sent despatches by the Columbia, but she sailed contrary to my orders or expectations, otherwise something handsome might have been sent you from me.

Many may have been the reports to you respecting the sale of the Sloop, but I assure it was nothing but a sham sale,² merely to help me through my difficulties and troubles. I sold the Cargo of the Sloop when I first arrived at Macoa for the sum of eighteen thousand dollars, and Martineses Furs for eight thousand dollars.

Being thus circumstanced and so situated at present, I can not send the papers I would wish. However, as I wish to convince you I have strove the utmost in my power for the benefit and interest of the concerned, therefore will now make you this proposal, which I hope will be satisfactory to you, which is for me either to continue in the employ as usual or I will take the Brig on my own account from the 16th of April, 1790, and abide by all losses and gains from that date; for which I will allow you the sum of fourteen thousand dollars with an interest of 12 per cent from that date until payment is made and in case I should not make a good voyage my credit is such in China that you can depend on the monies being remitted to you or paid to your Canton Attorneys, or Agents on my arrival from the North West Coast in the year 1793.

The Vessel is now so far in debt, that I really wish not to turn her on your hands, and am altogether willing to conduct according to

¹ The \$8,000 received by Kendrick from the sale of the sea-otter skins entrusted to him by Martinez, the commander of the Spanish vessel *Princesa*.

² Compare with this letter the statements of his friend Hoskins in the opening part of the latter's journal. From this time on, there was much mystery as to who were the owners of the *Washington*. Hoskins says that Kendrick at Clayoquot Sound in 1791 offered to return the vessel if certain debts were paid.

your determination, but it is sincerely my opinion that my offer is most advantageous.

In case I am continued in the employ (as Captain and Super Cargo) and am to proceed as usual, according to our first agreement when I left Boston, I shall consider the Columbia as consigned to me, and shall expect a commission on the sales, and purchases of her cargoes of this her second voyage to the North West Coast of America, etc. Otherwise I shall expect to receive customary perquisites and emoluments which is allowed to commanders and super cargoes who transact business to and from China to the North West Coast of America, which is five hundred see Rupees per month as wages for a commander, and five per cent commissions as super cargo. You will therefore consult your own interest and I shall continue to exert myself to the utmost of my abilities for the benefit of the concerned, etc., and shall want your final decision on the subject, and your answer to this will inform me how to proceed, and I shall conduct accordingly.¹

In my last Voyage I purchased of the natives five tracts of land and copies of the deeds which was signed shall be sent you the first opportunity.²

Your letter per Captain Gray I received, but found it different from what I expected, as I thought to have the conducting of all your business in this part of the world, and had the Columbia been sent to me, it would have been much more to the benefit of the concerned, as she could have returned to America this season.

I am confident you have been told many untruths respecting the voyage, and matters have been represented in a wrong light, neither have you had true accounts rendered into you, for I can prove that the Furs which were on board the Columbia, when she arrived at Canton was sold by Messrs. Shaw & Randle for twenty-six thousand dollars and upwards, and might have been sold for much more. But there was too much smuggling, and the officers even encouraged the

¹ One finds it extremely difficult to satisfy oneself as to the rectitude of Kendrick's conduct from the time that he took command of the *Washington* in 1789; and that difficulty is not lessened by the aspersions he casts on unnamed persons, presumably Captain Gray.

² For copies of these deeds, see *House of Representatives Document Number 43* (26th Congress, 1st Session).

people to follow their examples, they have not only made their boasts, and told of it themselves. When I was on the Coast the last voyage the natives gave me information of their selling numbers of skins to the officers and people, which was sold at Canton, and the Chinese have since informed me of numbers sold them, one lot in particular of thirty-six skins. Thus you will find how things have been conducted, and after giving you these hints, Sir, would recommend it to you to look into the matter,¹ as you have a very good opportunity of redressing yourself; and you may depend on my honor and integrity, in giving you every intelligence, and assistance in my next, which will be in a few days, and further you may rely on my rendering you a proper statement of my affairs and transactions, and am, Sir, firm and steady to my first agreement, and am content to stay and prosecute the voyage or voyages to the end; and for many particulars relative to this matter I would refer you to Mr. Dorr as he is now waiting, and am Sir, with much esteem your very humble servant.

JOHN KENDRICK

JOHN HOSKINS AND ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia Woody point
July 12th 1792

SIR

WE wrote you by the several opportunities, which presented the last season, since which we have built the Sloop and called her the Adventure, in which Capt. Haswell is now on a Cruize to the northward.

we received your Letters per Capt. Magee, the contents we note and shall follow your instructions.

our Cargo is nearly expended, and though not at so good a rate as we could wish, yet we hope at least to make a saving voyage; Skins being a hundred per Cent dearer this season than they were the last, besides we have very discouraging accounts from Canton.

the natives from the arms and ammunition they have received,

¹ These charges against captains and supercargoes were not uncommon; they were sometimes baseless, sometimes true. Compare, however, in this instance with Hoskins' letter of August 21, 1792, page 482, below.

have become expert marksmen and exceedingly troublesome. there are as many vessels on the Coast this season, as there were the last.

all well on board, this Spring we buried our Boatswain,¹ who was the only sick man we had.

Our officers beg their best respects to you and the Owners, in which they are most sincerely join'd by your and their, most obliged, and most devoted Servants

JOHN HOSKINS
for self and
ROBERT GRAY

h r k k—Sea otters
y k k k—Land furs

ROBERT GRAY AND JOSEPH INGRAHAM
TO DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA²

Nootka Sound, August 3d, 1792

SIR,

YOUR esteemed favor was handed to us yesterday, requesting from us information relative to the transactions between the English and Spaniards in this sound, in the year 1789, which we will do with great pleasure, and impartially, as you request.

On the 5th of May, 1789, when Don Estevan José Martinez arrived in Friendly Cove, he found riding at anchor there the Iphigenia only; the ship Columbia being at Mahwhinna, five miles up the sound. The sloop Washington and North-West America (schooner) were on a cruise. This information is necessary in order to regulate the sequel of the present. After the usual ceremonies of meeting were over, Don Martinez requested the papers of each vessel, and demanded why they were at anchor in Nootka Sound, alleging it belonged to his Catholic majesty. Captain Viana, who passed as commander of the Iphigenia, answered, they had put in, being in distress, having but little provisions, and in great want of every necessary, such as cables, anchors, rigging, sails, etc.; that they were in

¹ Benjamin Harden.

² This letter is in Ingraham's MS. journal of the *Hope*. The text printed here is that given in Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, 414-417.

daily expectation of the arrival of Captain Meares from Macao, to supply them, when they should depart. Captain Meares was expected to return in the same vessel he sailed in from hence in the year 1788, which was under the Portuguese colors, and had a Portuguese captain on board: this vessel, with the *Iphigenia*, were said to belong to one Cravalia, or Cavallo, a merchant of Macao, in whose name the *Iphigenia*'s papers were made out. Seeing the *Iphigenia* was in such want, Don Martinez gave them a temporary assistance, by supplying them with such articles as they were most in want, till the vessel before mentioned should arrive. At this time there was not the least suspicion of any misunderstanding or disturbance among us, as Don Martinez was apparently satisfied with the answers each vessel had given to his request.

However, on the 10th of May, the *San Carlos*, Captain Arrow, [Haro,] arrived. The same day the American officers came to Uquot, or Friendly Cove, to welcome them in; and the next morning, the 11th of May, Don Martinez captured the *Iphigenia*, and his reason, as we understand, was, that, in their Portuguese instructions, they had orders to capture any English, Spanish, or Russian, subjects they met on the northwest coast of America. This, at the time, seemed improbable, as she was a vessel of small force; and it was afterwards found to have been a mistake, owing to their want of a perfect knowledge of the Portuguese language. However, after the vessel was taken, the officers and seamen were divided, some on board the *Princesa*, and some on board the *San Carlos*, where they were treated with all imaginable kindness, and every attention paid them.

On the 24th of May, the above-mentioned mistake being discovered, the *Iphigenia* was returned again, and the Portuguese flag hoisted on board her: the same day, Captain Douglas, with the Portuguese captain and seamen, repaired on board. The *Iphigenia*, while in possession of the Spaniards, from being a wreck was put in complete order for sea, being calked, rigging and sails repaired, anchors and cables sent from the *Princesa*, etc. On the 26th, Don Martinez supplied them with every kind of provisions they were in need of, for which Captain Douglas gave him bills on Cravalia, the before-mentioned merchant of Macao. On the 31st, the *Iphigenia* sailed, and was saluted by the Spanish fort; and the commodore accom-

panied them out of the harbor, giving every assistance with boats, etc. When Captain Douglas took his leave of the commodore, he declared he should ever entertain a sense of Don Martinez's kindness, deeming his conduct relative to the vessel no more than his duty as a king's officer. Upon the whole, we both believe the *Iphigenia's* being detained was of infinite service to those who were concerned in her. This must be plain to every one who will consider the situation of the vessel when the *Princesa* arrived, and the advantages reaped from the supplies and assistance of the Spaniards. The detention, if it may be called so, could be no detriment; for, had nothing taken place, she must have remained two months longer at least, having, as has already been mentioned, put into port, being in distress. Of course they could not have sailed till supplies arrived, which was not till July, as will appear in the sequel: whereas, being early fitted, as above mentioned, she sailed on the coast northward of Nootka Sound, and there being no other vessel there, they collected upwards of seven hundred sea otter skins; which has been often represented to us by Captain Douglas and his officers, after our arrival in China. This may suffice for the transactions relative to the *Iphigenia*. Before Captain Douglas sailed, he gave Don Estevan Martinez a letter to Mr. Funter, master of the schooner *North-West America*, telling him, from Captain Meares's not arriving at the appointed time, there was great reason to fear the vessel he sailed from Nootka in had never reached China, (she being in bad condition when she sailed from this place;) therefore, as he, Mr. Funter, must, on his arrival, be destitute of every necessary, he was at liberty to conduct as he thought most conducive to the interests of his employers. We shall make mention of this vessel again hereafter.

Interim, we observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here. We answer in a word, *None*. On the arrival of the *Columbia*, in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts, covered with boards, made by the Indians; but this Captain Douglas pulled to pieces, prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands, the same year. The boards he took on board the *Iphigenia*, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the *Columbia*; so that, on the arrival of Don

Estevan J. Martinez, there was no vestige of any house remaining. As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased of Maquinna or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any; although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound; they answered, *No*; that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.

On the 8th of June, the schooner North-West America arrived, and the next day the Spaniards took possession of her. Don E. J. Martinez had an account taken of the property on board, particularly of the skins, which he said should be given to the officers and seamen, that they might be sure of their wages. On the 16th of June, the sloop Princess Royal arrived from Macao, commanded by Thomas Hudson; this vessel brought accounts of the safe arrival of Captain Meares, and that Captain Colnett was coming on the coast, commodore of the English trading vessels from Macao for the ensuing season, in a snow named the Argonaut. Mr. Hudson likewise brought accounts of the failure of Juan Cravalía & Co., merchants of Macao, before mentioned. What right the commodore had to detain the North-West America before, it is not for us to say; but he always said it was an agreement between Captain Douglas and himself; but, after the arrival of this vessel with the above news, he held her as security for the bills of exchange drawn on said Cravalía & Co. in favor of his Catholic majesty: this we have heard him say. On the 2d of July, the Princess Royal sailed out of the port, having, to our knowledge, been treated by the commodore and his officers with every possible attention, which Captain Hudson himself seemed conscious of and grateful for. Prior to this vessel's sailing, the commodore gave to Mr. Funter all the skins he brought in in the North-West America, which were shipped on board the sloop Princess Royal by Mr. Funter, for his own account. In the evening of the 2d, a sail was descried from the Spanish fort. We were among the first that went out to meet them. It proved to be the Argonaut, Captain Colnett, before mentioned. The transactions of this vessel were such, that we can give the sense of them in a few words, that may answer

every purpose of the particulars, many of which are not immediately to the point, or tending to what we suppose you wish to know.

It seems Captain Meares, with some other Englishmen at Macao, had concluded to erect a fort and settle a colony in Nootka Sound; from what authority we cannot say. However, on the arrival of the Argonaut, we heard Captain Colnett inform the Spanish commodore he had come for that purpose, and to hoist the British flag, take formal possession, etc.: to which the commodore answered, he had taken possession already in the name of his Catholic majesty; on which Captain Colnett asked if he would be prevented from building a house in the port. The commodore, mistaking his meaning, answered him, he was at liberty to erect a tent, get wood and water, etc., after which he was at liberty to depart when he pleased; but Captain Colnett said that was not what he wanted, but to build a block house, erect a fort, and settle a colony, for the crown of Great Britain. Don Estevan José Martinez answered, *No*; that, in doing that, he should violate the orders of his king, run a risk of losing his commission, and not only that, but it would be relinquishing the Spaniards' claim to the coast: besides, Don Martinez observed, the vessels did not belong to the king, nor was he intrusted with powers to transact such public business. On which Captain Colnett answered, he was a king's officer; but Don Estevan replied, his being in the navy was of no consequence in the business. In conversing on the subject, after the arrival of the vessel in port, it seems Captain Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princessa's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the vessel to be seized. We did not see him draw his sword, but were informed of the circumstance by those whose veracity we had no reason to doubt. After seizing the Argonaut, the sloop Princess Royal arrived a second time; and, as she belonged to the same company, the commodore took possession of her also. With respect to the treatment of the prisoners, although we have not perused Mr. Meares's publication, we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don E. J. Martinez always treated them very kindly, and all his officers, consistent with the character of gentlemen.

Having acquainted you with the principal part of the business, agreeable to request, one thing remains to answer, which is, of the

captain, officers, and seamen, of the North-West America. You ask if we carried them to China. We did, and with them one hundred sea otter skins, the value of which, we judge, independent of freight, was four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars; these were delivered to Mr. Meares, and were, we suppose, his property. We sincerely hope, sir, when things are represented with truth, it will rescue our friend Don Estevan J. Martinez from censure; at least, that he may not be deemed an impostor and a pirate, which many, from only hearing one part of the story, supposed he was. As to the treatment of the Americans by Don Estevan, we have ever testified it in terms due to such hospitality, and are happy again to have it in our power to do what we deem justice to his conduct. While speaking of others of your nation, we can never be unmindful of you. Your kind reception and treatment of us has made an impression that will not be easily erased; and we hope you will bear in mind how very sincerely we are, sir, your most humble servants,

ROBERT GRAY

JOSEPH INGRAHAM

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

St. Lorenzo, Nootka Sound

Augt. 21, 1792

SIR

NO doubt you will be surprized, at hearing of us from this place, when your orders so positively forbid going to any Spanish port, but in case of distress, which I am sorry to say, is the cause of our putting in here. On the 27th of June last, in Latitude $52^{\circ}30'$ No. Longitude $130^{\circ}36'$ West the Ship struck on a rock,¹ which made her leak so much, as to keep one pump agoing; in this situation we made a harbour near to Woody point, where the ship was haul'd ashore; there was a considerable sheathing knock'd of the starboard bilge, and the plank broke through in two places; the lower part of the stem and forward part of the Keel were shatter'd to peices. the Carpenter inform'd, he could do nothing with the Stem and Keel,

¹ Boit writes about this event in his journal under date June 28. See also page 489, below.

until the Ship was unloaded and laid on blocks; that he must take the damaged parts out and put in new. the Carpenter repaired the bilge, spik'd the shatter'd stem together, sheath'd and caulk'd it over. this being done we sail'd for this place, where we arrived the 23d of July, and reported our situation to the Spanish Governor, who very politely offer'd us every assistance. he has lent us Store houses for our Goods, granted the second best house in his small Town, for Capt. Gray and myself to lodge and do our business in; and insists on our eating and drinking with him, at his house; where we live most sumptuously.

We are happy to inform you the Ship is now thoroughly repaired, reloaded and fit for Sea. to morrow we shall sail for port Montgomery, where we expect to meet Mr. Haswell in the Sloop. we expect to leave the Coast in about a month, and shall try what can be done at Japan and the northern Coast of China.

We have a tolerable Cargo of furs aboard and are in hopes to get a few more. Capt. Ingraham of the Hope informs, that furs are prohibited in China under very severe penalties; that although we may smuggle the Skins, they will fetch only from 15 to 25 Doll[ar]s.

We have nothing more to add at present than we are your much obliged and most obedient humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

Capt. Ingraham requests you would inform his Owners that he has been in this port and are all well. will you be so good as to inform my mother I am well.

h r k k. S.O.

JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

St. Lorenzo, Nootka Sound

Augt. 21st 1792

ESTEEMED SIR

CAPT. GRAY and myself have already wrote you by this conveyance, *via* New Spain; and as you are my friend and principal employer, I take the liberty in my own name, of stating to you some

of the particular transactions of our voyage, and principally what concerns myself.

Soon after our leaving Boston, I found myself very disagreeably situated and unsupported by the man, who ought to have been my friend. he on the contrary held me in the most contemptable light, and introduc'd me to his officers as a spy upon his and their conduct, not only as it respected trade, but even to their domestic life; this station of mine was soon made known to the whole Ship's company, and to every vessel we have spoke. he and his officers have frequently convers'd together, on the method of treatment that was requisite for me, and I have reason to believe, if I had sign'd the articles, or you had not so fully mentioned me in your orders to him, I should have long before this day been before the mast, if not turn'd a shore; but as this was plac'd out of their power, the only method they had left was to treat me ill. this they have done very frequently and been countenanc'd for it by their Commander. I could recite many disagreeable sayings they have made use of at those times respecting yourself, but at present I'll forbear.

My Books I have regularly kept, and will venture to say, you will find the accounts as fair, and as honest as my situation would admit. when I first propos'd opening the books, which was not long after we got to Sea; I was told the books was of no use nor myself neither, for that it was impossible for me to keep an account of the disposal of the Cargo. I insisted it was possible and would, if I could not keep a perfect account, keep the best that was possible and that I was convinc'd, on my return, that you would make every allowance, if every thing had the appearance of fair play. I open'd the books with a separate account of every article in the invoice, this I was told was not right, that I knew not how to keep books; I told them this was the way all merchants kept them, that you also kept them in the same way. the answer was damn Jo. Barrell he does not know how to keep books or any thing else, except his damn mean ways, of setting his damn clerks to overlook people, and the like. I then requested to be shown the right method of keeping books; but no one knowing, I went on my old way. yet every time I open my books, I receive similar treatment and yet these same people are so illiterate as scarce to know a book when they see it.

Since we have been on the Coast, we have cruiz'd various parts of it, (but give me leave to say I knew as much of the Coast, when we first arriv'd as did the Commander of your Ship) but my treatment has not been alter'd. I have reason to think notwithstanding I keep a good look out, there is some unfair play and which if possible I will endeavour to discover. least I should be mistaken in this, I'll give you some reasons. Capt. Gray brought out several old fashion woolen coats and other articles, which I have heard him declare, if he could get an opportunity he would sell and convert the proceeds to his own use. this by no means shews an honest principal in the Commander. he has also said should the Ship go to Boston, he would not send any property of his own in her, he would send it to New York. Mr. Haswell I have heard from the Commander of another Ship, has said to his officers, that he would make 10,000 *Dollars*, he would then go to England that the Owners might go to hell and his wages and per Centage with them. if these are the dashes that are making no doubt we shall neat you small proffits. you may possibly blame me for not preventing this, but if you will recollect the Captain of your Ship is a man of no principle, that he does not, nor has not since he left Boston, commanded his Ship. this I do not say of myself, his officers have told him so on his quarter deck. though when I have at times spoken for the good of the concern, he has frequently told me I am master of the Ship and will do as I please. but really if he had have been, I should have been properly supported and treated both by him and his officers like a gentleman.

When you reflect on what small powers I am invested, and those principally in the Captains orders and consider their ungenteel treatment of me, owing to their being jealous that I am a spy upon their conduct, and this proceeding from a dishonest principle, which they have so fatally imbib'd, that even their honour, the risk of the loss of all their property cannot eradicate, for I am sure where honour and honesty is made the rule of a man's conduct, he cares not for the damage ten thousand spies can do him, you must think my situation truly an unhappy one. though I well know it is a delicate matter, to delegate powers to a young unexperienc'd man like myself, who has so many ill examples, so many temptations before him and who is to be for so great a length of time from the face of his employers. but Sir

give me leave to say, it would have been better for me, not to have had any concern in this bussiness; then I should not have lain open to the censorious world, for though I may be innocent, yet I may fall a sacrifice to the faults of others. or as I am concern'd that you had not have granted me more and fuller powers, or sent a man that knew how to command himself, then he would have known how to command his Ship and to shew his officers there places, with such a man I should have had authority enough. your letter per Capt. Magee directed to Capt. Gray and myself has rais'd me a little in their opinion. I could wish there was some person in Canton, who had your orders to take the Ship and Cargo out of the present hands, if there was I think it would be to your advantage.

You may from what I have said, think I am a prejudic'd, discontented boy; believe me Sir I am discontented and will not say I am altogether unprejudic'd; which I who so well know your disposition, believe you would be equally so with a man, who has not even the least principle of honour or honesty but appears to be divested of every virtue, and who is in grain if not openly a Knave and a Fool. let all I have said remain *inter nos* until my return, when to your and their faces I will relate every circumstance. I hope however you will take measures to prevent any thing on your side the water.

The last season we did not collect many Skins, we went into winter quarters the 20th of September, there built a House and set up the Sloop she was best part done, when the natives on the 18th of Febuary came to attack us; she was then got ready to launch as soon as possible, otherways according to our customary delays I know not whether she would have been launch'd at this time. we sail'd together on the 2d April the one to the southward, the other to the northward. on board the Ship owing to their being no Commander we have run many risks both in sailing along shore, and going into harbours, unknown, unsounded and without a boat in the water; one of those harbours with the wind blowing on to the breakers, we ran down and over a bar, in three fathoms water, w[h]ere as good luck would have it we got over safe. and without sounding or a boat a head we beat out of the same place and came over the bar again in three fathoms water. thus many are the dangers we have past and risks care-

lesly run.¹ At last however fortune refus'd any longer to smile and in blundering along, (for I can call it by no better name) without any look out kept, within three miles of a most inhospitable and rocky shore, the Ship going six knots with a crowd of sail, struck on a rock about four feet under water, (this was the 25th of June) the Sloop in company. Mr. Haswell says he in the Sloop saw the rock break and haul'd from it. (the Ship was to follow him.) the Ship however making but little water we immediately bore away for Derby's Sound the night of the 26th it blew a fresh gale from the westward. the officers of the watches of both vessels raced to try which would carry sail longest and go fastest by the wind. previous to this Mr. Haswell was ordered to tack at 12 oClock it then being Mr. Smith watch in the Ship. the Sloop went about at the time, and tacking before the Ship nettled Mr. Smith a little, he being in the largest vessel thought he ought to tack first, he therefore did not tack till nearly one oClock, by this time both vessels running different courses had got a considerable way apart, the Ship increas'd her leak considerably on this tack, so as to keep both pumps agoing, we were then oblig'd to bare away, part with the Sloop and run under the lee of Washington's Islands, where we fother'd the Ship; after this we bore away and went to Naspahtee in company with Capt. Magee, where we arrived the 5th of July, two days being past, the third the Ship was haul'd ashore with all in, on the Carpenters examining her they found the lower part of the stem and forward part of the keel knock'd to peices, this could not be repair'd without discharging the Ship and laying her on blocks; the Carpenters were ordered to spike it together and sheath it over; the sheathing on the starboard bilge being also a great deal of it gone and two holes knock'd thro the plank, this was also repair'd and on the 10th we put to sea. went to Cliquot w[h]ere we arrived the 12th we again sail'd from there and beat up to Nootka Sound, where we arrived the 21st in distress, after making our situation known to the Spanish Governor Señor Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. he offered us every assistance granted us houses for our goods and the second best house in

¹ There is something wrong here; perhaps Hoskins' evident animus overbore his regard for accuracy. In the Boit journal it is stated that in entering Gray's Harbor and the Columbia River Captain Gray had a boat ahead.

his small village for Capt. Gray and myself to lodge in and sends for us to breakfast, dine and sup at his house every day. this Governor is really a Gentleman, a friend to all the human race, a father to the natives, who all love him and a good friend to the Americans in general.¹

Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season, offer'd to give up to me, (if I would pay his mens wages, and a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4000 Dollars) his vessel and Cargo which was a thousand Sea Otter Skins; I told him I had no authority to accept his offer, or to demand any payment from him; nor did I think any person in the Ship had. Capt. Ingraham informs me he left him at the point of Death in Macao, about two months since.

We shall sail I hope tomorrow as our Ship is now repair'd and re-loaded; though I must confess, with not so much expedition as I expected.

My best respects to your amiable Lady and family, not forgetting Miss Webb and the good Doctor Bulfinch. and Sir will you be pleas'd to accept the same yourself from him who is in gratitude and duty bound to serve you, and who hopes in twelve months to meet you in perfect health and happiness.

Your humble Servant

JOHN HOSKINS

JOHN HOSKINS' MEMORANDUM ON THE TRADE AT NOOTKA SOUND

NOOTKA sound being the head rendezvous for all Ships that trade on the Coast they make it a common practice to fall in with the Latitude of it, its being well Known for a good harbour and the Skins the best that is to be got on the Coast—they will not sell a single Skin but for Copper or Muskits or Powder and Shot they value Iron but little European tools they will not sell a single fish for they don't seem to covet usefull things but any thing that looks pleasing to the eye or what they call riches Chizzels are the only thing of Iron that they will sell a Skin for they will sell Fish and

¹ The testimony of all the witnesses agrees in this view of Quadra. He seems to have constantly striven to show every kindness and do every honor to all visitors to Nootka, regardless of their rank or station.

Deer for Copper Bangles this seems to be the general mind of all the tribes that Talk this Language to the Northward of this place they like Iron the best to the Southward they esteem Chizzels very much yet all these places have the same liking for Copper and Muskets that they have at Nootka Sound as far as this Language holds they have the best Skins, cured the best and the plentifullest of any place on the Coast, this Language begins in the Lattitude of $47^{\circ} 30'$ North and holds as farr as the Lattitude of $52^{\circ} 30'$ North and then falters as likewise to the Southward—the price of a Skin at Nootka sound is ten Iron Chizzels, six inches square of sheet Copper or ten Copper Bangles, for a pistol four Skins, for a Musket Six skins for a pearl shell one Skin

at Clioquot, seven Chizzels, a span'd square of Copper or ten Copper Bangles for a Skin, for a pistol four skins, for a Musket six Skins, for a Blanket one Skin, for a pearl shell one Skin, for Cloaths etc. accordingly

at Tattoothes Island, five Chizzels for a Skin a peice of Copper as big as your hand, six bangles or a saw for a Chemer two skins, and Cloaths according to the size of the Buttons and the number that is on the Garment

at Chasas Clasat, a peice of Copper as large as your hand or eight Bangles for a Skin, for a pistol four Skins for a Musket eight Skins for a pearl shell three skins.

at Zenith three Chizzels, a saw, or any other Iron according to their Notion for a Skin

at Queen Charlotte's sound, one Chizzel or a ps. of Barr Iron a foot long or any thing that is Iron that they can use or Beads for a Skin, Note Copper will not do hear.

ROBERT GRAY AND JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia, Straits of de Fuca
28 September 1792

SIR

THE foregoing¹ is what we wrote at the time, since which we have been to port Montgomery where we found the Sloop, and

¹ Presumably the letter from Gray and Hoskins to Barrell, August 21, pages 479-480, above.

in our passage of the Coast we stopt at this place, where yesterday arrived our good friend the Spanish Gov[erno]r of Nootka; to whom we have sold the Sloop for 75 prime Sea Otter Skins, and she is now discharging; as she sails very dull,¹ is so small and we want the men; we thought it the best we could do with her.

On account of our misfortune in the Ship, the season is so far advanc'd, that we remain undetermined at present about going to Japan; should the winds prove favorable we shall go, but if averse we shall make the best of our way to China; for to loose our season would ruin the voyage; we hope to get a good sale for our furs and that every thing in the end will turn out to our honor and advantage.

We are Sir with every sentiment
of Respect and Esteem

Your most oblig'd

Humble Servants

ROBERT GRAY

JOHN HOSKINS

JOHN HOSKINS TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Wampoa 13 Decr. 1792

SIR

WE have this moment arrived in the River, and I have only by the Hannibal time to write a line she being now under way. Furs are very cheap and almost impossible to get rid of for money, however shall see in a few days what can be done, the Ship is considerable leaky and must undergo a repair, which will cost considerable, however we shall be as frugal as possible in all expences.

I am in haste wishing

you every happiness

Your most humble servant

JNO. HOSKINS

¹ Boit says seventy-two sea-otter skins. Though the sloop is now stated to be a dull sailer, Haswell told Boit that she was an excellent sea boat and sailed very well; Haswell also makes two references in his second log to the good sailing qualities of the *Adventure*.

JOHN HOSKINS AND ROBERT GRAY TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Ship Columbia Wompoa

22 Decr. 1792

SIR

ON the day of our arrival I wrote you by the Hannibal via Philadelphia, since which I have been at Canton and am this day been delivering a part of the furs which we sold. skins are very low and there is no selling them for Cash, indeed we could not get the Ship secur'd unless we would agree to take goods in pay and 'tis absolutely necessary to have a security merchant¹ or nothing can be sold out of the Ship nor is it safe to deal with any of the Chinese without. it is therefore out of our power to do with the money as you wish could we get Cash for the Skins we could either sell or freight the Ship at a good rate.

the Ship is so leaky we must haul her ashore this together with the detention will make our expences at this place great, however depend every thing shall be done that can be to make them as light as possible.

at this time 'tis impossible to say the amount our skins will fetch, but I don't expect they will exceed Forty thousand dollars. this is a small price for our quantity of Furrs, but there are a great many at market and many more expected. the very best Skins at retail will not fetch more than thirty dollars and at wholesale from six to twenty five dollars.

We have not been at Japan, it being so late in the season and the Ship so weak we dare not attempt it. we expect to sail for Boston in

¹ No business could be carried on by a foreign ship in China without a security merchant. He seems to have been a sort of commission merchant securing to the government the duties on the cargo and the charges on the ship, securing to the Chinese who supplied the ship the payment of their accounts, and securing to the shipowner the payment for his furs. In the log of the *Ruby* (manuscript in the archives of British Columbia) will be found some details of the way this hampered the vessels in the Chinese trade. See also *Old Shipping Days in Boston* (Boston, 1918), 10-24.

about a month. Capt. Gray is at Canton. the choppe boat in which are the furs is now waiting for me and I must conclude in haste.

Your most obliged

and most devoted humble Servant

JOHN HOSKINS

for self and

ROBT. GRAY

Capt. Kendrick lays in larks bay (where he has been 14 months) dismasted.¹

JOHN HOWEL TO JOSEPH BARRELL AND OTHERS

Canton, 11 May, 1795

JOSEPH BARRELL, SAMUEL BROWN, CROWEL HATCH,
CHARLES BULLFINCH AND JOHN DARBY ESQUIRES.

SIRS:

I WROTE to you from the Island of O. Whahoo the 19th of December last, and left the letter with Captain Brown to forward via England. Eleven days after, he and Captain Gordon were both murdered there by the Chief of the Island,² in consequence of which the vessels afterward proceeded hither, instead of going round Cape Horn. The letter was forwarded from hence by the last Fleet, which sailed nearly two months ago.

My former letter informed you of the death of Captain Kendrick, on the 12th of December at O. Whahoo,³ and I now enclose you an extract from my Journal of that date, which contains all necessary particulars. I arrived here the beginning of February, and found the debts he had accumulated were immense, and much beyond my ability to pay with the property of yours in my possession. Justice to the Creditors present obliged me to make a dividend to them of what the property produced. The business is not yet wound up, and I can

¹ For the full particulars, see Boit's log under dates December 8, 9, 1792.

² Brown was master of the *Jackal*, Gordon, of the *Prince Lee Boo*, both of the *Butterworth* squadron. For an accessible account of their murder, see William R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (London, 1804), 39.

³ Howel was on the *Washington* at the time, hence his date may be taken as correct.

not exactly say what will be the deficiency, but I suppose it will be about 12 or 13 per cent; not included in this estimate, is a bond to the late Wm. Douglass¹ for two thousand three hundred and twenty-two dollars, dated the 1st of April, 1795 with interest at twenty per cent per ann. The penalty of this bond is only of the same amount of the principal; which has arisen from the ignorance of the man who drew it. There is also eight thousand dollars due to E. J. Martinez, which Captain Kendrick made use of on his first voyage here. I have given Manuel de Agati and Julio de Ferentes, the Spanish super cargoes, the papers relative thereto, for the use of their friend and countryman. If there should be any debts to the Chinese which I am pretty confident there will not be, except to the comprador, whose account rises to six hundred dollars, I shall make them a dividend, in common with the other creditors, and pay the deficiency out of my own pocket, and value on you for the same. It is absolutely necessary some steps should be taken to retrieve the character of the Americans here. Such villanies have been practised as have sickened the Chinese from having any dealing with them on that liberal scale they would otherwise adopt. The owners of the Hope who will I trust, be obliged to pay Captain Ingrahams debts to Conseequa, are now defaulters forty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty one Dollars. I have seen the bond, in which Ingraham binds them; specifying also the names of Thomas H. Perkins, Frederick W. Geyer and one of his brothers.

The Washington landed here, or rather put on board the Surprise Snow, which brought them up, one thousand and sixty-three Sea otter skins, and six hundred and forty tails, which I sold for sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-six dollars, Cash. The Washington was sold for thirteen hundred dollars. I bought her,² and am going to the N. W. Coast on my own account, connected with some Chinese merchants. I expect to be back next December, and shall then write to you very fully respecting every thing; wind up all the accounts; and transmit you the papers, which I believe, will be the

¹ William Douglas of the *Iphigenia* in 1789, and of the *Grace* in 1790 and 1791.

² Every statement of Howel must be carefully scrutinized. He posed as the owner of the *Washington*, but at almost the time he was writing this letter Captain Charles Bishop of the *Ruby* records that Howel was only a part owner and ship's husband, and that the brigantine belonged to "several other proprietors."

only remittance you ever have had, or ever will have, from the Washington. Indeed when I consider the conduct of the men to whom you have entrusted the management of your business and speculations in this part of the world, I wonder only that you are not worse off. Except Mr. Hoskins I hardly ever saw a man in your N. W. employ, who was not either fool or Rogue, and your commanders united both those characters. I shall, gentlemen, at a future period, unfold some of their conduct to you, which, if you have not long since ceased to wonder, will make you wonder in good earnest.

I should endeavor to send you the accounts and papers belonging to the Washington now, but it will be December before the ships [which] will sail from hence in a few days, can arrive in England; and three month more would be lost before they reach Boston. Besides the papers are voluminous; and I presume you do not wish to pay freight for them. As I have conducted every part of the business openly and above board, I shall send you vouchers and certificates for every particular thing, as far as the confused state of the deceased's Books etc. will allow. The skins were sold well. They average nearly 15 dollars each. Mr. Drummond of the English Company, sold a Cargo since for 1072 dollars. That is a material difference. Had I brought the Vessel up, it would have been attended with an expense, of three thousand five hundred dollars; whilst the Freight I paid Captain Greene was only three hundred. I hope this economy will be agreeable to you, it has at least the charm of novelty to recommend it.¹

The deeds of the Land purchased on the N. W. Coast, are in my possession. I shall leave them here to be forwarded by the first vessel of the season for Boston. If you knew the lands as well as I do, you would not be very anxious about the fate of them. To every other part of Mr. Barrels letter of the 2nd January, 1793, no answer is needed; as the decease of Captain Kendrick, settles all that business; which had he lived it would have been impracticable for him to have fulfilled, had he acceded to your proposal.

Should I be fortunate in my voyage to the Coast, I shall very

¹ Howel, like Kendrick, was profuse in his promises, but altogether lacking in performance. So far as any records now available show, no accounts of his operation with the *Washington* were ever sent to her owners.

probably be in Boston in the Autumn of 1796, but should you have an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of this letter, or wish to give me any directions concerning the subject of it, you had better write to me, to the care of James M. Bosma Esqr., of the Dutch Company, Canton or Macoa.

I have the honour to be with much deference and esteem, Gentlemen Your Most Obedient and humble Servant.

J. HOWEL

JOHN HOWEL TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Macao, 23 Decr. 1796

JOSEPH BARRELL, ESQR.

SIR:

THE original and duplicate of your letter of the 19th of January last, I received by the *Zenobia* of Providence, and covered from Mr. Beale.

The first opportunity I had of writing to you from China, was late in May, 1795, by the last fleet of English Indiamen which sailed from hence, to the care of Lane, Son & Frazer, in London; communicating all the information I was then able to give respecting the affairs of the late Capt. Kendrick, in this country. By the enclosed accounts you will have a perfect idea of their situations; and if you were sufficiently acquainted with the difficulty of settling an insolvent estate in this Empire, your candour would readily allow me much more credit than I presume to claim. By the accompanying narrative of such proceedings as I have gathered from the well authenticated relations of others, and had ocular demonstration of myself, some idea may be formed of the manner in which your speculative expedition was managed.

I cannot avoid expressing the mortification I felt, on reading the last passage in your letter above referred to, although a flattering compliment was attached to it. It needed no very refined education, or remarkably nice sense of justice, to perceive that your requests were by no means unreasonable, for guided by the plain principles of that duty which I owe you, I had already anticipated, and fulfilled

them. Your deeds are registered here by a Notary Public, Triplicates are made. The originals are now transmitted; and the authenticated copies shall follow by subsequent Conveyances. I shall then draw on you for fifty-four dollars, being the amount of the expences incurred therefor; and hope you will duly honour it, as you well know I am a poor man, though I have a fair prospect of making a large, and very rapid fortune. If you consider my conduct toward you as just and proper in the management of your Commander's affairs which fell into my hands, I shall be happy; and doubt not but you will, should an occasion present itself, feel no reluctance in serving me.

I have had an opportunity of seeing most parts of Capt. Kendrick's purchases on the No. Wt. Coast of America; and cannot flatter you with any hopes of profit from them even to your great, great grand children. They cost but little, it is true; and when the Millennium shall arrive, and all the nations of the earth shall be at peace, your Posterity may, perhaps, settle them. That Captain Kendrick considered his title a good one I had sufficient proof of, when he one day told the Commandant at Notka Sound, that he bought his Territories, whilst other nations stole them; and that if they (the Spaniards) were impertinent he would raise the Indians and drive them from their settlements. This, altho' a bold, was nevertheless a moderate project, for a mind like his. Two of his favourite plans were to change the prevalence of the westerly winds in the Atlantic Ocean, and turn the Gulf Stream into the Pacific, by cutting A Canal through Mexico. But with all his fooleries he was a wonderful man, and worthy to be remembered beyond the gliding Hours of the present generation. He was ruined by his appointment to the Columbia. Empires and fortunes broke on his sight. The paltry two-penny objects of his expedition were swallowed up in the magnitude of his Gulliverian Views. North East America was on the Lilliputian, but he designed N. W. America to be on the Brobdignagian scale. Had you known him as well as I did, you would have sent some Glumdalclitch or other as nurse with him.¹

6th Decr. 1797. Mr. Davis, the Bearer of this letter, will inform you, that by the miscarriage of a letter the Papers mentioned on the

¹ Allowing for exaggeration, and even hyperbole, this is a fairly correct estimate of John Kendrick.

other side were not brought hither; and therefore cannot be forwarded until the next opportunity.

The Washington's Cargo sold for 16,876 Dollars which was paid by Instalments. Kendrick's debts were 28,000 Dollars and I am convinced I shall be a considerable sufferer from having undertaken to settle them, as the Chinese insist on being paid in full.

I am, with much respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

JOHN HOWEL

JOHN HOWEL TO JOSEPH BARRELL

Manilla, 28 May, 1798

JOSEPH BARRELL, ESQR.

SIR,

I REC'D a letter from you in triplicate, requesting a statement of Capt. Kendrick's affairs. My Books etca. are all in China; but as the following Statement will be near the matter though written from memory, I forward it to you, and as soon as my books arrive will send you a particular and I doubt not a satisfactory acc[oun]t:

Vizt. Sale of Skins—on credit	16,800 Drs.
" Brig Washington	1,300 "
" Pearls	70 "
	<hr/> 18,170

Paid Melander & Bosma 85 per Cent on 7150 Drs.	6077
Interest 4 Mos. on 5000 Drs. borrd. to pay the crew	
@ 1½ per Cent	300
Paid Atac Cap. K. note	680
Wages to Ships Compy.	5500
Sundry notes to ditto, for money borrowed	700
Capt. Green's note with Int.	780
Freight Skins to Canton	300
Paid McAvoy & Peters Note	180
Paid a Chinese Taylor	350
Paid Samuel Bedford, Note	200
Exp[ense]s Ship at Macao, before delivery of Cargo	600

My Comm[issio]ns on sale of Skins 16,800—@ 5 per Cent	840	
	<u>16,507</u>	
My wages as assistant, as per agreement @ 75 per mo. 12 mos. is	900	
Ditto, Commr., with allowance for Stores etca. 4 mos. @ 120 Drs.	480	
A draft on the Royal Treasury of Madrid, drawn by the Spanish Comm[andan]t at Nootka for my services there, and sold by Capt. K. for 900 Drs.	1000	
Cash—in Macao 350	350	
An organ, a Sextant, Books, liquors etca. etca.	400	
Sundry Clothes recd., from Capt. Crowel on the Coast	<u>350</u>	
	19,987	18,170
The Balance in my favour is		<u>1,817</u>
		19,987

The foregoing Sketch, I do not pretend to say is Correct, but I am certain the Estate is more indebted to me than the foregoing sum. But the am[oun]t of Sales of Capt. Kendricks private property, about 650 Dollars, I have to deduct from it. The manner in which I have lost the money was this: The Chinese at first agreed to be payed in proportion with the other Creditors; but when they had me in their power at Canton made me pay the whole amount. I had given my Notes for 85 per Cent: to the other Creditors, and was obliged to settle them.

There remains against Capt. K.'s Estate the demand of Capt. Douglas and Heirs—5000 Dollars—Sr. E. J. Martinez for Furs—8000 Dollars=13,000 Dollars, independent of mine.

I have not been in Canton since I wrote to you last Jany. was a twelvemonth; but as I am in daily expectation of my papers, and among them your deeds of the lands on the N. W. Coast, you shall certainly have them transmitted—But do not think, my good Sir, they are worth 2*d* per 1000 acres.

I have the honour to be, with all respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

JOHN HOWEL

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